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No. 154

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUZUKI GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST SOVIET THREAT TO JAPAN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 80 p 7

[Article by Chang Lin [7022 2651] and Dong Ming [0392 2494]: "The New Exploitative Moves of the Suzuki Government of Japan"]

[Text] Over 3 months have passed since the Suzuki Cabinet came to power on 17 July 1980. Since then, it has repeatedly reaffirmed its pledge to continue the domestic and foreign policies of the Ohira Cabinet. A review of its 3-month-old political performances indicates that using Ohira's political line as a guide, the Suzuki Cabinet is now ready to take new exploratory steps in the direction of meeting the needs of the domestic and international developments. Among the steps that first command our attention was a press conference statement made by Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki shortly after his cabinet came to power, saying that "preparations are being made to set up a joint security conference to study the problems of how to safeguard the security of Japan from a broader point of view." This statement was later backed up by "a proposal to safeguard the security of Japan for the 1980's" issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, suggesting that the Japanese "defense expenditure be increased to 1 percent of Japan's gross national product" and "Japan send self-defense elements and other personnel to join the UN international peace-keeping operations." A cabinet meeting has also approved the Japan Defense Agency's "special request" to increase its 1981 budget by 9.7 percent, despite Japan's present financial difficulties.

On 5 August, the defense agency issued a white paper warning Japan against the "threat of Soviet submarines" in the wake of a large-scale war game on map simulating a defense strategy against the Soviet attacks. On 18 August, the agency announced a decision to immediatly "strengthen the emergency system of combat-readiness" and to arm the reconnaissance planes with air-to-air missiles and patrol warships with torpedoes. On 18 October, Suzuki reaffirmed the "necessity of maintaining a well-measured and highly efficient defense power in order to strengthen the Japan-U.S. mutual defense system and to counter the external threats." The Japan Defense Agency has also decided to bring up to date its defense plan drafted in 1976, with the aim of strengthening the Japanese defense forces to deal with the Soviet threats.

As everyone knows, Japan's strategic proposal to "strengthen its independent defense power" dates back to the early 1970's, or the period of the "first energy crisis." Although the Suzuki Cabinet is only less than 4 months old, it has isplayed unusual courage to tackle what is considered the "most difficult" problem.

Among the well-developed western countries, Japan appears more industrially and technically capable of meeting the "energy crisis" and other major economic problems. In the foreseeable future, it still can lead other nations in economic growth. But any changes in the international political and economic situation are also likely to have direct impact on the economic development of Japan. For this reason, Japan has been very sensitive to the Soviet Union's efforts to constantly strengthen its military posture in the Far East, to step up the construction of military installations in Japan's northern territory, and to win the control of the naval and air bases in Cam Ranh Bay, which threaten the movement of Japan's merchant fleets over the seas. The Soviet Union's blatant invasion of Afghanistan also poses a threat to the oil supply line from the Middle East to Japan, thus placing Japan in grave danger.

Another step that deserves our attention is the problem concerning the revision of the constitution. The Japanese newspapers have noted a basic difference between the Suzuki Cabinet and its predecessors in dealing with this problem. The present constitution of Japan was drafted under the guidance and influence of the allied forces when they occupied Japan after the end of World War II. Although the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) includes in its platform a provision concerning the "revision of the constitution by independent Japan," such a move cannot become effective until it is approved by two-thirds or more of the members of the Diet and by a majority vote in a special national referendum or election called by the Diet. This was why all previous Japanese cabinets were so reluctant to do anything about it. After the Suzuki Cabinet came to power, the current LDP chairman suggested that "we place all problems pertaining to the constitution on the table for discussion and consultation with all other parties out of the government." Minister of Justice Seisuke Okuno has also expressed the hope that "the Japanese people will spontaneously demand the revision of the constitution." On 7 September, in a speech to an LDP study meeting on the revision of the constitution, Suzuki said: "There is no contradiction between the call for the revision of the constitution and the appeal for the observation of it." This statement was regarded by the Japanese mass media as a step in preparing the Japanese public for the possibility of revising the constitution, although Suzuki denied that his cabinet is prepared to do so in the near future.

The focus of the controversy over the revision of the constitution is on its article 9 which provides that "Japan shall not maintain any ground, naval and air forces and other combat elements." Whether the existence of the self-defense forces in Japan is a violation of the article 9 of the constitution, whether they are permitted to join the UN international peace-keeping operations and whether they can be armed with defensive nuclear weapons under the provision of that article are the most frequently asked questions in Japan today. The controversy over the revision of the constitution is essentially an extension of the question of whether the self-defense forces should be strengthened. The "constitution-study council" inaugurated by the LDP in 1972 has been reactivated following 8 years of suspension with a pledge to present to the Diet "a proposal for the revision of the constitution" not later than the next national election. This trend has become clear since the emergence of the LDP as the majority party enjoying "a comfortable margin of vote" in the Diet and since the formation of "a united front" in the

LDP, with the "three conservative groups" (Suzuki, Tanaka and Fukuda factions) as its nuclei.

Public opinion polls have shown a rising popular support for the Suzuki Cabinet during the past 3 months following its formation. Thus far, six pro-Suzuki groups have come into being in the financial field. Suzuki is expected to be nominiated candidate for the president of the LDP by its leaders during the election scheduled for November this year. The Japanese public opinions predicted that the "Suzuki characteristic" will gradually become dominant on the Japanese political front, as the Suzuki regime is striving to end the period of transition from a temporary political power to a long-term one, and from the "era of Ohira politics" to that of "Suzuki politics."

9574
CSO: 4005

COLLECTIVE, NOT INDIVIDUAL LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 80 p 5

[Article by Zhang Jingtai [1728 2529 1132]: "The Practice 'Let the Secretary Take Command' Must Be Changed"]

[Text] The leadership of the party is a collective leadership, not the leadership of one or two individuals. No one who becomes a member of the party committee, including the secretary, can place themselves above the collective. If an individual in a commanding position places himself above the collective, he will certainly undermine the collective leadership and promote patriarchism. In previous years, we suffered much from this. But now there are still some units where "if the secretary does not nod, no resolution can be adopted; if the secretary does not agree, no resolution can be carried out," and the secretary takes command of all matters and has the final say. In these units, the collective leadership often becomes individual leadership.

The slogan "let the secretary take command," was initiated in the 1950's. It perhaps meant that the secretary should both take command and partake in battle, and that instead of paying mere lip service he should take actual action to solve problems. Yet, during the "Cultural Revolution," because of the over-emphasis on "centralization," the functions of the secretary were pushed to an extreme so that everything had to be commanded by the secretary. As a result, except the "No 1 or No 2 leaders" or the secretary, no one has the authority to solve any problem. The slogan "let the secretary take command" then became "let the secretary have the final say and decide on everything." From the viewpoint of normal inner party relations, the slogan "let the secretary take command" is unscientific. As we know, the relationship between the secretary and the party members is one of equality, not a relationship between the commander and the commanded. In voting on significant problems, the secretary only has one vote and cannot pit one against ten and let a minority rule the majority. The function of the secretary lies in setting examples, taking the lead in implementing party lines and policies, assuring that the party committee works efficienty as if it was a PLA "squad," grasping central work, taking the whole situation into account and planning accordingly, investigating and supervising the implementation of resolutions, keeping all circles well informed, focalizing collective wisdom, developing and enriching collective experience, and improving work efficiency. In short, the secretary's daily work and overall duty in the party committee are to assume leadership, not to monopolize everything and command everything.

The leadership of the party is collective over each specific task. As a result, we have always stressed the coordination of party committee collective leadership with the division of individual responsibility. The matters that are collectively decided must be handled individually. Each must be responsible for his own tasks and must not shift his responsibility to others. The reason why work efficiency in many leadership organizations is not high and there is internal friction is not unrelated to the undemocratic work style on the part of the No 1 and No 2 leaders. For a long time, insofar as there were only the loud voices of these leaders who dictated everything, how could there be any sense of responsibility on the part of other committee members? But, the sense of responsibility of other committee members is indispensable because when they receive the trust of the party they must not stand with folded arms to see the party suffer. To counter patriarchism one must have the courage to control the patriarch. Otherwise, how can the evil feudalism be eliminated? We should also view the undemocratic work style of the No 1 and No 2 leaders in this way: our party's collective leadership and the division of individual responsibility are established on the basis of trusting the masses, relying on the masses and pooling the wisdom of the masses and only then can the leadership of the party be effective. If there is monopoly in state power and only one individual's words count, there will be no initiative among committee members. Would that individual not become an isolated person with no mass support and a leader without a following? Moreover, party work would become stagnant.

Adherence to collective leadership and doing away with individual despotism, it is necessary to correctly handle the dissenting views of the minority within the party committee. Generally speaking, although the views of the majority are generally correct or relatively correct, yet, the truth is not always in the hands of the majority. If the views of the minority truly come from the masses and represent the interests of the masses, even though such views are voiced by a minority within the party committee, yet from the point of view of the masses it is from the majority and thus should be considered as correct. We should believe that a truthful person, when practical experience proves that he is wrong, will be willing to abandon his views. If there are comrades who stubbornly adhere to their own views, we still should not discriminate against or reject them, if only these comrades adhere in action to the resolutions adopted by the majority. We should be united with them and have the patience to wait. This is completely necessary to bringing into full play the party committee's collective leadership.

Today, in carrying out the four modernizations and strengthening the collective leadership of the party, we must not let history repeat itself. The slogan "let the secretary take command" or "let the No 1 or No 2 leader decide" must be changed.

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JINAN AIR FORCE STRESSES POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Education in Forefront

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Wang Youtu [3769 0645 0956], director of a Jinan Air Force target range: "Develop a Spirit of Spontaneity and Carry Out Political Education Well"]

[Text] Our target range is located on a piece of wild saline-alkaline soil, with poor transportation and relatively hard living conditions. However, because we have taken charge of our political education conscientiously and mobilized everyone's activism a little further, the cadres and soldiers are united in arduous struggle, and complete their security tasks relatively well each time we hold bombing, firing, or parachute training.

After the breakup of the "gang of four," we to a degree one-sidedly felt that attending political classes and conducting education was just so much big and empty talk, and added to this was the gradual improvement in living conditions on the target range over the past 2 years, with new housing and the installation of television, so that it didn't seem to matter whether we had more or less political education. The result was that ideology loosened up and the company had a continuous outbreak of disorganized and undisciplined incidents of objecting to hardship and fatigue. The cadres also became resentful, saying that soldiers today do not lead well, being both arrogant and finicky. In connection with this reality we studied what Comrade Mao Zedong and the central leaders had to say about political work and realized that criticism of the empty politics of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not mean that there is no need for politics; emphasis on the material foundations and the need to improve material conditions certainly does not mean not talking of the spirit or not talking of political education. From this, we positively took command of the company's political education. We thought ahead of time and prepared ahead of time for what education should be carried out at what time, did not leave anything pending or dependent, did what had to be done when it was necessary, and seized the initiative at all times. In one sense we took the initiative with respect to the assignments from the superiors. The principal content for political education this year is common political knowledge and education in outlook on life. As of the end of August, we had attended seven classes in political theory and seven classes in outlook on life as well. The time allocated was both more and faster than the requirements of the superiors. In a second sense, we took the actual initiative by being closely connected to the thinking of the troops. Although our target range is in a remote location, still there are countless ties with other parts of the country, and changes in circumstances or policy can quickly set up waves among the troops. We ordinarily pay close attention to the soldiers' reactions and promptly make suggestions to the party branch committee for timely education. Early this year, a small number of comrades became very fastidious about the way they dressed up. We immediately carried on education in "What kind of feeling a revolutionary soldier ought to have, and what kind of aesthetic standards he ought to establish," which received relatively good results. Third was taking the initiative in determining the rules of transformation in the thinking of the troops. During the period of their service, the thinking of cadres and soldiers always goes through a regular pattern of changes. Therefore, we have paid relatively close attention to summarizing and trying to learn this pattern, putting education purposefully in the forefront and taking preventive measures to improve everyone's ability to deal with various kinds of problems. For example, new soldiers are assigned to the target range every year, and all must be given orientation in how to adopt a proper service attitude in accordance with our conditions and settle down in the work of the target range. After a soldier's conscription service period is over, a fair amount of attention is given to the question of love and marriage, and at that time we conduct education in the subordination of personal interests to the interests of the revolution as well as how a revolutionary soldier ought to deal with the question of love and marriage. Becuase the education is timely and the work is done ahead of time, the soldiers are able to deal with all the problems they encounter.

In political education, we have also paid attention to methods of improving education and raising educational results. During one period, some soldiers were not interested in political studies, and we felt that if everyone did not like to study politics, there would no doubt be a problem of self-knowledge, but the principal responsibility was still on political education for being conducted too mechanically and drably. Therefore, besides making everyone aware of the importance of political study as soon as we discovered this problem, we also racked our brains during our spare time to think of ways to reform the educational methods and raise the quality of education: 1) In connection with reality, discuss one reason for every subject. When teaching a class, we need not necessarily stay in the classroom, but can walk out to see the village or a factory, and can also seize advantageous opportunities, during training, in operations, or at work, to discuss one reason for every subject in connection with reality, taking 8 or 10 minutes and using just a few sentences to increase everyone's knowledge of a question. This kind of teaching always achieves very good results. There is a Xinzhuang production brigade party branch in the area where we are stationed, and it is an advanced unit that has organized all the youths to raise themselves through their own efforts, take part in arduous struggle, and use their two hands to transform the backward aspect of the production brigade and propel it into the ranks of those who are advanced, prosperous, and rising. We then organized all the comrades to go and interview them, and this had a great effect in overcoming the soldiers' fear of fatigue and fear of hardship and establishing thinking aimed at putting down roots and building the target range. 2) Select the instructor according to the lesson content. In the past, our lessons were taught principally by the political instructor, but later we invited military cadres or local cadres to lecture, depending on the content of the lesson, and even asked family members or soldiers and commune members to lecture. In this way, we develop their strong points and are able to attract the interest of the listeners. When we conduct a class in socialism, we invite Comrade Li Xiangxian, the original party secretary of the Aoli production brigade, to lecture.

This old party secretary compares the different results from two high tides, before and after the liberation, and enthusiastically praises the socialist system, providing a moving lesson in socialism for cadres and soldiers. 3) Adopt a method of the masses themselves. The method we commonly use is for the masses to comment, one opinion for each subject, and analyze a typical instance. In March of this year, when we provided security for the live bombing training by a certain regiment, a small local tractor carrying several commune members suddenly entered the target area by mistake, and after guard Zhu Aiwu discovered this, he ran yelling into the target area without regard for his own safety. When those on the tractor heard the cries and left the target area, four airplanes carrying live bombs entered the airspace over the target range and began dive bombing, and young Zhu could only throw himself down on the ground right there, with bombs exploding only a little more than 200 meters away. Afterward, some people praised his sense of responsibility to his work, a manifestation of being ready to act when necessary; others said he was a "simpleton," so how should he be seen, finally? We seized on this incident and organized everyone to discuss it. Everyone said, "When the masses encounter danger and our revolutionary soldiers save them at the risk of their own lives, it is revolutionary heroism, and young Zhu did the right thing!" This made everyone distinguish clearly what was revolutionary heroism and what was acting rashly, or recklessly.

We have learned in practice that it is only necessary for our political work cadres to be careful in everything, be diligent in thinking about things, be adept at mobilizing their intelligence, and our political education will be able to be vivid and vigorous, rich and varied, and capable of carrying out the education in a lively manner and well.

Ideological Education Stressed

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "Jinan Air Force Promotes Ideological Education"]

[Text] Jinan Air Force units, proceeding from reality, developed education in a revolutionary outlook on life from top to bottom and achieved good results.

So far this year, the various units of the Air Force in Jinan have conscientiously implemented the spirit of the military-wide political work conference, and have purposefully carried out education in a revolutionary outlook on life with the nature of ideals, prospects, and morals, love and marriage, arduous struggle, joining the party and being proposed as cadre, the relationship between revolutionary benefit and individual benefit, and how to be a good conscriptee as its major content. The principal methods employed were as follows:

1. Party committees on all levels and political organs all took the work seriously and leading cadres directed it personally. According to initial statistics, in a little more than 6 months, more than 100 leading comrades of regimental grade or higher have taken work teams to the basic levels. They have helped the troops to study the ideological circumstances, led the development of education in a revolutionary outlook on life, and solved a great many problems. The party committee and political organ of a certain Air Force division, aiming at a few ideological problems that existed among the troops, promptly proposed some content for the education and worked toward achieving both relaxation and requirements, but mainly relaxation, with the positive advancement of both cadres and soldiers.

2. Keeping a close connection to reality, some carried on education as they would fire an arrow, emphasizing practical results. In the education, all units determined their education according to what problems existed, strengthening the purposefulness of the education and deriving outstanding results. For example, this year all units have universally carried out education in agricultural economic policy to raise everyone's understanding in response to the ideological problem resulting from the cadres' and soldiers' reactions to the system of agricultural production responsibilities. They also made resistance to the influence of bourgeois thinking an important subject of political education, carried out ideological education in resisting corruption and preventing upheaval, drew clear distinctions between the beautiful and the ugly, the good and the bad, glory and disgrace, etc., nurturing a proletarian moral character and noble sentiments.

3. They adopted various measures for the mutual coordination of the universal education and the individual education. For example, they invited local comrades to make reports, allowed advanced exemplars to explain by means of their own experience, carried on social investigations, organized inspection tours, developed frank talks of a mass nature, developed film reviews and book reviews, newspaper reading and discussion, held story meetings, evening entertainments, established wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers, exhibits, and discussions, slide shows, etc., to carry on education in a revolutionary outlook on life for the cadres and soldiers that was lively in form, new and original in content, and strengthened the educational results. Some units organically combined the administration and management of the education in outlook on life, education in current policy, education in common political knowledge, education in the excellent tradition, the three educations movement, party and youth corps education, to consolidate and improve educational results.

To lead the education in a revolutionary outlook on life to penetrate deeply, the Jinan Air Force units called a meeting a few days ago to exchange experience on education in a revolutionary outlook on life and called for realistic strengthening of leadership, comprehensive administration, and carrying this education into every item of work to make the troops' ideological establishment and training in combat readiness even better.

9284
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EXPERIMENTAL TORPEDO RETRIEVED BY FISHERMEN

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 80 p 3

[Article: "Fishing Boats Salvage Test Torpedo"]

[Text] A certain naval unit, together with the party committee of Longxudao Commune, Tongcheng County, and other leading organs, recently held a joint reception at Longxudao Commune to commend and reward fishing boats Lurongyu 3042 and 3043 of the Licun fishing team of that commune for courageously retrieving a military experimental torpedo from the sea, protecting evidence of national defense experimental results.

On the morning of 10 August, fishing boats Lurongyu 3042 and 3043 were returning from fishing when the captain of boat 3043, Yuan Xiangkun [5913 4161 0981], faintly saw something red floating and bobbing on the surface of the sea about 1000 meters from the boat, whereupon he immediately ordered the boat to draw alongside to see clearly what it was. At this time the partner fishing boat, No 3042, came up from behind and everyone looked carefully and discovered a floating object about 60 centimeters in diameter, the upper end shaped like a steel helmet and the lower end extending into the water about 7 or 8 meters. They decided that it could be a very dangerous explosive weapon. The captain of boat No 3042, Communist Party member Yuan Xiangbo [5913 4161 3124], thought: No matter what, we must think of some way to retrieve it, for if this floating object is foreign, it may well provide some intelligence data for the country; if it is ours, we will be protecting national secrets. He quickly mobilized everyone to figure out a method of retrieval on the basis of the floating object's size and weight and dangerous characteristics. Yuan Yuwen [5913 3768 4489] and Yuan Xiangdian [5913 4161 3013] bravely took the lead, one man holding net and hook in his hands, the other tying knots in the rope and securing the floating object. Afterward, the two boats towed the object back to shore.

After more than 2 hours of tense struggle, the boats made more than 50 li and finally brought the floating object safely back to the harbor, then immediately sent someone to report to the Longxudao border defense station. The concerned departments determined that this floating object was an experimental torpedo fired by a certain unit of our navy.

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BROADENING OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION NEEDED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Wu Mingyu [0702 2494 3842] and Bao Tong [7637 1749]: "More On Broadening the Avenues of Education; Desire for a Discussion With Yan Si and Other Comrades"]

[Text] Recently, we have seen reports in the newspapers that many places are broadening the avenues of education. In Shanghai Municipality, 24 schools of higher education have admitted 3,000 day students at their own expense. These students received fairly high marks at the higher grade entrance examination. The average marks of those admitted to the science department of Fudan University were 356.7. The average marks of those admitted to the Shanghai Second Medical College are 355.8. Other schools are also pleased with the results of their successful candidates at examination. The Anhui Provincial People's Government has given its approval for seven institutes of higher learning, including the Chinese University of Science and Technology, to jointly set up a university for day students at their own expense, and has named it the Hefei Joint University. This year this university has enrolled 200 students. In Urumqi Municipality, some schools of higher learning have enrolled more than 200 students who are paying their own expenses. Shaanxi and Jiangxi provinces have enrolled an additional 1,000 day students paying their own expenses. Jiangsu Province has decided to establish a Jingling Vocational University in Nanjing and, at the same time, to set up a secondary vocational day school. In conclusion, the readers are happy to see so many encouraging reports and are impressed that so many persons of ideals and integrity in our educational circles are doing a great deal of very difficult and practical work in training more and better talent.

In the past 2 years, some places have introduced day schools as an experiment, set up branch schools, and restored universities taught by radio, correspondence, and television. This year they have again set up day colleges for students paying their own expenses, vocational colleges, night colleges, and schools of other types. All these things illustrate that the broadening of avenues of higher education is definitely the general trend out of necessity, and that it receives a widespread welcome among the people. These avenues are being increasingly broadened.

However, there are also controversies. Some comrades have alleged that the main task of the institutes of higher learning is to improve the quality of education, and that the broadening of avenues will hinder improvements in education, particularly in the key institutes of higher learning. Some other comrades have argued that it is untimely to talk about the broadening of avenues of education. They have even claimed that such suggestions will incite trouble and unrest and arouse dissatisfaction against the party and the socialist system on the part of those students who fail the higher grade entrance examination. As there is no consensus of opinion, it seems necessary to carry out further discussions.

Broadening the avenues of education is the trend of popular sentiment.

Whether or not to broaden the avenues of higher education is not to be decided on the basis of anybody's subjective will but by objective necessity and practical possibilities.

In the past 30 years there have been nearly 3 million graduates of institutes of higher learning in our country. This number represents less than 3 percent of the total number of workers and staff members in the country. Throughout the country, a great many factories, mines, enterprises, and production brigades do not have even one qualified engineer or agronomist. The shortage of physicians all the more goes without saying. As regards talented persons in liberal arts, owing to the fact that they were ignored all along, the problem is even more serious. Why has management become the weakest link in China's economic work? Many years ago, institutes of higher education began to slash the number of courses in this field and failed to train large numbers of qualified managerial personnel for the state, which undeniably is one of the reasons. In the past 30 years, schools of higher learning trained only some 10,000 specialized persons in the science of law. At present, we have to strengthen our legal system, formulate various laws, improve the judicial and procuratorial organs at various levels, and establish the institution of lawyers. Then, we have to make contact with foreigners because we have no experts among ourselves.

Our higher education was interrupted over many years, so that there is a general shortage of new specialists on all fronts to fill vacancies left by the old ones. In 1978, 62.5 percent of China's technical personnel were older than 36, while only 37.5 percent were 35 or younger. In many organs of scientific research, the number of qualified junior personnel is only equal to, or even less than, the number of senior and intermediate personnel. This kind of age and personnel makeup is obviously abnormal.

Let us look again at the internal composition of our educational undertakings. Over more than 20 years, the ratio between our college students and middle school students was 1:16 in 1952 and 1:21 in 1965, but it changed to 1:78 in 1978. Accordingly, the proportion of students entering schools of a higher level also dropped to a large extent. The proportion of senior middle school graduates entering colleges was 56.7 percent in 1957, 45.6 percent in 1965, and 3.8 percent in 1979.

We maintain that in our discussion on the policy of promoting higher education, we cannot evade the foregoing facts.

Of course, there were many reasons for the occurrence of this situation. In addition to the sabotage of the "gang of four," there were other reasons. To fundamentally change this kind of situation, just as Comrade Yan Si [1693 1835] has said, one cannot "get the desired results from making a concentrated effort in less than a year." At present, we have no information as to whether or not there are people trying "to make a concentrated effort in less than a year." According to our nderstanding, success cannot be achieved in this important matter even within a short period of a few years. The question is whether or not we should start right now to study the issue with enthusiasm and gradually change the situation, Here lies the divergence of views.

How do we look upon the question of quality?

Yan Si and other comrades believe that at present the more serious question is quality, not quantity, and therefore it is most important to turn out tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts.

Of course, in training our students we must pay attention to quality. Their failure would mean a waste of the manpower and material resources of the state. However, why do broadening the avenues of education and enrolling more students have to mean a lowering of the quality of education? In our previous aritcle on broadening the avenues of education, we pointed out that the guarantee for quality is decided mainly by having good teachers, good teaching materials, strict checks on the students, and good work of education management. The method of conducting a school should not be the deciding factor. In various countries of the world, many famous universities are for nonresident students, and they have trained large numbers of highly qualified persons just the same. The proportion of our senior secondary graduates entering colleges is now very small. Only one can be picked out of scores of candidates, and the qualification of students is thus assured. Moreover, these young people suffered greatly from the sabotage of the "gang of four" in education, and they now have a very high enthusiasm for study. In spite of their poor performance in past years, some students are making increasingly greater efforts and show considerable latent capacity for study. In the past 2 years, the students of branch schools in various places have generally done well in study, which is a good proof. Therefore, there is no reason to think that broadening the avenues of education must lower its quality.

Should we have tens of thousands of the world's first-rate scientists? The answer is affirmative. However, from the actual conditions of China's present level of economy, culture, education, and science, it may be seen that this practical task cannot be solved very quickly, and that it requires persistent efforts over a long period before it can be fulfilled. A pressing matter of the moment should be to make our best efforts to solve or alleviate the urgent situation of the unusual shortage of specialized personnel in various fields and at all levels. If we cannot make headway on this issue within 5 to 10 years, our construction of the four modernizations will be seriously affected. Quantitative increase and qualitative improvement are not contradictory. Any talk about quality apart from quantity is like water without its source. It would be also difficult to make sure of quality.

Comrade Yan Si asserts that we must keep firmly in mind the objective of our struggle to train a contingent of thousands to tens of thousands of the world's first-rate specialists. He says that by doing this we will be able to integrate need with possibility, quantity with quality, popularization with improvement, and immediate demand with long-term need. We believe that it is indeed necessary to integrate quantity with quality, and so forth; however, while keeping firmly in mind the objective of training a contingent of the world's first-rate specialists, we must also keep firmly in mind another objective which cannot be ignored, and that is that we must train millions and up to ten millions of qualified specialized investigation by Shanghai Municipality, its 48 institutes of higher education have 17,300 teachers and only 67,000 students; thus, the ratio of teachers to students is 1:3.9, which is only the average. In a considerable number of institutes of higher learning, the ratio of teachers to students is even lower than 1:3. This situation is considered abnormal not only by the students but also by many teachers. The broad ranks of teachers are very anxious to develop as many additional students as possible. They give their positive support to a reform of the system and structure of higher education by conducting education in many different ways to broaden the avenues of education. As a result, this year many schools are conducting night colleges of various types and are further enlarging the enrollment of day students who pay their own expenses. In Shanghai, Xinjiang, Jiangsu, Shaanxi, Jiangxi, and Anhui, some schools of higher education have a potential. This has been proved by facts.

Some comrades say that the enrollment of day students is the way for colleges, but that it can be done only after the question of dormitories for the students is solved. We cannot understand the causality in this argument. We believe that conducting day schools for local students is a good way to ease the shortage of dormitories for the students. On the contrary, if the matter of dormitories should be solved first, then why do we have to conduct day schools? Indeed, there is the problem of transport facilities. However, if we positively make practical and effective efforts, it will be much easier to deal with the question of transport than with the question of dormitories.

Potentiality is an objective reality. The question is whether people can correctly recognize and use it. We should say that the greatest potential comes from reform. In the past 30 years, our institutes of higher education have had many troubles with their method of conducting schools and with their system and structure of education. If we further emancipate our thinking and make a determination for reform, we can open up new ways to develop our higher education. At present, enrollment of every college student will cost the state more than 1,800 yuan each year. The chief expense is for capital construction, plus funds for equipment and grant-aid students. At some day colleges conducted by the localities for students who pay their own expenses, every student generally costs less than 200 yuan each year. Of course, the other schools cannot possibly cut their expenses down to this level. However, if the institutes of higher education can reform their educational system, boarding-school system, and grant-aid system, it will be certainly possible to cut expenditures.

Our country is still very poor, and so all quarters should make careful calculations and strict budgeting, get more done with less money, and stress practical economic results. We should follow this principle in conducting our schools. Poor people cannot act like rich people. Accomodating all students as boarders is not necessarily a good way to operate.

Broadening the avenues of education can promote stability and unity.

Should we broaden the avenues of ecucation? Can we do it? How can we do it? It is very necessary to carry out such discussions. In doing so, we may help people in all circles of society and the broad ranks of young people to see fully that the party and the state are doing everything possible to solve the existing difficulties personnel. Because, first, without millions and up to tens of millions of qualified specialized personnel, it will be difficult to produce tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts; secondly, even if there are tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts, it will also be necessary to have millions and up to tens of millions of personnel in specific fields working in coordination so that experts can truly play their roles. Both objectives must be kept firmly in mind; neither one may be cast aside lightly. Otherwise, we will fall into blindness and onesideness, will have no way to properly integrate quantity with quality, and so forth. The experience and lessons of the British people deserve our reference. The number of first-rate British scientists who have won Nobel prizes is next only to that of the United States; it is more than that of West Germany, and many more than that of Japan. However, why cannot Great Britain compete with West Germany and Japan in economy and technology? Why is the status of Great Britain daily declining in international trade? An important cause is that they have overlooked the training of large numbers of technical personnel. Though West Germany and Japan do not have as many Nobel laureates as Great Britain, they have a great many engineers and experts in various lines of trade. On the one hand, [Yan Si] sets training 10,000 - 20,000 of the world's first-rate experts against broadening the avenues of education, and on the other hand he says that by doing this we may integrate quantity with quality, and popularization with improvement. This way of discussion and illustration can hardly convince people.

Do institutes of higher education have any potential?

Some comrades disapprove of broadening the avenues of education; however, they cannot but admit that our institutes of higher learning have too few students and are truly in need of expanding the enrollment of students. However, it is said that it can't be done at present because the conditions do not exist.

Yan Si and other comrades say that education is no different from economy and requires a period of readjustment. We also agree that education requires a period of readjustment. However, we believe that both readjustment and the tapping of potential can be carried out without conflict. Why is special emphasis laid on "tapping potential, innovation, and renovation" in the readjustment of economic work, while we cannot tap the potential in our readjustment of educational undertakings? Why is it that, once tapping potential is mentioned, it appears that we are opposing readjustment?

Some comrades have suggested organizing persons from various quarters for an investigation into the schools to see if there is any potential. This, of course, is very appropriate. We believe that it is really necessary to carry out this work of investigation, to make an inspection in a responsible way, and to find out once and for all whether or not there is any potential, and, if there is, how great it is and how to tap it. As a matter of fact, are not these the facts of broadening the avenues of education which we enumerated in the beginning of this article, our rewards from taking the initiative to investigate and to tap our potential? Some comrades do not like to compare the ratio of teachers to students in our country with that in foreign countries. Well, then, we might as well make a comparison with our own past situation. On the average, there was a teacher for every 7.1 students in 1952, 6.3 students in 1957, 4.9 students in 1965, and 4.3 students in 1979. At present, our institutes of higher education have more than 200,000 teachers. If the number of students under each teacher is increased 10 percent, then over 20,000 more students can be enrolled. According to an in the field of higher education. Just like carrying out discussions on broadening the avenues of employment, newspapers and magazines in recent months have carried out discussions on broadening the avenues of education, thus greatly strengthening the faith of the masses in the party and the state. Through discussion, we may open our minds, free ourselves from mental shackles, and find out various ways of broadening the avenues of education. Through discussion, the broad ranks of young people may be helped to deal correctly with the problem of going to higher level schools, so that more young people and parents may consciously accept various ways of conducting schools. Through discussion, the concern and support of the whole party and the entire society may also be further aroused towards the cause of education. Naturally, in the course of discussion there will be differences of opinion. This is also a normal phenomenon. The more we discuss, the clearer becomes the truth. Whoever offers a correct suggestion in the discussions, we will accept it.

Some comrades have argued that the discussion on broadening the avenues of education and the newspaper reports that Shanghai institutes of higher education have enrolled day students who pay their own expenses will encourage young people to demand further study in higher level schools, and that since our institutes of higher education can enroll only a limited number of students, this problem will become more acute and will affect the stability of the whole society. Facts have proved that the "disturbances" that emerged in the work of enrollment this year were no more serious than those in past years. There is no ground to say that the stability of the whole society will be affected.

What is difficult for people to understand is why any suggestion of broadening the avenues of education can arouse suspicion that young people who are unable to go to school will be incited to make trouble. If such kind of logic can stand, then won't giving publicity to the "two preparations"--that is, making preparation for going to school and also making preparation for employment--all the more arouse a twofold suspicion that young people will be so incited? By the same token, shouldn't the slogan of broadening the avenues of employment be similarly rejected? Obviously there is no way to make one's statements consistent. As regards those who compare comrades advocating broadening the avenues of education with "Chi Qun [6688 5028] and his ilk" and who draw a false analogy between them, we all the more cannot understand their purpose. We earnestly hope that in the future, Comrade Yan Si will not treat his comrades this way, because this way of doing things will not contribute in the slightest to the discussion and solution of the problem. We welcome criticisms of our point of view. However, in discussion one should take the scientific attitude of presenting the facts and reasoning things out. We hope that this discussion can continue by seeking truth from facts and that still more comrades will participate in this discussion, which has a bearing on the development of our cause of education. Through this discussion, we can pool the wisdom of the masses, explore avenues to reform our higher education undertakings, and help them really make great progress in the 1980's.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI EDUCATORS DISCUSS HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 80 p 2

[Article: "Ideas on University Education Reform"]

[Text] In the first part of July, the CCP Shaanxi Provincial Committee's Culture and Education Department convened in Xian personages comprising a portion of the world of higher education to discuss the questions of the reform and development of higher education. They discussed the following problems:

Reform the structure, and develop many varieties of higher education.

At present, the structure of our country's institutions of higher education is very unreasonable; the problems of "at one fell swoop" and sweeping uniformity are rather conspicuous; the structure is very difficult to adapt to the many needs of building the four modernizations, and it is not advantageous for raising the quality of education or developing the enterprise of education. People consider that if we want to change this circumstance, first we must develop schools of literature, law, and commerce, in order to speed up the cultivation of managerial talent for administrative and economic work. At present schools of literature, law, and commerce are, proportionately, too small. Concerned departments of Shaanxi Province, having studied the matter, consider that we must create the proper conditions to gradually enlarge the scale of the recruitment of students for the presently-existing schools of literature, law, and commerce; offer economic management courses in our engineering schools, with schools having the proper conditions establishing specialized economic management departments; and organize the schools to take on the task of training cadres at their posts; they can also send teachers to teach classes at the offices and institutions where they work, raising the cultural and scientific level of party political cadres and factory management personnel. Secondly, we must manage our schools in such a way as to have various types of school, so that [the students] can bring into full play the areas in which they are most skilled. Everyone points out that at present in full-time higher schools of engineering, with respect to the various aspects of training goals, the number of years set for study, teaching plans, and the offering of courses, there exists to one degree or another the disadvantage of excessive uniformity. They endorsed the idea of dividing schools of higher education into three types. That is, for schools of science and engineering the first type would be the minority of schools providing a comparatively solid theoretical basis and having a comparatively high level of teachers, training the various types of theoretical scientific personnel, scientific researchers, and university teachers. This type of school, in addition to doing a good job of teaching undergraduate courses, should gradually enlarge its proportion of graduate students. The second type of school should place most of its emphasis on the application of theory, training engineering and technical personnel who will be engaged in the practical work of design and manufacturing. The third type of school should place most of its emphasis on training in practical technical skills, training mainly people in the area of industrial technology. Everyone considers that with this dividing up into different types of school, one can have a reasonable division of labor in the training targets, students will be able to bring their special aptitudes into full play, bring out their special qualities, and one will be able, in a planned way, to enable all types of talent to have a coordinated development, in order to suit the many needs of developing the national economy. For the educational systems of these several types of schools, one can have 5-year, 4-year, and also 3-year and 2-year systems; a school can also have several systems of undergraduate courses, special training courses, etc. Some comrades say that from the point of view of realizing the four modernizations, in the composition of talent in the theoretical sciences, applied science, and the techniques of industrial technology, it is necessary to place a greater part of our efforts towards raising the proportion of personnel in applied science and industrial technology.

In running our universities, we must effect coordination.

Of the 39 institutions of higher education in Shaanxi at present, 22 are affiliated with the department of culture and education, and 17 are affiliated with the province. This difference in their affiliation has led to a situation in which there is duplication in setting up programs for specialized trades and professions in the various schools, and the use of manpower and material resources is scattered. Everyone cites as an example Xian's College of Metallurgical Construction, which in its construction aspect has a very good foundation, yet owing to the fact that it is under the metallurgy section, its potential cannot fully be brought into play; in addition, the State Building Committee also has to operate separately a Northwest Architectural Engineering College in Xian, and the Ministry of Communication also manages a specialized construction program for industrial and civil use at the Institute of Highway Engineering. In the entire province there are no less than 36 institutions for specialized trades and professions in the mechanical and engineering field. Under these circumstances, how can we arrange things under a unified plan, and bring the advantages at our disposal into full play? Everyone considers that we must put coordination into effect. With an institution of higher education being under the leadership of a single department, other departments can then invest in setting up the faculties or specialized programs they need. At present, the state's head office of goods and materials has set up a department of goods and materials at the Shaanxi College of Finance and Economics, which is affiliated with the main office of the People's Bank. This is a good method requiring little investment and showing quick results. Local areas can also set up, according to need, programs for specialized trades and professions in schools affiliated with the department [of culture and education], or manage branch schools with a day school system on the school's behalf, providing the appropriate subsidies. Owing to the fact that each province is financially responsible [for the students it enrolls], institutions of higher education affiliated with the province have met with obstacles in recruiting students in other provinces and cities; they consider that schools and programs for specialized trades and professions affiliated with the province that are faced with the problem of recruiting students over a broad area can consult with the relevant provinces and collect a training fee according to the number of students recruited from outside the province. In doing this, it is necessary to afford the schools a certain amount of autonomy.

Open all avenues for study; manage our schools so as to have many different forms of instruction.

Everyone considers that we must open up all avenues for study, and adopt the guiding principle of walking with both our legs at once. This is made necessary by the conditions of our country and population being large, our [technical] foundation poor, and our economy undeveloped; the young people waiting to enter a profession are many, and our workers and staff members' scientific and technical level is low. Along with doing a good job of managing our regular, full-time universities realistically we must also do a good job of television and radio instruction, correspondence education, as well as work/study programs and all types of spare-time education for workers and staff members; the central government, the provinces, and the cities should manage education, and the individual enterprises should also engage in education. In short, we should adopt many forms in developing higher education.

We must actively develop a day school system. Everyone considers that nearly 3 years of experience in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Xian of managing these universities by having them divided into separate schools proves that, in having the cities enroll new day students, both operating expenses and capital construction investment can be cut, and so this method should be encouraged. Concerned departments of society can set up "students' residences" and actively solve the problems of transportation and board in order to create the proper conditions for putting day school programs into effect. We must make a great effort to develop a university of the air consisting of television and radio broadcasts so that, along with enrolling on-the-job staff members and workers in these courses, we can also recruit young people who have graduated from senior middle school and are waiting to enter a profession, enabling them also to receive a university education.

We must raise our teachers' level, and tap their potential.

The comrades taking part in the conference unanimously consider that the decisive factor in raising the quality of teaching is the teachers themselves, and we must strengthen our building of the ranks of teachers, and raise the teachers' level of competence. At present we must train many more teachers for basic level courses, and gradually change the circumstance of the unreasonable composition of the ranks of teachers. We must encourage the various schools to arrange for those teachers whose level of teaching competence is high to teach some of their courses at other schools. In particular, older, established schools should support new schools whose teaching force is weak. At present, in a great many institutions of higher education first-rank teachers comprise only about half of the total number of teachers, and the latent potential of the teachers is very great. How can we bring this potential into play? Some comrades suggest that we should put into effect a system of distribution of pay according to work done, according to the principle that those who work more will receive more, and put into effect a system of basic pay supplemented by rewards, as follows: those who complete their teaching assignment will draw their basic pay; those who exceed their teaching assignment will be issued a teaching subsidy in addition; and those who fail to complete the basic amount of work assigned to them will be given less pay--thus rewarding the first rank of teachers. In defining completion of the basic teaching work, it is presupposed that income earned from writing or editing books, as well as rewards for the results of scientific research, will be retained by the teachers. As for management cadres, laboratory personnel, and political and ideological assistants, a system of on-station allowances can be put into effect, encouraging the cadres to do a good job of their managerial work, and encouraging the teachers to work in the laboratories. The allowances can be set up in several grades; those at their post will receive an allowance, while those who leave their work stations will have their allowance canceled.

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SHAANXI EDUCATION BUREAU SELECTS TOP SCIENTISTS FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Shaanxi Provincial Higher Education Bureau Places Importance on Selecting Those Who Are Tops in Their Field"]

[Text] The reporters Yang Zhihan and Zhang Ruixi reported that, in order to raise the level of scientific research and teaching in schools of higher education, the Shaanxi Provincial Higher Education Bureau attaches great importance to the selection of people at the head of their fields to undertake research projects. The first group of 45 top people selected from their research; 37 important scientific research projects were directed or completed by this group, amounting to 34 percent of the important research results achieved by Shaanxi's schools of higher education. Recently, the higher education bureau again selected from the various schools a second group of persons who are leaders in their fields, of which the majority are young and middle-aged teachers.

These top people were selected on the basis of having experience and ability--those having a good theoretical basis, comparatively strong research ability, and rich practical experience, and who are capable of producing important results within a period of 3-5 years. After their selection, the Shaanxi Higher Education Bureau in cooperation with the various schools conscientiously solved the problem of providing the various conditions necessary for their research. At present, for the first group of 45 persons (apart from a minority), those who needed assistants have been provided with them, those whose living quarters were not up to standard have had this matter adjusted, and those who were having difficulties with expenses were allotted money from a special fund. Northwest University's assistant professor Du Wenhu [2629 2429 5706] is engaged in research in analytical chemistry, and is in charge of the work of the analysis center. In order to guarantee the needs of his research, the Shaanxi Provincial Science Committee introduced from abroad a combined color- and mass spectrometer worth 600,000 yuan. Professor Zhao Hongzhang [6392 3163 3864] of the Northwest Agricultural Institute is engaged in the work of breeding varieties of wheat. He needed to construct a greenhouse, so the provincial authorities raised a special fund and built one for him.

The provincial higher education bureau in cooperation with the various schools, on the basis of national and local needs, the special fields taught by the schools, and the individual researchers' special areas of scientific expertise, assists the leading scientists in clearly determining the direction of their research and the topics for research.

Concerned departments and schools of the province also actively support and arrange for them to participate in international scientific exchange movements and improve themselves by comparing views with distinguished international scientists, raising their level of research capability. Of the first group of 45 top scientists, 13 have taken part in international scientific conferences, or gone abroad to teach, observe and study, engage in advanced studies, and work for short periods.

Over the past year the first group of top scientists, with the assistance of concerned departments, have already achieved many important research results. Our country's famous geologist, Professor Zhang Bosheng [1728 0130 5116] of Northwest University, completed "Wave Formations in the Earth's Crust in China and their Causes and Effects," "Wave-form Mosaic Structure of the Earth's Crust in China," and "An Understanding of the Laws Governing the Movement of the Earth's Crust in the Areas of Tianshan, Qilianshan, and Qinling," articles totaling 150,000 characters further elucidating and enriching his "inlay" theory of geological structure. Professor Zhao Hongzhang [6392 3163 3864], continuing his work with the many varieties of wheat he had cultivated in the past, developed several new varieties of wheat; these new varieties have high yield and good quality, and are already being grown experimentally. Prof Dong Shufen [5516 3219 5358] of the Xian Institute of Medicine completed his research on the treatment of paralysis of the facial nerves associated with cartilage transplant. The article "Topological Elements of Pattern 1" by lecturer Wang Guojun [3769 0948 0193] was our country's first article bringing topological research to the point of effective success in topological pattern theory, and it possessed definite creativity.

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LEFTIST INTERPRETATION OF ROLE OF SCHOOLS REFUTED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [RESEARCH IN EDUCATION] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 14-20

[Article by Cheng Youxin [2052 2589 0207]: "Are Schools an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship?"]

[Text] To realize their conspiracy to usurp the party and seize power, the "gang of four" in January 1974 pointed the spearhead at our beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai under the pretext of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. In concert with this, they also put forth the slogan "Schools Are an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship." From 31 March to 23 April [1974] the "gang of four's" diehard follower in Liaoning convened a conference on this matter. Immediately after the conference, they published on the entire front page of LIAONING RIBAO, together with a report of the conference, an editorial headlined "Schools Must Be an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship." Subsequently, LIAONING RIBAO and LIAONING JIAOYU published one article after another publicizing this slogan. In the winter of that same year, Chi Qun [6688 5028], a trusted follower of the "gang of four," again convened a so-called "Learn from Zhao Nong" conference in Liaoning, launching this slogan throughout the whole country.

What is strange is that after the smashing of the "gang of four," the formulation that "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" is still being expounded and propagated by some educational publications and books as a correct proposition. This creates for people the impression that it is an accurate and scientific formulation. The facts, however, are not so. This formulation is neither accurate nor scientific. It is a formulation long ago abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin. The "gang of four" picked it up again in order to turn schools into an instrument for the promotion of feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" so as to usurp the party and seize power.

I

From the standpoint of Marxist-Leninism, dictatorship is the essence of the state. It is political domination by the ruling class, the implementation of suppressive force over the dominated class. The instruments of dictatorship are different from concepts of dictatorship. Lenin said: "A standing army and police are the major effective instruments of state power."[1] That is to say, the instruments of dictatorship refer to such organs as the military and police that carry out suppression by force.

The dictatorship of the proletariat refers to "political domination by the proletariat";[2] it refers to "the seizure of power by the proletariat to suppress all resistance by the exploiters."[3] Lenin also said: "Although force is indispensable to a dictatorship, it is not simply force but labor organization--a higher form than the previous organization."[4]

Summarizing the basis of Lenin's thought mentioned above, Stalin elaborated on the functions of proletarian dictatorship this way. He said: "...the first function is to suppress the overthrown class within the state.... The second function is to defend the state against external intrusion.... Here there is a third function, the economic organization work and cultural education work of all organs of our state."[5]

When Lenin discussed the characteristics of a state under proletarian dictatorship, he called it a "semi-state."[6] It is because this state differs from those in the past: first, this is a state with a majority of toilers and a minority of oppressors and exploiters. It also has the function of organizing economic and cultural education work, which is an increasingly important status and increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state."[7] Moreover, its future course is toward extinction.

Obviously, a semi-state has a very important level of meaning. In other words, only half of the state under a proletarian dictatorship retains the original significance of the state in its suppressive force commonly shared by "political states"[8] and all dictatorships. The other half, organization and management of the economy and cultural education, is no longer a state in its original sense but increasingly becomes a "nonpolitical state" or a nonstate, a nondictatorship.

From this, we can summarize by saying Lenin and Stalin regarded the functions of proletarian dictatorship as the two functions of suppressive force by the "political state" or semi-state and the function of economic and cultural management by the "nonpolitical state" or nonstate, the nondictatorship.

The two are supplementary to each other; the growth of one causes the decline of the other. Without suppressive force by the semi-state, there will be no safeguard for the conditions of the development of socialist economy and cultural education. Without the management function for the economy and cultural education by the other half of the nonstate, the nondictatorship, the withering away of the semi-state cannot be spurred and communism cannot be achieved. In other words, the historical mission of the period of proletarian dictatorship cannot be completed without one or the other. It is precisely in this sense that the substance of economic and cultural educational construction by the nonstate, nondictatorship half of the state is included in the concept of proletarian dictatorship. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin and Stalin discussed proletarian dictatorship.

To understand this question from a different point of view, one cannot include the construction of socialist economic and cultural education in the concept of the semi-state, but one should include it in the concept of the nonstate, nondictatorship half. In other words, the substance and function of suppressive force in the proletarian semi-state absolutely must not be confused or equated with that of the proletarian, nonstate, nondictatorial half, which is one of economic and cultural education construction. They are two essentially different things.

In his essays "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong elaborated on the substance and functions of proletarian dictatorship from the standpoint of general Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and dictatorship. As a result, he called the first two functions discussed by Stalin--the internal repression of enemy resistance and the safeguard against enemy intrusion by the proletarian dictatorship--the two functions of dictatorship. He did not call the third function discussed by Stalin, that of economic function and cultural educational construction, the third function of dictatorship.[9] In his two essays, Comrade Mao Zedong treats the function of suppressive force in the "nonpolitical state' as the goal of proletarian dictatorship.[10]

To sum up, the use of suppressive force by the bourgeoisie and all exploitative classes belong to the "political state," which is the central substance and essential function of proletarian dictatorship. Only in a specific sense can we treat socialist, economic, and cultural education construction, which increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state," as the substance and function of proletarian dictatorship.

As to what an instrument of proletarian dictatorship is, first we should clearly understand that it is not the same concept as the dictatorship of the proletariat. An instrument of proletarian dictatorship refers to an organ for the organization and implementation of the function of proletarian dictatorship, not preletarian dictatorship itself. It must also be understood that only the organ of this political state that has the function of organizing and implementing force by suppression, the organ for the essential function of proletarian dictatorship, can be called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Only in a specific sense can an organ for organizing and implementing economic and cultural educational construction, which increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state," be called an organ for the function of proletarian dictatorship and not an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

We have sufficient basis for saying this, because in the writings of Marxist-Leninism, it is only the organ for organizing and implementing the "political state," that is, the function of suppressive force, that can be called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Never is an organ that is to carry out the function of organizing socialist, economic, and cultural education work called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Comrade Mao Zedong inherited and upheld this Marxist-Leninist point of view. In his essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he said: "The military, police, courts, and other organs are instruments of oppression of one class by another"[11] and are the instruments of proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Mao Zedong's formulations above have great theoretical and practical significance. These formulations have severely drawn the boundary between what is proletarian dictatorship and what is not, and between what is an instrument of proletarian dictatorship and what is not. According to the formulations of Comrade Mao Zedong, we are not to confuse an organ of suppressive force with an organ of economic and cultural education construction, nor two essentially different kinds of contradictions. We will neither regard the school as an instrument of proletarian dictatorship nor carry out "the dictatorship of the Proletariat" over teachers, students, staff workers and their various ideological problems.

Proceeding from Lenin's viewpoint on the "semi-state," we further understand the following: Since not every socialist state organ is an instrument of proletarian dictatorship, except for the core portion of the organ of the corresponding "political state" from the standpoint of political law, and since its noncore portion or organ of the "nonpolitical state" is not [such an instrument], then not all parts of the superstructure of socialism can be regarded as instruments of proletarian dictatorship. This is because one part alone, the above-mentioned state organs of military, police, and courts, has the function of suppressive force, thereby making these [organs] instruments of proletarian dictatorship. Other parts, such as literature and art, morality, and philosophy, are merely proletarian ideology, whose function it is to serve proletarian politics and socialist construction by propagating proletarian ideology, morality, and world views rather than suppressing by force. Therefore, they basically cannot be spoken of as instruments of proletarian dictatorship. The most we can say is that they have class character, and that their chief social function is to serve as an instrument of proletarian class struggle in the realm of ideology.

II

Are schools, then, instruments of proletarian dictatorship!

In our opinion, no!

We know that education is the objective existence of a kind of social phenomenon in human society, a kind of practice and activity of mankind. In other words, education is a kind of complex phenomenon that includes materialistic and conscious aspects, not simply certain kinds of conscious phenomena.

It is the specific function of education to nurture a new generation of people in society. This is a common phenomenon that exists in any society. In this sense, education is a lasting category in human society. Marx said: "In order to change the nature of people in general so that it attains the technical ability and skill of particular labor departments, there must be particular education and training."[12]

A society can exist and develop only when its members are able to satisfy the demands of corresponding productive forces and productive relations. Therefore, every society has demands of its new generation in two areas: the possession of mutually adaptive knowledge and ability with existing productive forces, and the possession of mutually adaptive neutrality and character with productive relations. Of course, knowledge and ability, mentality and character are interrelated and interact with one another.

Obviously, these two areas of demands can be satisfied only when the new generation develops mentally under normal conditions. In this way, development and training of these three areas form the three major components of education: intellectual, moral, and physical development.

Evidently, so-called education, the essence or special function of education, is when the people of a given society (through educators) carry out goals, plans, and organized development and training on the basis of normal mental growth in order that they may obtain knowledge and ability mutually adaptive with existing productive forces, as well as mentality and character mutually adaptive with existing productive relations, and become the new persons demanded by that society.

Everyone knows that in a class society, the normal mental growth of the new generation as well as the knowledge and ability mutually adaptive with the level of productive forces which they obtain are without class character. Only political morality, spirit, and character mutually adaptive with productive relations have an extremely strong class character. In other words, among these three areas, only political morality, spirit, and character possess the characteristics of the superstructure; they alone rapidly change as a direct result of changes in the economic foundation. The other two areas do not have the characteristics of the superstructure, because they do not change rapidly following changes in the economic foundation. Rather, they change as a direct result of changes in productive forces and changes in the entire social material cultural conditions which are inevitably determined by productive forces.

This is also the case when viewed from another angle. The law that reflects the course of the normal mental growth of the new generation, as well as educational ideology and the corresponding substance, forms, and methods of teaching of the law that reflects the course of mastering knowledge and training in ability that are mutually adaptive with productive forces--all these basically do not possess class character or the characteristics of the superstructure. They change correspondingly as a direct consequence of changes in the productive forces and conditions in the entire society's material culture (as well as the people's knowledge and ability determined by this), not in direct consequence of changes in the economic foundation. Educational ideology and things that correspond to it possess class character and characteristics of the superstructure only if they reflect the political morality, spirit, and character demanded of the new generation by a particular class interest and a particular class. This is why they change correspondingly in direct consequence to changes in the economic foundation, and not to productive forces.

In this sense, then, education is a category in history; certain of its parts have class character and possess the characteristics of the superstructure.

From the above, it is clear that education is a lasting category in human society and is also a category in history. It has a historical character and certain of its parts have a class character.

Therefore, with regard to education we can only say that it partially possesses certain characteristics of the superstructure. We cannot say that it entirely possesses the characteristics of the superstructure. Hence our conclusion is that, viewed as a whole, education is not the superstructure.

At present, education in political morality, spirit, and character of our socialism has class character. But its class character is manifested in methods to convince, exemplify, and influence the new generation to accet the ideology, morality, and world views of communism. It is not manifested in the method of suppressive force to enable the new generation to accept proletarian ideology, morality, and world views (which of course would be impossible). Thus we can only say that education is a cultural instrument that serves proletarian politics through the propagation of proletarian ideology.

This is all the more true with education as a whole. It serves socialist politics and construction by disseminating scientific and cultural knowledge as well as proletarian ideology; it does not do so by suppressive force.

As an organ of socialist education, schools evidently are a cultural organ that disseminates scientific, cultural knowledge, and proletarian ideology, not an organ of prolertarian dictatorship that carries out the function of force by suppression. Consequently, schools basically are nothing like an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

From another standpoint, as we have already discussed in the last section, since literature and art, morality, and philosophy which function in disseminating proletarian ideology, morality, and world views, and which form the organic components of the socialist superstructure, cannot be regarded as instruments of proletarian dictatorship, then this is even less so in the case of schools, which function in disseminating scientific, cultural knowledge and proletarian ideology to the next generation to make them new socialist persons, and which as a whole do not belong to the superstructure.

III

The present question is, how should we treat the formulation that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship," as dealt with in "Articles on National Education in the Ninth Party Program"[13] in the draft party program of the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), which was revised, checked, and approved by Lenin?

In our opinion, the correct attitude should be: first, we must accept the test of practice; and second, we must place it in the context of the entire theoretical scientific system and understand it completely and correctly.

There are two drafts concerning national education in Volume 29 of the "Collected Works of Lenin."

In the section on politics, "Basic Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship in Russia," in his "Draft Preliminary Program of the Russian Communist Party," Lenin said: "In national education, the tasks that Russian Communists have set for themselves are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began at the time of the October Revolution in 1917, and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the destruction of this kind of domination and for the complete elimination of class distinctions in society. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat--that is, the period to prepare the conditions for the complete realization of communism--schools should become not only the transmitters of the general principles of communism but, on the basis of ideology, organization, and education, then should actualize the influence of proletarian dictatorship among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian toiling masses. Their goal is to nurture a generation of people who can ultimately make communism a reality."[15] There is no mention here of how "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

The "Articles on National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) state: "In national education, the tasks that Russian Communists have set for themselves are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began at the time of the October Revolution in 1917, and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the destruction of this kind of domination and for the complete elimination of class distinctions in society. The schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. In other words, not only should they disseminate the general principles of communism but, in the areas of ideology, organization, and education, they should propagate the influence of the proletariat among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the toiling masses in order to thoroughly suppress resistance from exploiters and to realize the communist system."[16] Appearing here are the words "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

Item 12 of the section on politics in "Guiding Principles of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," which was drafted by the committee under Lenin's leadership[17] and passed by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, reads: "In national education, the tasks that the Russian Communist Party has set for itself are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began with the October Revolution in 1917 and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the elimination of class distinction in society and for the communist transformation of society. During the period of proletarian dictatorship, the period to prepare the conditions for the complete realization of communism, schools should not only disseminate the general principles of communism but, in the areas of ideology, organization, and education, they should also propagate the influence of the proletariat among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the toiling masses in order to nurture the next generation which can eventually establish communism."[18] Here, there is no mention of how "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

By comparing the quotations of the three documents above, we can see that the articles on national education in the party program passes by the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) used the overall wording of the "Basic Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship in Russia" in the "Draft Preliminary Program of the Russian Communist Party." Or, we can say that a significant revision was made to the "Articles Concerning National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), as the line "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was deleted.

As for the words used in the "Articles Concerning National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), if we understand them not just literally but in terms of the substance of the entire passage, then their meaning becomes very clear. The meaning of the passage is this: Socialist schools are a cultural organ for the dissemination of the general principles of communism and for influencing the semiproletarian and nonproletarian toiling masses with proletarian ideology; they are not the proletariat's organ of dictatorship by means of suppressive force. Having such a proletarian cultural organ as the schools, with the schools playing their role, is "beneficial to the thorough suppression of the resistance of the exploiters" as well as to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. This does not mean that the school as a cultural organ is an organ of suppressive force which directly "suppresses resistance from exploiters," not does it mean that the schools themselves are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

Obviously, this article does not demand that schools should have the function of suppression by force or that they should be an organ to carry out such a function. In essence, therefore, this article does not demand that schools become an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. In other words, the formulation in the article that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" contradicts the spirit of the whole passage and does not match its label. Consequently, we must conclude that the formulation is inaccurate and unscientific.

Obviously it is absolutely no coincidence that Lenin and the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) deleted the formulation that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship." This is not only completely correct in theory, but politically it has a great foresight. Since the deletion of this formulation was based on scientific knowledge about the function of socialist schools, it eliminated the basis for subsequent use by characters like the "gang of four" to carry out counterrevolutionary destruction.

IV

Why did the "gang of four" become so interested in such a formulation, that had been abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin, and advertise it everywhere?

This is because they needed such an ambigous formulation. It facilitated their exploitation of loopholes and the selling of their own anti-Leninist goods under Lenin's banner for their feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship."

They stripped the essence of the article and quoted this inaccurate and abandoned formulation out of context, with the aim of distorting the function of socialist schools. They described socialist schools as an instrument of proletarian dictatorship so that they could turn them into a tool for carrying out the function of suppression by force, exercise feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" over the broad masses of teachers, students, and staff workers, and further use them as a counterrevolutionary instrument to usurp the party and seize power.

In other words, the slogan "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was an organic component of the "theory" of the "gang of four's" feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." It was part of their long-planned counterrevolutionary conspiracy to use the schools as an organ of force to carry out feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" and as a counterrevolutionary instrument to usurp the party and seize power.

Not only did the "gang of four" think and talk this way, but they also acted this way. After they put forth this slogan, they immediately clamored to run the university as their (the gang's) political university to "advance, discipline, change," as well as to turn all professions into professions for seizing "capitalist roaders." Consequently, characters like Zhang Tiesheng [1728 6993 3932] and Xue Niuzai [5641 3662 8342] emerged at that time; illiterates and hoodlums appeared in large numbers. The "gang of four" made use of these followers to inflame and agitate the people, to seize "capitalist roaders" at all levels, and to struggle with "agents" everywhere, thereby creating for our party and motherland a serious political crisis that began in 1975 and culminated in 1976.

Socialist schools are a cultural organ for the dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge as well as proletarian ideology. In turning them into an organ of dictatorship of suppressive force, the "gang of four" was bound to bring about chaos in the schools; teachers could not teach, and students could not study. The broad masses of youths wasted their time without all-round moral, intellectual, and physical development, and they did not learn the skills to serve the four modernizations of socialism. Some of the youths became immoral, and a minority of them became poisoned, degenerating into ruffians. The broad masses of teachers, students, and staff workers were reduced to prisoners. Our fine and perfect socialist institution of culture and learning became a dark prison of feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." All this created a crisis in education and talent in our country.

These were the evil consequences bred from the outrage and the belittling of the law of education itself after the "gang of four," with their ulterior motives, picked up the formulation abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin.

V

The Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) convened in March 1919. The moment in which this congress was being prepared and convened was precisely the moment when the imperialist war of intervention and the civil war were tensely going on. At that time, the reactionary Russian Bourgeoisie and some of the counterrevolutionary intellectuals launched all-out resistance against various new areas developed by the soviets, including military, political, economic, and educational areas. Lenin was wounded by an assassin; class struggle became exceedingly intense; and the new Soviet state found itself in a critical situation! It was inevitable that certain individual formulations in the draft party program written within this historical background would bear the heavy brand of the times. The formulation "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was a distinct manifestation of this. However, as we have discussed earlier, this formulation and the spirit of the entire article are contradictory, so it was deleted by the congress and Lenin.

The Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Government, under the leadership of Lenin and later of Stalin, were unswervingly faithful to the guiding principles passed by their party congress. In the past decades, we have never seen the formulation "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" in the party and government documents of the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of liberation, the general formulation concerning education in our literature on education was that education is a lasting category and also a category in history; it is a social phenomenon related to the superstructure and has class character in a class society. The formulation in the "Directives on Educational Work" in 1958 was that "education must serve proletarian politics." What is noteworthy is that, by that time, the formulation of education being the superstructure had already appeared. After 1962, with the renewed emphasis on class struggle, there appeared in the literature on educational theories large numbers of incomplete and inaccurate formulations on the essence of education, such as education is an instrument of class struggle and education is the superstructure. Nevertheless, the slogan "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" never appeared in our party documents on education.

It was only in 1974, when the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was on the rampage, that diehard and trusted followers of the "gang of four" once again picked up the formulation abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin. It was under their instigation that this formulation created a stir and ran rampant.

It was precisely under this situation that in our literature on education there appeared materials one article after another propagating this slogan.

What is extremely valuable is that at the time in 1975, Minister of Education Comrade Zhou Rongxin made a daring boycott against and acute criticism of this leftist slogan of the "gang of four." He said: Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have never suggested such a slogan as "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

This is an honest historical record of this question during the last half century or so.

Today, after the smashing of the "gang of four," there still continues to appear in some of our literature on education the ultraleftist slogan of a formulation which was long ago abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin, which has never been accepted by our party, and which became an ultraleftist slogan in the feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" promoted by the "gang of four." Is this not worthy of our profound consideration?

Using the mirror of history is extremely beneficial to a correct summation of our experiences and lessons.

In summary, it is evident that theory, practice, history, and reality all sufficiently prove that the formulation "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" is unscientific and inaccurate. It later became an ultraleftist slogan of the "gang of four" in promoting their feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." In our opinion, we should therefore abandon and criticize this formulation; in its place education must serve the four modernizations of socialism. This formulation of our party is more accurate in theory, and in practice it has undergone the test of history. This will help us to free ourselves from the "gang of four's" ultraleftist misrepresentations in education and science, correctly understand the essence of education, and perform our work according to the law of education itself. In this way, education can play its great role in serving socialist construction by disseminating proletarian ideology as well as scientific and cultural knowledge, as well as its great role in the work of uniting and educating the broad masses of workers and nurturing the new socialist man. This will have exceedingly great significance as we shift our strategic focus to the construction of the four modernizations of socialism and further develop theory and practice in education and science.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The State and Revolution," p 10.
2. "The State and Revolution," p 24.
3. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 80.
4. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 336.
5. "Problems of Leninism," People's Publishing House, pp 704-705.
6. "The State and Revolution," p 17.
7. "The State and Revolution," p 56.
8. "The State and Revolution," p 56.
9. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413. Vol 5, p 366.
10. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413. Vol 5, p 366.
11. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413.
12. "On Capital," Vol 1, p 195.
13. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, note 13.
14. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 905, note 221.
15. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 88.
16. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 107.
17. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 905, note 221.
18. "A Compilation of Resolutions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Part 1, pp 538-539.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ADVANTAGES OF CONTRACT MANAGEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Proper Allocation of Graduates

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1684], Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Higher Education: "Planned Management Should Be Integrated With Contract Management in Institutes of Higher Learning"]

[Text] The system of leadership of our institutes of higher education consists mainly of three types: leadership of the state (through the leadership of the Ministry of Education), leadership of various central vocational departments, and the leadership of local authorities. The practice of planned management can guarantee the steady progress of the undertakings of higher learning and can be advantageous to the establishment of the normal order of education.

However, planned management has its imperfect aspects: 1) The present enrollment plan does not proceed entirely from national requirements and is often determined according to the existing conditions of various schools. This has brought about the following situation: some specialities enrolled too many students who could not be assigned to jobs after graduation, while other specialities had too few students. For instance, many college graduates from the shipbuilding specialty have changed their line of profession by working in factories as welders and electricians. This year, however, eight institutes of higher education in the country still continued to enroll new students for their speciality of shipbuilding, while there is a shortage of students for the specialities of computer software and automation and in such fields as environmental protection, liberal arts, law, and commerce.
2) The departments responsible for various branches of work set up specialities only for their own needs, with the result that some schools cannot bring their potential into play. For instance, when Shanghai Jiaotong University, which was originally a famous polytechnic university, came under the responsibility of a central vocational department, some of the university's specialities which this department did not need, including that of hoist conveyors, could not but be withdrawn, so the university could not make use of its capability. However, the Ministry of Communications was in urgent need of personnel in this field; therefore, the Shanghai Institute of Sea Transportation newly set up a hoist conveyor specialty. If Jiaotong University could enroll students in this field for the ministry, would this not a way to achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results? 3) Many universities have great scientific research capabilities; however, the scientific research tasks

which the responsible departments assigned to them were inadequate, so their personnel and equipment stood idle. 4) At present, some methods of allocating funds and making investments in capital construction do not help to arouse enthusiasm for running schools and do not contribute to competition among the schools. The yearly allocation of funds cannot properly reflect the number of students enrolled by the schools and how well or poorly the schools have been run.

How are we to overcome these shortcomings, fully tap the potential of institutes of higher learning, and bring into play the superiority of these institutes? In our opinion, in addition to improving planned management, we must introduce a supplementary system of contract management. This means that after the planned tasks assigned by the responsible departments are fulfilled, schools may be permitted to make direct contact with various ministries and commissions, provincial and municipal authorities, and all vocational departments, and may sign contracts with them stipulating that the schools will supply them, according to schedule, with various specialized personnel and with the results of scientific research, and other contracted parties will provide the schools with funds, foreign exchange, capital funds, equipment, and other necessary conditions.

Among the many provisions of these contracts, there are the following four general arrangements:

1. Use school laboratories and school-run factories to serve society. Many schools of higher education have modern instruments and equipment and laboratories for scientific research which other organizations or departments may use for a certain period of time, provided this does not interfere with the education and research tasks of the schools. Last year, Shanghai Jiatong University earned 350,000 yuan from serving other units with its laboratory equipment and technology. In Shanghai there are 34 factories run by schools of higher learning which can produce electronic computers such as the DS 130, magnetic discs, cardiac pacemakers, laser scalpels, and some 80 varieties of new products. However, some of these factories are constantly short of production tasks. If they introduce the contract system and accept production tasks from other units (including foreign organizations), then they can bring their superiority into full play. Provinces and municipalities with favorable conditions can even set up laboratory centers of institutes of higher education and joint companies of school-run factories to serve society directly.

2. Urgently train required personnel for other units. For instance, in Shanghai there are five institutes of higher learning with a speciality in metallurgy. At present, Shanghai does not need so many graduates of the metallurgy speciality; however, some provinces and municipalities are short of personnel in this field and are thinking about establishing new institutes of metallurgy. If they give one-third of the funds they would use to build the new schools to the Shanghai institutes of higher education, the latter will train the necessary number of qualified personnel for them.

3. Bring into play the role of institutes of higher learning in the field of scientific research. With better qualified teachers, more comprehensive courses, and complete sets of instruments and equipment, institutes of higher learning have very favorable conditions for doing scientific research. In recent years, Shanghai schools of higher learning have conducted about one-fifth of the research projects of the

entire city, and achieved about one-fifth of the results. However, they still have a very great potential. Therefore, we should encourage and help institutes of higher learning to take positive steps to undertake projects closely related to the national economy and in coordination with their scientific research courses, and sign contracts with the departments and units of scientific research, production, and employment, which will give them assignments, including contracts for scientific research, for the dissemination of results and for the transfer of technology. These contracts should define the technical and financial responsibilities of both parties and stipulate specific plans to be enforced, according to schedule, which both parties should observe and check in fixed periods. In the past, institutes of higher learning did scientific research for units without remuneration, and when they achieved results, all the honor and profits went to the other units. This situation should definitely be changed.

4. Institutes of higher learning can disseminate knowledge. From the situation of Shanghai, it may be seen that many schools of higher education, particularly old universities and key colleges, have a considerable number of teachers. Some teaching and research sections are compelled to arrange several teachers teaching the same subject by turns. With a light burden and under small pressure, the teachers make improvement slowly. When teachers with ordinary qualifications are transferred to ordinary colleges to work, with a heavy burden and under great pressure, they have often achieved results very quickly and become key teachers. Therefore, we should encourage these teachers to go to other schools and units concurrently to teach and work. According to the incomplete satistics of a certain university, 488 teachers of this university (28 percent of the total number of teachers) concurrently gave more than 25,000 hours of outside lectures last year. I suggest that in the future these schools may send out their teaching and technical personnel in an organized and planned manner and sign contracts with units which require their services. Part of their remuneration will go to the schools; the other part to these teachers. In places of flourishing economy and culture, such as Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, the old universities may even organize, according to branches of learning and special subjects, a group of teaching and research personnel to go to universities and research institutes in frontier areas to work for 2 or 3 years. (Their residence registration will not be changed, and they will recieve the same wages as before, with a certain sum of allowance in addition.) Doing this not only can help institutes of higher education in frontier areas quickly improve the quality of their teaching and scientific research work but also can tap the potential of old universities in developed areas.

In conclusion, it is entirely necessary, and also entirely possible, to introduce a system of contract management, provided institutes of higher learning can fulfill the planned tasks assigned by the upper levels, and the quality of teaching and scientific research can be guaranteed. In this way we can flexibly run our socialist universities and colleges, widen the path of higher ecucation, and better cope with the requirements of the cause of the four modernizations.

Training of Qualified Persons

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Miao Jiahua [4924 1367 5478]: "The Contract System Can Also Be Adopted For the Training of Qualified Personnel"]

[Text] At present, we are using unified methods generally for the enrollment of college students and for their allocation to jobs upon their graduation from colleges. When the training and allocation of talented persons are included in the planning of the national economy and are placed under state planned management, there are many advantages. However, owing to difficulties in practical work and certain imperfections in certain specific systems, there are also some shortcomings, such as the following:

1. Dislocation between the enrollment and the allocation of students. The specific plan for the enrollment of students is laid down by the educational departments, but the allocation of graduates is controlled by the planning and personnel departments. When the plan of enrollment is being formulated, since various vocational departments cannot yet make an accurate estimate of the various categories of personnel required in the next few years, the planning departments can only roughly fix a total number of people, while all the institutes of higher education will fix the number of students to be enrolled for their specific specialities according to the actual accomodations which their specialities can give. This process is therefore somewhat deprived of reason and judgment. When the time comes to allocate college graduates, it emerges that there is more demand than supply of specialized personnel, and the number of graduates cannot meet the requirements; however, the supply of some specialized talent exceeds the demand, and the graduates cannot be placed. In 1979, universities and colleges in Shanghai graduated persons in a total of 185 specialities; however, the allocation of those graduates of 25 specialities, constituting 13.5 percent, met with difficulties, and some of them could not get employment for 3 consecutive years. As society required only a very few of some specialized talents, 85 percent of the graduates were compelled to change their lines of profession. This was a very great waste, and it also caused the frustration of enthusiasm of the schools, teachers, and students.

2. As institutes of higher learning are under the jurisdiction of different departments, the channels of allocation of their graduates are not freely open. At present, institutes of higher education are under the jurisdiction separately of either the central authorities or the local authorities; some are under educational departments and others under economic departments. Those under economic departments consider the training and allocation of personnel only within the scope of their own departments and have no cross-contact with other departments. Schools under local authorities also consider the training and allocation of personnel within the scope of their own localities, and they have no cross-contact with other localties. The Shanghai Second Medical College is under local control; its specialities of stomatology and pediatrics have a fairly good foundation and are among the best in the country. The department of stomatology can train 100 students each year, but Shanghai needs only 40 of them. The school cannot give full play to its superiority, while other places need such specialized personnel but have no institutes to train them.

3. There are some irrational aspects to the allocation of graduates. The units which receive the graduates--that is, the employers--do not bear any economic responsibility to the state, and take the personnel without compensation. This easily brings about the situation that when they want graduates, the more the better, but they will not cherish them in employment. Furthermore, according to regulations, college graduates can only be listed as state cadres and cannot become technical workers, so that some production posts which require higher special technology do not have the necessary personnel to take over. These regulations conceal the true situation of the demand for qualified personnel in society. Consequently, the

training and employment of personnel are isolated from the objective requirements of economic development. On the one hand, we recognize the value of talented persons and feel their shortage, and we want to train qualified personnel with great effort; on the other hand, there is a waste of talented persons who are employed to do what they have not learned. This is not advantageous to the development of higher education.

At present, we have integrated planned regulation with market regulation in industrial production, and we are striving to change the dislocation between production and marketing. There is also a need for reform in the schools for the training of talent. Under the present situation, it seems possible to introduce a contract system simultaneously with the practice of unified enrollment and allocation of talent, and to permit institutes of higher education to sign contracts with some employing units for the training of qualified personnel, as a supplement to the state plans.

The contract system calls for a clear definition as to the respective rights and obligations of the schools and the employing units, binding on both contracting parties. An employing unit may present its specific demands according to its requirements for the training of personnel, and it may reject those who are not qualified, to be "recycled" by the school. At the same time, it should also be stipulated that employing units must bear a part of the expense for the trianing of talented persons. As for the schools, they should fulfill the training tasks according to schedule, with a guarantee of quality and quantity, while they charge a part of the expense as school funds to be used to buy additional school equipment and improve the livelihood of teachers and staff members. As for the source of students, the schools may report to their responsible departments the additional number of students to be enrolled under contract for approval, as part of the unified enrollment. Also, they may recruit students directly from society, telling them first where they will be sent upon graduation.

The introduction of the contract system will change the situation of the "dislocation between production and marketing," so that the schools can train talented persons according to the needs of society. It can further arouse the enthusiasm of the schools for carrying out the work of education, tap fully the potential of their teachers and equipment, readjust the installation and scope of their specialities, bring their superiority into play, conduct their operation more flexibly, and thus turn out more specialized talents "marketable and in demand" for society. As far as society is concerned, the contract system can also expand cross-contacts between schools and the departments and localities, open new channels from the training of talented persons to the allocation of graduates, break through the restriction of a certain department or a certain locality, and help all departments and localities procure urgently required personnel without making a fresh start and by spending less money. Moreover, as the training of these specialized personnel proceeds truly from actual needs, and the employing units bear the economic expenses and are not going to get their personnel free of charge, they will utilize them with much greater care and will not make them do what they have not learned. As far as the government is concerned, with the adoption of the contract system, it will not be necessary to increase the investment in funds or to bear any responsibility for arranging employment for the graduates. The government can only use existing conditions to tap the potential of the institutes of higher education, develop the cause of higher learning, and help society procure a number of urgently required talents. It will lighten the pressure from various departments and localities, and from all lines of trade, to ask the government for personnel.

The key to the introduction of the contract system for training talented persons lies in the necessity of giving institutes of higher education some rights of decisionmaking, so that when they are negotiating with the employing units, they can truly become a party with authority to deal with them. Otherwise, it will be difficult to sign any contracts.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HU SHI'S ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT REEXAMINED

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[Article by Ouyang Jian [2962 7122 0256]: "Reevaluate Hu Shi's Textual Research on 'Water Margin'"]

[Text] As a person, Hu Shi deserves a negative rating. It is because politically he ingratiated himself with the imperialist Kuomintang reactionaries and sided with the enemy of the people. As a researcher, however, he may merit a reappraisal. In fact, he was once in the mainstream of historical development. He was said to "offer more fresh insights than his predecessors" in his research paper on the book "Water Margin" and "to have done a lot in promoting the right academic attitude toward this book." We must be objective in evaluating Hu Shi's achievement, giving him credit where credit is due and taking issue with him where he was wrong. Our opinion of him as a person must not affect our opinion of him as a researcher. Such objectiveness is necessary if we are to promote academic studies.

The following article is an attempt to reevaluate Hu Shi's research work on "Water Margin" from different angles. Comments and criticism from academic circles are invited.

1 On 27 July 1920, Hu Shi said in his article "The Background of 'Water Margin'": "'Water Margin' is a masterpiece. It deserves a more exalted place in the history of Chinese literature than 'Zuo's Annals' and 'The Book of History.' We need someone like Yen Joqu to write a researcher's guide to this book. We need someone like Wang Niensun to write a concordance. I am not qualified to undertake an important task such as this and will have to leave it to future scholars. What I am trying to do here is to show our 'Water Margin' scholars a new approach and a new perspective.

Even in a self-effacing statement like this, Hu Shi could not hide his strong self-confidence. He called the research on "Water Margin" an important task and claimed that he was showing "Water Margin" scholars a new approach and a new perspective. He was typical of the thinkers among the newly emerged bourgeoisie hoping to breathe new life into the studies of classical literature.

Since its publication, "Water Margin" has achieved tremendous popularity with the reading public because of its presentation of the human society in its breadth and depth, its colorful characterization, and its moving depiction of strong human emotions. It has also drawn sharp and conflicting responses from different classes of society. For example, the champions of feudal law and order sharply criticized and vehemently denounced the book as "glamorizing robbers" because of its handling of a controversial subject matter. The supporters of the book, on the other hand, asserted that the story glorified personal loyalty and brotherly love. The dispute between these two schools of scholars over the centuries sidetracked the real issue of how good the book is as a novel and undermined serious studies into its artistic qualities. In the 700 years between the beginning of the South Sung Dynasty and the May 4 Movement, a large number of notes, prefaces, epilogues and annotations were written about "Water Margin" but they were too fragmentary to warrant systematic study. This was because their authors, like all feudal men of letters, were too much concerned with trivialities. They dug up unrelated facts here and there. They recorded some legends and anecdotes. They left the real academic issues untouched. Actually, "Water Margin" was written long before "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and to a certain degree influenced the latter book. Yet "The Dream of the Red Chamber" was to become a subject of serious study and exhaustive research, while "Water Margin" inspired no such endeavor. It is quite a pity.

If Hu Shi was not the only scholar who embarked on the new pursuit of treating the study of "Water Margin" as a branch of science and applying the scientific method to such a study, he was certainly one of the pioneers taking this new path. His preoccupation with "Water Margin" did not come by accident. He was "the vanguard first to hold up high the banner" (words of Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423]) of the May 5 Movement to promote the vernacular style of writing." He said, "We need a new style of writing in which we can express new ideas and describe new things." (Preface to "A Collection of Articles Arguing in Favor of the Introduction of a New Literary Style" by Hu Shi) In order to break away from the classical style of writing "that shackled our mental faculty," he also declared boldly: "Vernacular literature has been the mainstream of Chinese literature and is the wave of the future. This much is certain." ("On Poetry Written in the Vernacular" by Hu Shi) So predictably such classical novels written in the vernacular as "Water Margin" and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" were placed on a pedestal as Chinese literary masterpieces during the May 4 Movement promoting a new style of writing. On 17 July 1920, the "Forword to 'Water Margin'" written by Chen Duxiu and "The Pedigree of 'Water Margin'" by Hu Shi were included in the newly punctuated 70-chapter "Water Margin" published by Wang Yuanfang. Lu Xun also made some new observations about "Water Margin" when he lectured on "A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" at Peking University in December 1920, and when he lectured on "Historical Changes in Chinese Fiction" in Xian City in July 1924. They all had similar views on this book. In a 9-year period, Hu Shi wrote "The Pedigree of 'Water Margin,'" "More on 'Water Margin,'" "The Pedigree of 'Zhi Yu,'" "A Preamble to 'Water Margin Two'" and "A Foreword to the 120-chapter 'The Loyal and Righteous People at Water Margin.'" These articles totaled 70,000 words in length. On major issues, Hu Shi agreed with Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun and other prominent figures of the May 4 Movement to promote a new style of writing. On certain specific points, Hu Shi offered some fresh ideas entirely his own.

Hu Shi's research paper on "Water Margin" began with a criticism of the views of Jin Shengtan, a writer of feudal times. Jin Shengtan lived at the turn of the Ming and Ching Dynasties and was an epoch-making man among the "Water Margin" researchers. He was at once a fan of "Water Margin" with a true appreciation of its literary and artistic excellence and a typical bigot of the feudal landlord class guilty of perpetuating a misunderstanding of its intentions and moral. Hu Shi smartly took Jin Shengtan to task for his contradictory views. His clear thinking and sound reasoning proved that he, as a bourgeois thinker who climbed on the stage of history to play a new role, had a better perspective and a better overview than the feudal writers who had prededed him. He pointed out: "Jin Shengtan was an extraordinary genius of the 17th century. He was indeed very courageous, by the standard of his times, to declare that 'Water Margin' is equal to 'The Book of History' and 'Guoce' in literary excellence and that Shi Nai-an and Dong Jieyuan as writers belonged to the same class as Zhuangzhou, Qu Yuan, Sima Qian and Du Pu. He even said: 'There is no writer with a better knowledge of the world than Shi Nai-an under the sun.' What a taste! What courage! Also in his preface to 'Water Margin,' Jin Shengtan declared: 'Some ancient writers had talents that were not to be found again in later years and that were unmatched by men of later ages. For example, Zhuangzhou had talents all his own. Qu Yuan had talents all his own. In later centuries, Shi Nai-an was to develop certain unique qualities. Dong Jieyuan was to develop talents unlike anybody else's.' Such good taste was rare among ancient critics." Unfortunately, Jin Shengtan's good taste was confined to the appreciation of the talents of writers. When it came to the appreciation of the writing itself, his taste was not so good any more. Hu Shi pointed out: "Jin Shengtan did what 'book editors' of his time did all the time. He made a running commentary on every word and every phrase in 'Water Margin,' thus fragmenting the book and turning the book into a 17th century textbook of vernacular writing with comments and notes both on the margin of every page and between the lines." He went on to say: "This kind of mechanical commentation and notation perpetrated by the pedants does not help the reader at all. It in fact has a harmful effect because it puts pedantic ideas about literature into the reader." Hu Shi's criticism was right to the point and very convincing.

Hu Shi's criticism was not confined to Jin Shengtan's concept of literature. He was critical of Jin's concept of history as well. He quoted Jin's words: "This voluminous work consisting of 70 chapters tells the story of 108 people. The story begins with an episode involving Gao Qiu. If the story had gone right on to the 108 people without mentioning Gao Qiu, it would leave the impression that disorder starts from the bottom. If the story had mentioned Goa Qiu without going on to the 108 people, it would leave the impression that disorder starts from the top." "Why can the story of 108 people be considered a historical novel? For a long time the grumbling of the ordinary people has made history. Why do the ordinary people dare to grumble? Normally they dare not. Why do they still grumble when they dare not to? When reason prevails in the world, people do not grumble. Now ordinary people are grumbling." Hu Shi agreed with Jin Shengtan for his democratic concept of history. But when Jin Shengtan started to compare "Water Margin" with Confucius' "Spring and Autumn" in its attempt to look to the past for moral guidance and started to spew out one pedantic idea after another, Hu Shi was quick to voice his disapproval. He incisively pointed out: "Such far-fetched theories hamper literary appreciation."

It is clear that by assailing the pedantry of Jin Shengtan, the most respected critic of "Water Margin" in feudal times, and applying social scientific methods of the bourgeoisie. Hu Shi achieved a better appreciation of the literary qualities and a better understanding of the philosophy of "Water Margin." He indeed showed future "Water Margin" researchers a new approach and a new perspective and in this regard he out-accomplished all previous critics.

2 First of all, Hu Shi deserves credit for advocating, in his research paper on "Water Margin," that the novel should be evaluated from a historical perspective. This is a good criterion for evaluation. He said: "'Water Margin' did not fall from the sky. It was the cream of the many different versions of 'The Story of the Water-Surrounded Liang Mountain' that circulated in the 400 years from the first year of the South Sung Dynasty (the first year of the 12th century) to the middle years of the Ming Dynasty (the last years of the 15th century)." This was a correct assessment, even though Hu Shi made a number of highly disputable points in some specific areas.

Hu Shi not only took a close look at the historical process during which "Water Margin" took shape, he also carefully examined the social conditions of the various periods covered in the process. For example, when explaining the reason for the rise and wide circulation of the "Story of Song Jiang" among the common people before the Yuan Dynasty, Hu Shi pointed out the following: "(1) There was enough action and glamor in the lives of Song Jiang and his men to make the circulation of their story easy: (2) As the South Sung Dynasty lost control of the northern part of China to non-Chinese, hero worship became a strong sentiment among the Chinese: (3) The government of the South Sung Dynasty was corrupt. The brutal rule of the vicious officials caused resentment among the people. It further added to the pains of the Chinese living in the north under foreign rule. Therefore, the people both in northern and in southern China shared a common hatred toward bad government and bad officials. This hatred also gave rise to a perverted admiration for robber-heros." Hu Shi was right. Lu Xun also said the same thing: "The Sung Dynasty suffered from foreign invasions from the outside and from a weak administration from the inside. So naturally people turned their thoughts to stories of robber-heroes." So Lu Xun and Hu Shi were in agreement on this point. Basing his critical review of "Water Margin" on his concept that "literature follows a process of historical evolution" and that "different historical conditions give up to different types of literature in different times," Hu Shi achieved a better appreciation of the philosophy of "Water Margin" than his predecessors. Hu Shi pointed out: "For 400 years, the story of 'Water Margin' provided the common people and the writers a forum with which to vent their pent-up anger. For example, the people of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties vented their pent-up anger by describing a bandits lair as an organization to administer justice. The people of the early Ming Dynasty vented their pent-up anger by adding an episode to describe how Song Jiang and his men fell victim to a government frame-up and were killed after they had helped the government wipe out four bandit groups. The people of the middle years of the Ming Dynasty, the likes of Shi Nai-an, vented their pent-up anger by dropping the episode of the rehabilitation of Song Jiang and his men by the government, turning the novel into an expression of anti-government sentiments."

At one time Hu Shi came under fire for calling the heroes on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain "bandits" and insulting peasant uprisings. Such criticism is debatable. In fact, Hu Shi was not the only one using the word "bandits." Lu Xun also said that Song Jiang "was indeed a bandit." Lu Xun continued; "The bandits were fighting the government troopers on the one hand, holding them at bay, and looting the people on the other hand, thus becoming a menace to the public." Lu Xun even went as far as quoting Hu Shi, "Jin Shengtan was born at a time when bandits and robbers were on the rampage in the country. He saw the destruction wrought by bandit groups led by Zhang Xienzhong and Li Zhicheng and concluded that bandits deserve no praise at all but deserve only universal condemnation," and said, "it was well put." (see "A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" by Lu Xun) Secondly, judging by the contents of "Water Margin," the novel, while basing its plot on the legendary Song Jiang and the peasant uprising led by him, was not intended as a story about a peasant uprising for one reason or another. Therefore, it is not untruthful to call Song Jiang and his men "bandits." More importantly, Hu Shi did not show any hostility toward the "bandits." In criticizing Jin Shengtan, he said: "Jin Shengtan wrote a preface to 'Water Margin' in the 14th year of the rule of Emperor Chong Zhen. That was when bandits were on the rampage in the country. Therefore Jin Shengtan sought to prove in his review that the intention of 'Water Margin' was to build up Song Jiang to be a detestable figure so that everybody who reads about him will hate him. Unfortunately, 'Water Margin' lends a lovability and respectability to the bandits. Thus it was very difficult for Jin Shengtan to prove that 'Water Margin' tried to make out Lu Zhisheng, Wu Song, Lin Chong and their likes to be detestable. So the only thing Jin Shengtan could say was 'Water Margin' merely singled out Song Jiang as a hateful person. The intention was to attach a stigma to Song Jiang as the head of the bandit group. The others I can forgive.' Jin Shengtan said it tongue-in-cheek. He not only forgave the others, but he also admired them. Because he soon contradicted himself by concluding that 'From cover to cover this 70-chapter 'Water Margin' has nothing but praise for the bandits and nothing but condemnation for the government. Anyone who reads the novel will reach this same conclusion.'" Hu Shi not only untangled "Water Margin" from the dispute between one school of feudal writers who condemned the novel as "indulging the bandits" and another school who praised it for "glorifying loyalty and justice" but also set right some of the unrealistic overpraises for the novel. For example, Liang Zichao said "Water Margin" "promoted independence, self-reliance and democracy and described the budding of human rights." ("Random Comments on Fiction" by Liang Zichao) Huang Ren also said: "'Water Margin' preaches pure socialism." ("Humble Opinions on Fiction" by Huang Ren) These men overpraised the book in disregard of historical facts. Hu Shi's comments, in comparison, were more appropriate and factual. Hu Shi had a better appreciation of what "Water Margin" was trying to say than all his contemporaries. For example, Chen Duxiu said in his short 300-word "A Re-evaluation of 'Water Margin,'": "The philosophy of 'Water Margin' can be summed up in a song found in the novel: 'The red sun is burning like fire, scorching half of the wheat and corn crops in the field. While the farmers are as worried as if their hearts were being cooked, the rich and the powerful men are leisurely fanning themselves to keep cool.' That is the moral theme of 'Water Margin.' There is nothing more to it than that." It is true that this song sung by Bai Sheng describes social injustice, but to say that it covers the entire philosophy of "Water Margin" is oversimplification. Lu Xun showed more depth of thought when he said that the characters in "Water Margin" are "anti-government," but he did not live long enough to write a treatise on the book. This makes Hu Shi's research paper on "Water Margin all the more important.

3 Secondly, Hu Shi deserves credit for being the first person to apply modern standards in the evaluation of the literary qualities of "Water Margin," thus shining up the long tarnished literary image of the novel for the first time.

"Chinese fiction has never been given a place in history." Chinese fiction has always enjoyed low esteem. The literary value of fiction has never been fully recognized. Since its debut, not many people thought much of "Water Margin" as serious literature. Jin Shengtan was one of the few who appreciated its literary excellence. He said: "'Water Margin' writes about 108 people, each having a distinctive personality. Other novels could write about a thousand people, but all of them would fall into one stereotype." So at least Jin Shengtan realized that characterization is an important quality. However, Jin Shengtan was basically a stylist. His main concern was still the "style," the "grammar," and the "diction" of "Water Margin." As a literary critic, Hu Shi outshone Jin Shengtan. He used literary standards imported from the West and made an "organic" and comprehensive analysis of the literary qualities of "Water Margin" like a professional critic. Thus he reached a number of conclusions that are highly praiseworthy.

Firstly, Hu Shi pointed out: "The central figures of 'Water Margin' are Lu Zhisheng, Lin Chong, Wu Song, Song Jiang, Li Lu, and Shi Xiu, and one or two more characters." He also reminded the reading public: "We must know that Lu Jun-i, Hu Yen-bao and Guan Sheng are not the central figures of 'Water Margin.'" He thus broke away from the formalism created by critics of the old school who would rate the importance of the characters in "Water Margin" according to their pecking order and declared in unequivocal terms that the central figures are the heart and soul of a literary work.

Secondly, Hu Shi made fastidious analysis of the aesthetic qualities of "Water Margin" part by part and made comments in good taste. For example, he highly extolled the literary excellence of the first half of "Water Margin" without any overexaggeration. He pointed out: "'Water Margin' told the story of Lin Chong in great detail. The episode on the hiding of Lin Chong from his pursuers in a temple dedicated to the mountain god during a snowstorm is a beautifully written, moving episode." He went on to say: "The chapter on 'birth signs' is one of the threads that run through the story of 'Water Margin'.......'Water Margin' builds on this old sketch, adds various details and features, and presents a very interesting picture." He also said: "'Water Margin' lends fresh creativity and imagination to the legend of Wu Song. It tells of how Wu Song beat a tiger to death, how he killed his sister-in-law, how he hurried to Mengzhou Province to beat up Jiang Menshen, and how he escaped to Yuanyang House and then Wusong Mountain. The saga of Wu Song makes some of the most exciting reading in 'Water Margin.'" He also pointed out: "The long episode about Jiangzhou gives flesh and blood to Li Lu as a man of strong temperament and personality and to Song Jiang as a man of great ambitions and high aspirations. Without this episode, Song Jiang would be just a 'name' only." These are words of praise expressed by Hu Shi for some of the praiseworthy highlights in the 70-chapter "Water Margin." On the other hand, Hu Shi also pointed out that there were also some "ill-conceived episodes" and some "unpolished," "redundant," and "hastily added" passages. He said: "The most obvious slip is the long episode about Lu Jun-i. It is a stupid episode that tells how Lu Jun-i, for no reason at all, decided to leave the enjoyment of comforts at home behind to join the outlaws on the mountain. It also tells how he trusted Li Gu and suspected Yen Ching, and how he took the advice of a fortune-teller and went to burn incense at a temple for luck. Such conduct is the conduct of an old fool. It does not become a heroic character like Lu Jun-i." Hu Shi also said: "According to the book 'Anecdotes From the Years of the Rule of Emperor Xuan Ho,' Lu Jun-i was the second from the last of the leaders on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain. 'Water Margin' does not mention this man in its earlier chapters. Toward the end the book still does not know what to do with him, so it gives him the credit of capturing Shi Wengun." Hu Shi's comments were appropriate and to the point. He had a very low opinion of the second half of "Water Margin," but he pointed out:

"There are several moving passages: the death of Lu Zhisheng, the desertion of Yen Ching, the death of Song Jiang, the burning of Emperor Hui Zhung. They are quite well-written." Hu Shi resisted the tendency of making sweeping statements, good or bad, about the book. He only gave credit where credit is due.

In addition, Hu Shi also evaluated the two rewritten episodes concerning Tien Hu and Wong Ching in the later edition of the 120-chapter "Water Margin" from the viewpoint of a literary critic, and expressed his well-pondered opinions as follows: "The story of Wong Ching is almost identical with the story of Wong Qing. I dare say that the man who put together the 100-chapter 'Water Margin' (Shi Nai-an) lifted out the story of Wong Ching, rewrote it, and made it the opening chapter of 'Water Margin,' editing some of the irrelevent details out of the story." Hu Shi also said: "Wong Ching was a good man. One could make him one of the sworn brothers on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain. One could also put him in the character of Wong Qing in the opening chapter who refused to go up to Liang Mountain. One could even make him one of the leaders with the same rank as Song Jiang." Hu Shi offered the opinion that the rewriting of the story of Wong Ching for the 120-chapter edition of "Water Margin" removed some inconsistency from the book, gave the plot a better coordination, and added more interesting details to the story. Hu Shi's power of reasoning and persuasiveness are evident here. His studies on the rewriting of the story of Wong Ching seem to add to the academic value of his research on "Water Margin."

4 Thirdly, Hu Shi deserves credit for showing "Water Margin" scholars a clear-cut scientific approach. Namely, he urged "the reader to read 'Water Margin as it is." He said: "The new edition of 'Water Margin' leaves out all the notes and comments on the margins of each page and between the lines written by Jin Shengtan. It enables the reader to read 'Water Margin' as it is written, without worrying about what Jin Shengtan had to say about the accuracy of facts and the style and without having to figure out what a 17th-century stylist meant by 'the literary style of powdering the back' or 'the literary style of clouding the mountain.'" It goes without saying that the study of literature is a study of the literary works themselves. One has to study the literary works with an unbiased mind to appreciate their true literary qualities. If one is to give up this "first-hand" study and rely solely on findings of other researchers and comments of this and that famous critic, one is engaged in a "second-hand study." That is not a meaningful pursuit.

Hu Shi once made a thought-provoking remark: "If we can disregard prejudices inherited from the past, abandon our own personal biases, and have due respect for material evidences, we will reach the same conclusions." By "disregarding prejudices inherited from the past" Hu Shi meant that one should give free rein to his imagination, be bold in one's explorations, and not be stopped in one's progress by traditional views. It is true that Hu Shi once did say: "We will not be wise if we let Confucius and Zhu Xi lead us by the nose, and we will not be men of strong character if we let Marx, Lenin and Stalin lead us by the nose." ("Introducing My Ideas" by Hu Shi) His hostility toward Marxism and Leninism had to do with his class origins and deserves criticism. Nevertheless, his academic attitudes are not entirely void of redeeming features. His changes of opinions regarding whether there was ever a 70-chapter old edition of "Water Margin" may shed some light on his academic attitudes. In July 1920, Hu Shi voiced his opinion on the assertion by Jin Shengtan that the oldest edition of "Water Margin" only had 70 chapters and that the other chapters were added by Lo Guanzhung as follows: "Regarding Jin Shengtan's assertion, we can have two choices: 1) We can take Jin's word for it that a 70-chapter edition did exist, or 2) We can assume that Jin lied and that Jin dreamed up this edition." After careful analysis, Hu Shi concluded that while it is hard to prove the first assumption, it is even harder to substantiate the second one. So his answer was: "Jin Shengtan had no reason to make up a non-existent edition. We may accept his assertion that he did have a 70-chapter edition in his home collection."

Then in June 1921, in writing his article entitled "More on 'Water Margin,'" he began to see that his conclusion had been based on insufficient evidences and began to doubt that there ever was a 70-chapter edition. He said: "I am beginning to doubt that the 70-chapter edition was as good as Jin Shengtan said it was. However, between the 100-chapter edition and a later edition, there could have been a 70-chapter edition." Then in June 1929, in writing a preface to the 120-chapter "Loyal and Righteous Water Margin," Hu Shi admitted frankly: "in those days the research on the editions of 'Water Margin' was still at an embryo stage. I did not even see the important 100-chapter and 120-chapter editions. Because of that, I reached some erroneous conclusions. The biggest mistake was to assume that a 70-chapter edition did circulate in the middle years of the Ming Dynasty, but my reasoning was not convincing enough. Nevertheless, proceeding from this assumption, I was to reach some wrong conclusions, hence my misunderstanding about how various versions of 'Water Margin' came about through the centuries." Then he cited the opinions of Lu Xun, Yu Pingbo and Li Xuanbo, saying humbly: "I admire Mr Lu Xun for making some very good points." "I also admire Mr Li Xuanbo for making bold assumptions and careful deductions." "As everyone is equal before truth," he went on, "I cast aside my personal views." His respect for truth is praiseworthy.

On the other hand, when Hu Shi disagreed with other scholars, he would present his argument in a factual and reasonable way. For example, he agreed with Li Xuanbo that "Water Margin" had strong "local flavor," but he disagreed with Li Xuanbo that there once were four parts of "Water Margin" circulating separately. He believed that "Lu Xun's idea that 'Water Margin' has always been one complete book in many chapters seems more reasonable than Li Xuanbo's idea that four separate books gradually grew into one book." On the other hand, Hu Shi disagreed with Lu Xun that there was first a short version of "Water Margin" and this was fleshed out to become longer versions. Hu Shi held the opinion that, by comparing various editions that once circulated, a complete and unabridged version was put out first. Only later were there condensed editions sold on the streets. As a matter of fact, Lu Xun and Hu Shi could be both right on this point. It was very likely that the formation of "Water Margin" went through both processes: a short version growing into a long version as well as a long version being condensed into a short version. Under normal circumstances, a literary piece starts with a bare-bones structure. It is then fleshed out and improved upon, to end up in a longer version. Then when it is printed for sale on the streets by merchants, it is again condensed to save on printing and paper cost so as to facilitate sales. This shows that a short version can grow into a longer version and a long version can be cut into a shorter version. These two processes complement each other rather than clash with each other. The foregoing is proof that Hu Shi had the schietist's attitude of respecting objective conditions. Hu Shi's famous catch phrase "Be bold to suppose, be careful to prove" has always been refuted as a bourgeois idealist phrase. Nevertheless, his saying "Wait when there is no evidence, suppose when evidence is inconclusive, resolve when evidence is conclusive" ("Introducing My Personal Thoughts" by Hu Shi) seems to smack of materialism.

5 Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin" inevitably shows certain limitations imposed by his class outlook and his times. It was mentioned earlier in this article that it was natural and expected of Hu Shi, as a bourgeois thinker, to resist and even be hostile toward Marxism and Leninism. Fortunately, his "pernicious influence" in this regard was very limited. It calls for no further elaboration in this article.

I am of the opinion that while Hu Shi showed some materialist leanings and a sense of history in his research work on "Water Margin," his basic concept of history is still idealist. The most noticeable fault in his research conclusion is that he grossly underestimated, even failed to see the role of the people in the creation of the masterpiece "Water Margin." Similarly he attached too much importance to the role of the writers in the creative process.

"Water Margin" owed its creation, first of all, to the enthusiasm of the masses in telling and retelling the story. In addition, the "storytellers" entertaining the masses regularly added their creative touches to the story, broadening its appeal. As early as during the years of the South Sung Dynasty, the stories of the "blue-faced beast," the "unruly monk" and the "martial art expert" lifted out of the "Water Margin" were included in the repertoire of the "storytellers." They were also acted out in dramatic form in town squares to the delight of the townspeople. Lu Xun once pointed out: "The story of the 'Three Gallant and Five Righteous Men' mirrors the feelings of the common people just like 'Water Margin' does. However, it touches the surface only and lacks depth." ("A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" by Lu Xun) Indeed, it is the objective of "Water Margin" to mirror the feelings of the common people. Just because "Water Margin" mirrors the inner thoughts, feelings and aspirations of the common people and other working people, it has survived the barriers of time and distance and, with each retelling, it has been embellished and improved. Limited by his knowledge, Hu Shi did not even mention that the "storytellers" had anything to do with the shaping of "Water Margin." Similarly, while Hu Shi realized that the drama of the Yuan Dynasty also contributed to the formation of "Water Margin," he had a low opinion of that particular literary form. He said: "The writers during the Yuan Dynasty had a childish style and used an amateurish technique." "They were not very creative." This opinion led him to overexaggerate the contribution of Shi Nai-an in an arbitrary way. He was of the opinion that Shi Nai-an, with his "keen insight," "gradually maturing literary technique," and "boundless creativity," "did away with a primitive mountain lair and destroyed all the robot-like, lifeless characters in the old 'Water Margin' storyline. Then he went on to rewrite 'Water Margin,' rebuild the Liang Mountain, create a dozen or so unforgettable heroic figures, and turn out an immortal masterpiece." Hu Shi did not stop here. He blamed Shi Nai-an for "not daring to give up entirely the plot of 'Water Margin' that had circulated for 400 years before him." He argued: "If Shi Nai-an had pushed the long-circulated story of the water-surrounded Liang Mountain to the back of his head, if he had forgotten all about the story of the '36 leaders and 72 sub-leaders," and if he had concentrated on the story of 7 or 8 men like Lu Zhisheng, Lin Chung, Wu Song, Song Jiang, Li Lu and Shi Xiu, he could have made his novel more exciting and more of a literary gem. It is a pity that he could not break out of the confines of the historical outline of 'Water Margin.' It is unfortunate that he could not give up any of the 108 men. But any one man has his limitations in literary skill. It would be impossible for any writer to create as many as 108 true-to-life characters. So Shi Nai-an was forced to do patchwork. He messily 'squeezed' 108 men onto the Liang Mountain.'

Hu Shi actually put the carriage before the horse. What he said contradicted the facts. As it happened, the most outstanding heroes in "Water Margin" were the products of constant hewing, polishing, refining and vitalizing by folk artists who told and retold the story of "Water Margin" for a living. These heroes were not "resketched" or "rebuilt" by Shi Nai-an from his own imagination. The structure of "Water Margin" also attests to this truth. As the story of "Water Margin" was told and retold year after year to live audiences, the passages that most appealed to and drew the warmest responses from the listeners were constantly embellished and polished until they became short stories that could be told by themselves, each of them concerning one character or a group of characters. Shi Nai-an's achievement was precisely in his following the old storyline of the water-surrounded Liang Mountain, linking up the short stories in a well-organized manner, and giving the entire book a final artistic polishing. Otherwise, if he had completely cast away the folk version of the story, he could not have produced a novel like "Water Margin."

Hu Shi's idealist concept evident in his research on "Water Margin" did exert considerable influence. For example, on the subject of what class ideology the writers of "Water Margin" represented, many latter-day researchers agreed that there was not just one writer, but "a group of writers," including "storytellers" who worked from one residential area to another as well as playwrights and script editors. At the same time, under the influence of Hu Shi, the same researchers would go back to the life, experiences, outlook and viewpoints of Shi Nai-an for support of their conclusions. That was why they often drew the wrong conclusions. Moreover, the questions about who Shi Nai-an was, what he did for a living, whether he wrote "Water Margin" or not have remained unanswered until today.

In short, Hu Shi's research of "Water Margin" was part and parcel of the May 4 Movement in favor of a new type of literature. It was conducted under the right principles and showed a materialist approach. When the "gang of four" were plotting conspiratorial activities under the pretext of criticizing "Water Margin," they also made a big fuss of criticizing Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin." In fact, their gibberish was trash compared to what Hu Shi said. For example, the "gang of four" repeatedly tooted the theory that "Song Jiang was trying to pull the rug from under Zhao Gai." This theory was merely an echo of Jin Shengtan's "The Literary Style of Spring and Autumn" which Hu Shi refuted. The "gang of four" have spread their pernicious influence far and wide on the research of "Water Margin." This influence has to be cleared away. To achieve this goal, one of the things we can do is to reevaluate Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROLE OF 'EXPOSURE' IN LITERATURE DISCUSSED

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[Article by Bao Zang [1405 5661]: "Tentative Discussion of the Issue of 'Exposure' in Literary Creations"]

[Text] For many years, "exposures" have been a "forbidden zone" in China's socialist literary and artistic creations. It has been deeply branded on everyone's head that to write an "exposure" is tantamount to being "anti-party and anti-socialism"; consequently, when theoreticians speak of "tigers" changing their colors, creative literary and artistic people dare not ask for details.

Following the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee resolutely implemented the artistic and literary program of "let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend. Revolutionary literary and artistic workers broke the shackles of old ideas to write numerous works exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and revealing contradictions among the people. These were condemned as works of "exposure literature," when actually they recreated the social life of a certain time or in a certain aspect, and powerfully reflected the aspirations of the people.

Despite the inability of some people in real life to look at reality, and despite the inability of writers to shake off lingering fears, nevertheless, such works have appeared in the field of literature, and they manifest a flourishing vitality. This is a fact that cannot be denied.

Today, the probing exploration of the "exposure" issue in socialist literature and art, and the diligent summarization of both positive and negative experiences is of significance for our complete and dialectic understanding of the social function of literature, and in making literature and art play the role they should play in the struggle to realize the four modernizations.

(1)

Ever since the "gang of four" was smashed, a lot of attention getting literary works of wide-ranging influence have appeared in China's literary world: "Shift Forman," "The Scar," "Sacred Mission," "Red Yulan Magnolia Beneath the Large Wall," and "Between Men and Demons" have reflected the irreconcilable contradictions between the crimes perpetrated by the tyranny of the "gang of four" and the broad masses of the people. "A General Cannot Do Such Things," "The Future Beckons," "Flower

Harbinger of Spring," and "How Plant Manager Qiao Took Office" were timely revelations of the social contradictions following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which emancipated the mentality, eradicated myths, and in seeking truth through facts, demonstrated the contradiction between the party's fine traditions and the tendency toward mental ossification, bookishness, and following beaten paths. Events have demonstrated that this sort of works possess profound value in making people think, and is intimately related to the welfare of the broad masses of the people.

In the new socialist era, contradictions continue to exist in society, but so long as we adhere to the materialist theory of reflection, one cannot deny the role of "exposures" as performing a primary social function in literature. The materialist theory of reflection holds literature and art that acts in ideological ways are reflections in people's minds of a certain social life. Today, the perniciousness of the "gang of four" is far from being completely purged, and ultra-leftist trends of thought still threaten four modernization construction. Though the exploiting classes have been wiped out; the class struggle continues to exist; the power of old customs still stubbornly exists; and there are still many obstacles on the road along which we are advancing. Certain party and government organizations have an unhealthy tendency toward divorcing themselves from the masses, toward attitudes of the yamen, overstaffing of agencies, and excess hands for available work, and the subjectivism, factionalism, bureaucratism, mentality of special prerogatives of some cadres; the ossification or semi-ossification of the mentality of quite a few people; the violation of the law and the breaking of discipline, graft and embezzlement, hooligan criminality, as well as the use of influence, backdoor dealing, extreme individualism, and anarchic tendencies of some are perfectly obvious to everyone. When literature and art start with life as it is lived, such contradictions cannot but be reflected. Reflecting the contradictions, and mobilizing people to solve these contradictions is precisely the major task of socialist literature in the new era.

But "exposure literature" (this usage being adopted for convenience in expression), both now and in the past, has frequently been blamed in the following way: "the contradictions and dark aspects that "exposure literature" reflect are not the true essence of life, so they are not real." What is meant by the essence of life? It is the relatively stable internal relationship formed by special contradictions contained in life itself. Marxist philosophers feel that in the process of development of contradictions in all things, contradictory activity exists from beginning to end in the process of development of everything. Without contradictions there can be no world. Both aspects of contradictions are always the unity of opposites. In social life, good things always develop out of the process of struggle with bad things and, in fact, the good, and the beautiful always exist relative to the false, the hideous, and the evil, and develop out of mutual struggle with them. It is the struggle between such contradictions and the outcome that determines the quality of life, its content, and its appearance. This is the essence of life. In such a sense, not to write about contradictions, and not to write about the struggle between light and darkness leaves no ways in which to reflect the essence of life. For the proletariat and revolutionary peoples to realize communism, they must make a thoroughgoing break with the old ownership relationships and the old traditional conceptions. In improving the objective world, they must likewise improve their own subjective worlds. Their recognition of contradictions, the solution of contradictions, and step by step idealistic advance toward the light is the content of our social life. But this road of advance is not a smooth one, and sometimes evil forces may obstruct the advance of society or even drag society backwards, yet the overall trend must inevitably be the triumph of justice over evil, and the triumph of light over darkness. In adhering to the materialist theory of reflection, following the typical principles of creativity, truly showing the struggle between contradictions in real life, revealing the laws of the development of life, and in showing people the way ahead, socialist realistic literature, no matter whether eulogizing or exposing, can reflect the essence of life. It is just that one emphasizes praise for the heroic struggles in three great revolutionary battles of revolutionary heroes and the masses of the people, writing of figures who evoke praise, tears, or respect, establishing models for positive study by the people. The other emphasis disclosure of the decadent backward forces in society that harm the masses of people and revolutionary endeavors, writing of figures who evoke laughter, contempt, and revulsion to provide the people with negative examples that may serve as a lesson and inspire people to march forward in a determined struggle. The two are mutually complementary and reach the same goal by different routes. Though "exposure literature" places lopsided emphasis on the false, the hideous, and the evil, showing off the seamy side of life, it may be equally true. Whether or not a literary or artistic creation is true has nothing to do with whether their creators said something good to hear or bad to hear, nor whether it soothes or grates on the ears of hearers, but rather whether that which was written accords with objective reality. So long as it accords with objective reality, it is true. To term a thing as being false, hideous, or evil and then purposely cover it up or beautify it is to lose the essential truthfulness of matters.

Additionally, there are some "well-intentioned people" who are always apprehensive lest an exposure of contradictions among the people might damage socialist endeavors. Such people, who are always fearing that the sky might fall, have no reason at all for their apprehensions. What we are exposing is an ulcer on our body, which is an ailment that the toxic germs of the old society have created on the body of the proletariat and the masses of the people, rather than the body itself of the proletariat and the masses of the people. The purpose of revealing it is to arouse attention for treating it rather than to wipe out the body. Surely, when pus and blood are squeezed out or gangrene dug out, pain is inevitable, but if sickness is hidden for fear of criticism and it attacks the vitals, life itself may be threatened. Therefore, we positively cannot ignore the work of prevention and treatment of illness. Stalin made a very profound observation on this point. It was 1930 when the USSR was at a crucial turning point in history and the class struggle within the country was extremely sharp. Trotskyite elements in literary circles and agents of the kulaks were viciously slandering and attacking Soviet authority. Fearing others might misues it, Gorki began to have doubts about the self-criticism among the people that had been carried out for a time in the press, so he wrote a letter to Comrade Stalin to set forth his views. In a letter of reply, Stalin stated with extreme clarity: "We cannot do away with self-criticism. No matter what, we cannot, Aleksei Maksimoviy. Without self-criticism, the stagnation and corruption in government organizations, the growth of bureaucracy, and the destruction of the creative initiative of the working class cannot be avoided. Of course self-criticism provides the enemy with materials. You are entirely correct on this point. But it also provides materials (and a driving force) for our progress, for carrying forward the building of the strength of the workers, for the development of competition, and for shock brigades. The advantages offset or outweigh the disadvantages." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 2, pp 152-155). Here Stalin operated from a strategically commanding position to declare the necessity for the growth of self-criticism, and made an extremely brilliant analysis of the pros and cons of the development of self-criticism. This is very inspiring for our present day correct appreciation of the social role of "exposure literature." We must study this Marxist method of understanding things used by Comrade Stalin and not look only at the bad points of "exposures," but realize more fully the good points of "exposures," and we must particularly believe that the good points will triumph over the bad points. In this way, we can have a supportive attitude toward "exposure literature."

(2)

In order to make "exposure literature" play a positive role in real life, we should diligently summarize both positive and negative experiences.

The primary problem is to clearly identify the object for exposure. This problem may be stated simply as any dark forces that harm socialist endeavors and the welfare of the masses of people must be exposed. The 10-year rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused great catastrophe for the Chinese people and created a historical regression. They are criminals in Chinese history, and writers should use critical pens to expose their towering crimes. Though a certain number of works have been written to expose their crimes, they are far from being enough, an epic work with depth and breadth has yet to be produced. We should use an epic article with great profoundity to nail their hideousness to the historical pillar of shame. In the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the ultra-left trend of thought has brought immense suffering to the masses of the people and done serious harm to socialist endeavors. The enlarged anti-rightist struggle of 1957, the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958, which ran counter to objective laws, the anti-right deviation of 1959, which compounded error upon error, produced periods of hardship, one after another, such as are rarely seen throughout the world. Our literature and art should truly depict this period of history, and conscientiously summarize these historical experiences so that our sons, grandsons, and later generations will never forget them. This decidedly is not "looking back," but possesses extremely profound and far-reaching historical significance for impelling the forward development of society and avoiding a historical regression. Today, our party has already brought about a shift in its work emphasis, and the major contradiction we face is "reform of China's current production relationships and the parts of the superstructure that impede realization of the four modernizations, to sweep away all of the power of habit that does not help realization of the four modernizations." ("Report on the Work of the Government" delivered by Chairman Hua Guofeng at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress) The revolutionary art and literature of the new era must become involved in life and expose the current major contradictions in society to help the people have a clear-headed appreciation of reality and to criticize decadent and backward forces in order to sweep away obstacles to the realization of the four modernizations.

"Exposures" must be in accord with the reality of the essence of life. Realism is a common requirement for all literature and art, and "exposure literature" is no exception. Lu Shun felt that literary and artistic creativity "did not have to be actual events of the past, but had to be actualities that might come about. So it does not 'fabricate' or 'slander'; it neither reveals shameful secrets nor does it just record shocking and appalling so-called 'incredible things' or 'things that are stranger than fiction.'" (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is Satire?") In our real lives, there is no lack of false, hideous, and evil things, but one cannot write only about "the actual events of the past," but about the actualities that might come about, which is to say one should summarize, condense, and typify. "Exposure literature" must guard against expression of "personal animosities "and write about "public enmity" instead. "Private animosities" are natural forms that are not necessarily representative, and that are not necessarily true either. (It should be recognized that among the phenomena of life there are phenomena that reflect the essence, which is also true), while "public enmity," in that it has universality and reflects the will of the masses of people, is true in essence. So-called "exposure literature" bereft of the essential realities of life is not only of no benefit, but is harmful. As Lu Xun said, "even if such a thing were possible, it would be nothing but rumor mongering and slandering." (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 1 "On Satire") Though these words may be somewhat harsh, they speak to the nub of the issue.

"Exposure literature" must strike at current evils. It is not enough for "exposure literature" merely to expose contradictions, it also has to do as Lu Xun said, "the adversary must be mortally wounded in the place that is struck." We do not want merely to expose the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the perniciousness of the ultra-left line, and the harm done by modern superstition; we want also to demonstrate in a profound way the historical and social causes of these criminal phenomena, summarize their valuable historical lessons, and provide the broad masses of cadres and people a profound education. Quite a few works of the "exposure" variety have been produced in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four," to be sure, but quite a few works lack historical depth. Some of them have fantastic and tortuous plots; some of them are repetitive love stories; and some tell only of superficialities in life, lacking depth. They are particularly lacking in baring the major social contradictions impairing the realization of the four modernizations. Still others bare one aspect of contradictions, ignoring the other aspect. It will do no harm to mention here "Woman Robber," ("Cinema Creations" 11th issue, 1979), and "Defiance of the Law," ("Yalu River" 10th issue, 1979). These two works have a basically sympathetic and appreciative attitude toward the silly little girl in "Woman Robber," and toward Bochun, the one who was in "Defiance of the Law," and they lack the needed exposure and criticism. At the present time, the major contradiction in social life is whether it is possible to bring about stability and unity and a common effort for the four modernizations; but "Woman Robber," and "Defiance of the Law" are major elements in the destruction of social stability, for which reason they should receive a certain amount of exposure and criticism. Thus, we have the responsibility of pointing out that unless such hideous phenomena are exposed and criticized, there can be no hitting home at current evils. Of course, we cannot rashly negate a work of literature.

"Exposure literature" should be adept in discriminating between two kinds of contradictions that are of a different nature. Of course, we cannot love enemies, and we cannot love hideous phenomena in society. All that is degenerate and backward we should expose and lash, but writers must clearly discriminate between contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and contradictions among the people. We must mercilessly expose the crimes of the enemy, strip away their camouflage, and expose the trend toward their doom. Criticism of the people's shortcoming is also necessary, and it has to hit home at crucial points, but it must be from the standpoint of the people and be enthusiastically couched in terms of protecting the people and educating the people. At this point I would like to raise Comrade Yeh Wenfu's [0673 2429 4395] "A General Cannot Do Such Things," ("Poetry," Issue 8, 1979) The poet has the greatest esteem for the meritorious service of the general as "an army horse on a campaign," is pained at the general's mental transformation in being "uncaring about the weal and woe of the people," and is severely condemnatory of the general's "unceasing life of pleasure." The poet is moved by genuine sentiments, made aware through righteous causes, and strikes out with a violent shove. In everything, he "is hoping they will improve but does not want to go into the water for this group." (Lu Xun, Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is 'Satire'?") The poet stands at the apex of the age with a spirit of high resolve for revolutionary undertakings and a heart filled with ardor and sincerity for revolutionary comrades, sounding the tocsin of continuous revolution for revolutionary cadres. In this poem, the poet deals rather effectively with and reflects the contradictions among the people, and provides precious experience as well in how to handle the "exposure" issue in literature in the new age of socialism.

"Exposure literature" should permit the reader to see the light in the darkness. History must always develop through struggle, and light must always shine through darkness. This is the dialectic method of life itself. Literature and art cannot contravene this law of the unity of opposites of light and darkness. Aleksander Ostrovskii's "Great Thunderstorm" was clearly an exposure of the dark tragedies in Russian society. Kaqielinna's [phonetic] suicide by jumping into a river was doubtlessly a powerful denunciation of the dark monarchy, but the author manifested a newly born strength in her body. Nikolai Toupolyubov has said, "There is something in the 'Great Thunderstorm' that buoys the spirit and gives encouragement." From Kaqielinna's body, the spectator can see "a ray of light in the darkness of the monarchy." ("A Ray of Light in the Darkness of the Monarchy") When even bourgeois criticism of realistic writers permits readers to see a ray of light in the darkness, how much more so our socialist literature. Therefore, "exposure literature" positively cannot allow readers to see only an expanse of darkness and feel that there is no way out. In his analysis and critique of Bednyi's "Climb Down From the Hot Stove," Stalin stated concretely that, "In this essay (as in other essays) there are numerous brilliant passages that strike at the vitals. But there is also a measure of tar there that dirties the entire picture, turning it into an out-and-out 'bilierwa'." (Quoter's note: "Bilierwa" is Russian colloquial for "mire" or "swamp" or, in other words, a "bloody mess.") Stalin very severely criticized Bednyi, saying his "criticism of the shortcomings of Soviet life" had become "a slander of the Soviet past and the Soviet present." (To Comrade Bednyi," Complete Works of Stalin, Vol 12) These views are extremely precious. Lu Xun also said, "If a work appears to be satirical but is utterly without good intent and devoid of warmth and makes the reader feel that everything in the world is utterly lacking in value and is unredeeming, then it is not satire but 'freezing irony'." (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is 'Satire'?") Works of "freezing irony" can perform no positive role in real life.

When it comes to the issue of "exposure" in literary and artistic creativity, we have experience to follow and lessons to learn from. We have to be adept at learning the lessons of experience, and we must dare to create boldly so that our socialist realist literature will make new breakthroughs in this regard.

(3)

Writers of "exposure literature" must be clearheaded, have a firm standpoint, act as warriors in defense of truth, and be a vanguard in leading the way for the four modernizations.

Writers of "exposure literature" must maintain independent thinking in their daily lives. During the rampages of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they promoted feudal fascist dictatorship and a policy of duping the people, going in big for modern superstition on the one hand and going in big for "putting their own relatives into official positions," shackling the people's minds, not allowing them to go beyond certain limits. In the field of literature, they preached, "leaders to produce ideas, the masses to produce life, and writers to produce artistry" in a so-called "three-way combination for creativity," thereby turning writers into mouthpieces with no thoughts of their own. They also required writers to "start with the line," and "put the main theme first," particularly "to write works that struggle against capitalist roaders, to usurp the party and seize authority, and to create counterrevolutionary opinion on their behalf. They completely abolished independent thinking by writers in a vain hope of making writers into useful tools for the promotion of a counterrevolutionary political line. Today, we encourage writers to think independently, to boldly innovate, which means breaking the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," getting rid of the disturbance caused by the ultra-left trend of thought, and giving writers' thoughts and creativity a broad realm. In this broad realm, writers should eradicate all sorts of superstition, overcome all prejudices, resist all erroneous trends, and get rid of pragmatism. In this broad realm, writers should use the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint, and methods to plomb diverse socialist depths and illuminate the darkness, get to the bottom of matters, study new situations, discover new problems, make timely use of their own artistic work to put forward original views about life, help people accurately understand life, and proceed to actively reform life.

Writers of "exposure literature" should also dare to have the fighting courage to be firm rocks in the middle of a stream, and have an uncompromising battle spirit. When you lay bare false, hideous, and evil things, and when you attack decadent and backward forces in society, you will, of course, meet with a mad counterattack by these forces. This is the inevitable logic of revolutionary struggle. Sometimes when facing an erroneous trend, you may come under attack or even be persecuted. This is also not unprecedented. Under these circumstances, in order to protect the interests of the people and the interests of socialism, revolutionary writers must continue to battle tenaciously. If the revolutionary writers of today are unmoved at the sight of the people's suffering, calmly accept the sight of the four modernizations being destroyed, and yield ground when they see evil forces on the rampage, what kind of serving the people, or serving society, or serving the four modernizations is that! It is not easy for a person to discover truth, but to uphold truth is even more difficult. Martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] is a model whom revolutionary writers study. During the days when he was pelted with adversities, in thinking about the future fate of the country, he said what the broad masses of people wanted to say but could not, and when threatened with death, he continued to maintain, "my views will not change." China's literary and artistic circles need more Zhang Zhixin style warriors concerned about the country and the people, and in upholding truth!

Naturally, "exposure literature" writers must also take into consideration the social consequences of their works. In this new socialist era, our party's political line is "unite people of all nationalities throughout the country; arouse all positive elements; and with one heart and one mind go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modernized socialist power." In order to attain this objective, we must adhere to the four basic principles, and we must create a stable and united political situation. This is where the fundamental welfare of the people of the entire country lies. Our objective in writing "exposure literature" is to reveal the contradictions in the realization of the four modernizations, to remove the obstacles to the four modernizations, and to advance the early building of a modernized socialist power. Understood in these terms, the roles of eulogy and exposure are differences in approach with equally satisfactory results. We are revolutionary utilitarianists who cannot help being concerned with the welfare of the people, the state and the party. And these welfares are not concentrated on the realization of the four modernizations. If we depart from this objective, expose for the sake of exposure, contravene the four fundamental principles, and in impairing stability and unity also destroy four modernization construction, we will thereby have turned our backs on the fundamental welfare of the people. This kind of "exposure literature" is simply self-defeating. Commenting on the denunciatory novels that flourished toward the end of the Qing dynasty, Lu Xun said, "Even though meant to rectify society, they do not differ much from satirical fiction; their showy representations demonstrate a paucity of literary sophistication. Lacking magnanimity and writing skill, the novelists depend on exaggerations to please the reading public." In his criticism, "Eyewitness to 20 Years of Monstrosity," he pointed out again that impetuous descriptions and exaggerations due to zealous disclosures of social evils have so much eroded their appeal that they are but a symposium of scandals for idol gossip and laughter." These are problems that also merit attention in writing "exposure literature" today.

In the environment of this socialist historical new era, both democracy and the legal system should give revolutionary writers political assurance when writing "exposure literature." In the fields of science and literature, we will unswervingly carry out a program of "let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend." Acting on the premise of support for the four fundamental principles, literary and art works may extol the light and they may also expose darkness. So long as they do not oppose the party or oppose socialism, they should be permitted to exist, and so long as they do not violate criminal laws, they should neither be attacked nor persecuted. The historical tragedy of the enlarged anti-rightist campaign of the 1950's shall have no repeat performances! We must truly refrain from seizing on mistakes or shortcomings, not beat people with sticks, and not label them with the "three no-isms." We should encourage writers to liberate their thoughts, boldly create, permit them to make mistakes, and permit them to correct their mistakes too. There should be no loss of people as a result of literature, and no loss of literature as a result of people either. Only in this way can an excellent situation of flourishing creativity come about.

As long ago as the 1920's, Lu Xun said with deep feeling, "Because the Chinese people have never dared to look at human life properly but could only practice deceipt and cheating, literature and art that deceives and cheats was also produced, and this literature and art led the Chinese people ever deeper into the morass of deceipt and cheating, until they are no longer aware of it. The world is changing daily. The time for our writers to take off their false fronts, and sincerely, deeply, and courageously look at human life and write of its flesh and blood has arrived. There has been need for a long time for a new field of literature, and there has been need for a long time for several fearless pathbreakers!" ("Graveyard. On Opening the Eyes and Seeing"). Today, the days when the Chinese people were "deceived and cheated" have passed. With the smashing of the "gang of four," a "brand new field of literature" has been opened, and we have joyously seen a group of new "pathbreakers" struggling to appear. We believe that only by upholding dialectic materialism, diligently summarizing negative and positive experiences with "exposure literature," continuing to make the most of its fine points, and overcoming the shortcomings and inadequacies that are so difficult to avoid in exploration thereby developing in a more healthy way, that people will have a more realistic understanding about the position and function of "exposure literature." We may expect that in the new socialist era "exposure literautre" must become a literature that cries out on behalf of the people, and a literature that opens the way to the four modernizations.

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NATURE OF POPULATION LAW, DEMOGRAPHY DISCUSSED

Hangzhou HANGZHOU DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF HANGZHOU UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 2, Jun 80 pp 22-27

[Article by Wang Shengduo [3769 5116 1122]: "An Exploration of the Nature of Population Law and the Classification of Demography as a Science"]

[Text] Ever since the "taboo area" of population theory was broken through, people in the scientific circles have broached many dubious theoretical questions awaiting solution. One of such questions has to do with the nature of population law and the classification of demography as a science. Is population law, after all, a natural law or a social law? Does demography belong to natural science or social science? An exploration of these questions is of great theoretical and practical significance to us.

Concerning the Nature of Population Law

For a long time, this view has prevailed: that is, "population law is a social law and not a natural law." I think this "is--and not" formula of bringingup the question is partial, simplistic, and hence imprecise. This touches first of all our understanding of the essence of population. The so-called population is no other than humanity characterized by certain given biological faculties living in certain given social relationships. Therefore, population is of a dual nature, i.e., characterized by man's natural as well as social disposition.

Man's natural disposition is namely his biological constitution. Man has evolved from a higher animal through the process of labor. At the beginning of human society, the primitive men had bearly left their animal world; their life and procreation were a manifestation almost entirely of their natural disposition. The law of creatures was nearly in complete control of the reproduction of the population of primitive men. Up to this very day, there are still many similarities between man and higher animals in terms of the biological characteristics of their organic constitutions, and their procreative instincts and birth-giving laws. This is common knowledge. "Therefore the very first concrete fact that needs to be defined is bodily structures of these individuals and the relationship between these individuals conditioned by such bodily structures and nature."[1]

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[1] "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 23.

Social disposition is what man alone possesses. "Man's essential character is not an abstract thing that an individual innately possesses; in its realistic nature, it is the sumtotal of all social relationships."[1] All of man's activities (including production struggle, class struggle, and scientific experiment, and daily activities such as wearing clothes, eating, taking up residence and walking around) are of a social nature. An absolutely isolated individual like "Robinson" does not exist. This is also common knowledge. Man's social disposition fundamentally and strictly separates man from the animal world. Therefore, Marx clearly said in his "Economics--A Philosophical Manuscript": "Man is a social being."[2]

Population thus represents the dialectical unity between man's natural disposition and man's social disposition. In this entity of unity, man's social disposition is the dominant aspect. Population is therefore the entity of unity between man's natural disposition and man's social disposition dominated by the latter. This is namely the essence of population as we understand it.

In the treatment of a fact such as this in the nature of common knowledge, we have somehow found ourselves in constant debate for a long time. Some people totally disregard man's natural disposition; they attribute man's essential character only to his social disposition, and they in turn attribute his social disposition to his class nature; hence: "human nature = man's social disposition = man's class nature." This was the representative view of the 1960's. At that time, anyone who chose to discuss man's natural disposition would be at once attached the label of advocating a "theory of human nature." Yao Wenyuan's stick was most frightening. He said: anyone who chooses to discuss such biological demands as "food and sex" is "liable to equate human nature with animal nature."[3] In his view, man has no natural disposition, but only a social disposition. And what is man's social disposition? Yao Wenyuan thought that it was namely man's class nature. This is obviously contrary to facts. Because man's class nature is an important content of his social disposition, but not its only content. In the primitive society and in the future communist society, class nature never existed and will no longer exist: would that mean man's social disposition never existed and will no longer exist?! "Human nature = man's social disposition = man's class nature" therefore constituted the theoretical basis which led to the expansion of class struggle. Even up to now, there is still a market for such a simplistic formula as "man's social disposition is reflected only in his class nature." Therefor, there is need to criticize it solemnly in order to return to order from disorder.

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1. Marx: "Concerning Feuerback's Outline."

2. In his "Economics--A Philosophical Manuscript," Marx clearly discussed the duality of man's essential character: "Humanity is directly of a natural substance." "But, man is not only himself of natural substance, he is also the natural substance of humanity." "So-called humanity is a bodily substance of natural force turned into a lively, realistic, and sensual objective existence." [It] is an entity of unity between a natural disposition and a social disposition.

3. WENYI BAO [LITERARY GAZETTE], No 2, 1960.

Of course, neither can we agree with this point of view, that is, to equate man's natural disposition with an animal's natural disposition. Some people say, "From the point of view of biology and from the point of view of natural disposition, there is no essential difference between man and other higher animals."[1] Such a view is rather over exaggerated. In reality, there is still an essential difference between man and other animals in terms of their biological characteristics regarding physique, structure, cerebrum, procreation, etc. Therefore, what we are talking about here is man's natural disposition; such man's natural disposition has its own intrinsic characteristics (or it can be called man's characteristic natural disposition), which only closely resembles an animal's natural disposition. There is a great difference between "close similarity" and "essential sameness."

The duality of the nature of population determines the fact that population law is also of a dualistic nature. Population develops according to law. In this process of development according to objective law, man's natural disposition and social disposition both play a role, with his social disposition merely playing the dominant role. We may put it this way: man's natural disposition is the basis of the existence and development of population; man's social disposition is the dominant factor in the existence and development of population. Population law is both natural law and social law; but that which occupies a dominant position is social law. This is to say, the process of a population coming into being, essentially, is a social process which is controlled by social conditions. The population theory of the bourgeoisie fails to see this; before Marx, they took human nature as man's natural disposition, and the formula "human nature = biological nature" assumed a ruling position. They denied the essential difference between man and the animals and vainly attempted to transplant the natural law of animal procreation directly to population law; this was utterly preposterous and, as a result, they were naturally subject to the solemn criticism of classical Marxist writers. Marx pointed out: "Actually, every particular, historical mode of production had its particularly and historically functioning population law."[2] Marx contrasted man with the animals and on the basis of man's social disposition--that is, the fact that man lives in various social modes (and not just purely in the natural environment) so that the growth of a population must have its own social characteristics--he reached this conclusion: different modes of social production have different population laws. Engels said, precisely because of such a fundamental difference, "it is impossible to transplant the laws of the animal society directly to the human society."[3] In response to the error of the population theory advanced by the bourgeoisie, Lenin also pointed out: "The conditions of the growth of humanity are directly determined by the organic structures of the different societies."[4] Consequently, we should not study population laws abstractly apart from the social disposition of population.

Regrettably, we have in the past infinitely and absolutely exaggerated these truthful views. As a result, the classical writers seemed to have only stressed man's social disposition on the question of population, and population laws seemed to be

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1. WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERTARY CRITICISM], No 2, 1979.
2. "Das Kapital," vol 1.
3. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 234, p 163.
4. "Complete Works of Lenin," vol 1, p 430.

only social laws, so that man's natural disposition became completely negated, and we dared thus no longer to suggest that in the process of the development of a population natural laws also relatively independently play a role. The kind of metaphysical prejudice that "population law is social law and not natural law" is inferred from this very situation.

In fact, this is a misunderstanding. Our revolutionary guides never denied man's natural disposition, nor did they deny the important role of natural law. Marx said: "The realistic characters of man are diverse, just as the prescriptions of man's essential character and man's activities are diverse."[1] How can man, as a reality, be without the biological characteristics of man's essential character--his natural disposition? If so, that would be equivalent to saying that "man is not born from the womb of his mother, but transformed from the God of a monotheism." This kind of men are not men in blood and flesh, but "abstract men." Engels also pointed out: "Including man," "all higher organisms develop and procreate according to a common law." All procreative instincts are similar. How can we deny the role of natural law? He also specifically suggested: "The romantic relations between persons, especially between the sexes, have existed ever since the beginning of humanity."[2] Marx also said: "The relations between the sexes are the most natural relations between persons." "Eating, drinking and sexual love are of course true human faculties." He never excluded man's natural disposition and biological nature, but was only opposed to exaggerating man's natural disposition and biological nature into his "ultimate and only" disposition and to equating the functions of man with those of an animal.[3]

From this point, what Malthus said about "sexual desires between the sexes being inevitable," just as "food being a necessity for man's existence" and [desiring food] being a human instinct, is an undoubted fact. The question is that he went to the other extreme, partially stressing and exaggerating this natural disposition on the part of man and totally denying man's social disposition, and further asserted that, according to man's procreative instincts, population was bound to increase geometrically beyond control, whereas means of livelihood could only increase mathematically, so that population surplus would prove inevitable and nothing would do unless a large proportion became "killed, starved to death, or died of illness." This was utterly preposterous, and a case of equating the functions of man with those of an animal.

Materialists acknowledge man's procreative instincts. Little children are unaware; old persons cannot have children; "after 10 months' [sic] pregnancy, a child is born one day"; all of these biological facts exist objectively. But man is different from the animals; he can, through social reform, restrict the procreative instincts from the moral standpoint."[4] He can, through birth control, consciously "adjust man's procreation at the same time, like he adjusts material production."[5] And this is one thing only a socialist society can achieve.

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[1] In "Marx and Engels on Art," I, p 342.
[2] Both in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4, pp 232, 241, 229.
[3] "Economics--A Philosophical Manuscript."
[4] "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 620.
[5] "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 35, p 145.

There is an important practical meaning, therefore, for us to face squarely the duality of population and population law and their relationship as opposites in unity. It enables us to understand that population reproduction, apart from social conditions, must also be predicated upon definite natural conditions. It was precisely on the basis of this point that Vice Premier Chen Muhua recently pointed out: in resorting to birth control on a large scale, we must energetically propagate the scientific knowledge about human biology and procreation. "We must break through the conventions of feudal thinking, forthrightly presenting the scientific and technical knowledge of birth control in 'the hall of the sophisticated' in conducting our widespread propagation, so that every household and every individual will understand," and so that everybody can appreciate the natural scientific knowledge on birth and thereby control his procreative instincts and become consciously a master in the realm of procreation.

Concerning Population Quantity and Quality

Let us explore furthermore the nature of population law from the relationship between population quantity and quality. Population, like anything else, is an entity of unity between quantity and quality. Population development includes the development in quantity and in quality. In the determination of the quantitative and the qualitative condition of a population, both social laws and natural laws play a role. In the past, we paid attention only to the quantitative aspect of a population (population total, population density, rate of increase, etc) but not to it qualitative aspect, and hence we contrarily treated "an improvement of population quality" as a poisonous weed and criticized it without reservation. We dared still less to study the natural laws by which an improvement of population quality could be achieved. This was a violation of dialectics. Could it be that a population was only susceptible to quantitative prescription but not to qualitative presecription?

What we speak of as population quality here is the organic unity of the three important factors, the ideological consciousness, the scientific and cultural level, and the physical health of a population. The improvement of these three factors is obviously subject to the constraint of social conditions, but neither can they depart from the functioning of natural laws (especially in the case of physical health). Therefore, this question has always aroused man's attention and exploration.

As early as the ancient times, people already simplistically considered man's natural biological disposition and thought of improving population quality from this angle. The ancient Greeks were the very ones who studied the laws of human heredity on the basis of material heredity and thereby cultivated the evil custom of putting to death infants with biological defects. Aristotle, who was called "a very great thinker of ancient times" by Marx, put forward his own conceptualization and perception as to why, in the hereditary process, children looked like their parents and the younger generation looked like the older generation, and thereby expressed the opinion that the physique of the father's generation was the "blueprint" of the son's generation. Our colloquial saying, that "when planting rice we must have good sprouts, when wishing for a son, one must have a healthy mother," also has such a connotation. Later, genetics became a science and proved that the physical situation of the son's generation had to do, of course, with its inherited social conditions, but it was closely related also to its endowed physical heredity from the father's generation, and that certain diseases (such as high blood pressure, psychosis, etc) could also be hereditary.

As a result, in modern genetics the science that specializes in the study and improvement of human heredity--eugenics, also called the study of "hereditary health," has started to develop. It specializes in exploring how to have the best qualities of parents passed on to the younger generation and how, at the same time, to avoid letting harmful hereditary factors create born biological defects in the children.

This plays an important role in the improvement of population quality. We may present an example in this regard: according to a survey by the World Health Organization, the death rate of children from the marriage of close blood relatives is generally three times higher than that of children from the marriage of non-close blood relatives. Therefore, our Marriage Law prescribes: between "blood relatives of direct descent, or those who are brother and sister to each other or brother and sister sharing one father or one mother," and in the case of "those who are victims of venereal disease and psychopathia not yet cured, and those who have caught leprosy or other diseases and are therefore judged in medicine to be unsuitable for marriage," marriage is prohibited. There is a fully scientific basis for this.

The focus of our birth control work has already been shifted to the emphasis on the "one-child family." How to assure the physical and mental health of a single child, reduce his hereditary diseases, and look after his normal growth, gaining of strength and acquisition of talent concerns the happiness of such family and also affects the quality of the population, our four modernizations construction, as well as the prosperity of the nation. Therefore, we especially need to study hereditary health and to promote eugenics.

But, for a long time, because we denied man's natural biological disposition and stressed only man's social class disposition and thereby whipped up an erroneous trend at home and abroad in equating eugenics with racial discrimination and hence putting eugenics to death with a single blow, we made people cringe with fear in ever thinking about taking up eugenics and hence created an artificial taboo area. For instance, the "Philosophical Dictionary" compiled by the Soviet Union adjudicated eugenics to be an "extremely reactionary," "bourgeois pseudo-science." We must now reverse the verdict on behalf of eugenics for the sake of its reputation. As a science, eugenics does not have any class nature, because hereditary diseases do not select any race or class. In the case of its certain principles (such as "overbreeding, from the eugenical point of view, can be more harmful than beneficial"; "since one reaps what one sows, hereditary characteristics can be passed on generation after generation"; etc) we can very well correctly apply their scientific truth in order to create happiness for mankind in behalf of the progressive classes, but they can also be distorted and utilized by racists as the theoretical basis for racial discrimination and genocide. Hitler was one who made use of eugenics to unscrupulously propagate the fallacy that German's "superior race should rule the world." The gang of four also made use of eugenics to unscrupulously indulge in a reactionary emphasis on genealogy. These falsehoods must be thoroughly criticized. But we must not, because of this, pour away the child along with the dirty water by completely negating eugenics.

The compilers of the "Philosophical Dictionary" also arbitrarily declare: "Man and man's spiritual development and physical development are entirely determined by the social conditions in which he lives." This does not accord with the Marxist theory and objective facts, because man lives in the natural environment just as he does in society. "So long as man exists, natural history and human history continue to restrain each other." In the case of man's natural disposition and social disposition, "the two aspects are closely related."[1] Both natural laws and social laws have played the role of a unity between opposities in respect to the development of man. It was precisely in this sense that Marx held that in studying man, we must at the same time consider the mutual relations and roles between man's natural disposition and social disposition. "From now on, natural sciences will include the science of man, just as the science of man includes natural sciences: this will be a science [in its own right]."[2]

An attempt to partially and excessively stress man's social disposition and the deterministic role of social conditions in respect to man's spirit and physical strength, deny man's natural disposition, and dismiss the role of the laws concerning man's innate, natural heredity fundamentally falls short of explaining many facts. For instance, both at home and abroad are found many "crude children"; it is possible for us to try to unlock the attendant causes simply from the sociological angle?! Such an ultra-left theory is tantamount to dismissing eugenics and the natural sciences altogether. This is undoubtedly utterly erroneous. Marx and Engels cited the example of man's natural selection in ancient society to illustrate this point; they related Morgan's words by saying: "Marriages between clans without any blood relations procreated physically and mentally healthier races; when two advancing tribes were merged together, the skulls and brains of the new generation became naturally expanded to the extent by which they combined the talents of both tribes."[3] Modern science has also proved the theory concerning the fact that children begetted by parents free of any blood relationship are mentally and physically superior; this accords with the principle of eugenics. We must respect science and facts.

We must restore the scientific outlook of eugenics. Now, the taboo area has already been broken through, and eugenics has already been liberated. Not a few units in our country have already started anew their eugenical studies and achieved not a few results. For instance, the level of the developing band [7359 1601 2111 5890] technique in the study of human chromosomes has been greatly elevated and has begun to be applied in clinical diagnosis; not a few units are studying the establishment of a new method for cultivating choriod cells in order to lay the foundation for diagnosing chromosome diseases in an earlier stage of the embryonic period; not a few localities have started pre-birth diagnoses (including diagnoses on the sex and growth of the fetus); some cities have also established office visits by patients for heredity consultation, carried out marriage and birth control guidance, and accumulated not a little experience in reducing the occurrence of hereditary diseases and strengthening the physical health of the population.

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1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 20.
2. "Economics—A Philosophical Manuscript."
3. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4, p 42.

For a long time, the study of man's natural disposition has been overlooked, suppressed, or even dismissed. We should eliminate our remnant fear, do our best to catch up, and make a go of our study in this regard quickly in order to establish scientific demography.

Concerning the Classification of Demography

An exploration of the nature of population law is designed to define the nature and classification of demography; as the former is made clear, the latter becomes also easy to solve. Does demography, after all, belong to the natural sciences or the social sciences? The answer now can be supplied.

I am of the opinion that, on the basis of the dual nature of population law, demography partakes of the contents of both natural science and social science; we can neither simply ascribe demography to the natural sciences nor do so to the social sciences; demography is a marginal science, a comprehensive science situated between the natural sciences and the social sciences. Population is a complex totality consisting of multiple dispositions and multiple relationships. It is bound to touch on sociology, economics, historiography, nationality science, biology, psychology, medicine, genetics, ecology, the study of resources, the study of talents, etc. We must establish the independent scientific system of demography on such a comprehensive scientific basis. The objective of demography is the study of the nature of the law of development on the part of population reproduction. Only by carrying out such a comprehensive study is it possible to accomplish this.

Among bourgeois demographers, some overlook social laws and social sciences and proceed from the single-minded biological point of view, thinking that "only from man's born biological aspects" is it possible to discover the laws of population development; some overlook natural laws and natural sciences and attempt to study the quantity, distribution and composition of population, plus the birth rate, death rate, regional changes and social changes and other aspects of population change of the like, purely from the social science angle. The results of their respective insistence on such extremes can in no way reveal the real nature of the law of population development.

These experiences and lessons have already attracted people's attention. Today, demography has already started to develop in the direction of comprehensive research. During the last 10 years, there are several hundred institutions of demographical research in the world engaged in comprehensive scientific research; there are 4-5,000 journals and publications (among whose contributors many are well known natural scientists, social scientists, or scholars of other sciences) devoted to the exploration of demography from a broad angle.

Facts indicate that demography is a comprehensive system of scientific knowledge. Deviating from this, demography is bound to turn into a dead alley and fail to comprehensively and realistically reveal the nature of the law of population reproduction. For example, demographical economics studies the nature of the law of population development in the economic aspect; demographical sociology studies the relationship between population law and social law, and explores the nature of the law of population development from the angle of social development; demographical hygiene and genetics studies the nature of law in respect to the physical health of a population; demographical statistics studies various numerical data about a population such as birth rate, death rate, and natural increase rate in order to generalize certain characteristics of the law of population development; demographical geography studies population distribution and the relationship between a population and aspects of the natural environment in order to reveal the nature of the law of population development from these angles. While discussing the causes of China's large population, Malthus held that China's temperate climate and soil conditions are particularly inducive to the rearing of many children; this point is of some referential value to us. If we make some comparison internally, half of our territory occupied by the minority nationalities accommodates a very thin population, which makes up only 6 percent of the total; apart from social causes, natural causes (such as cold climate, wind and sand, aridity, etc) are evidently also a factor in this regard. Last year, Tibet's birthrate target was 10 percent; efforts were made to let them procreate without restriction, but the result was that only a 5 percent rate was achieved. In hot regions, people develop early, and in cold regions people mature very late: this is common knowledge to everyone. This illustrates that factors exerting influence upon a population are complex and complicated, and they cannot be simplified when we explore the nature of population law.[1]

Demography must study the nature of the law of population increase and also the nature of the law of population longevity. Then, wherein does the law of population longevity lie? Since liberation, the lifespan of our people has been generally extended. Take Shanghai as an example, the average lifespan of males is 70.80 years and that of females is 75.48 years, with both figures more than 28 years longer than those of 1951. This extension has changed the historical saying, "It has always been rare for a man to live to 70 years of age," and reached an average lifespan even longer than that of the Americans, the Japanese and the Britons. Obviously, of foremost importance has been the cause in the aspect of the social system. But was this the complete and only cause? No. Causes in the aspect of nature must also be explored. In its report published on 6 January this year, "Exploring the Secrets of Longevity," the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY made a study of this question. A joint medical study team conducted a survey of 53 old persons 90 years or older in age amidst the Maya tribe in Brazil discovered the secrets of longevity to be: serene environment and fresh air, controlled food intake centered on a vegetarian diet, constant physical labor, optimism, openness, and refraining from anger in the face of irritating events. The team also discovered that the older generation relatives of half of these old persons also held a longevity record. This illustrates that longevity may also have to do with heredity. Natural laws and factors in the aspect of natural sciences are all worthy of our daring exploration; such a general orientation of our research in exploring demography not only from theories but also from practice is correct. We can fully expect that as we emancipate our thinking and seek truth from facts under the guidance of Marxism, our demography is bound to come later but rise higher in achieving even more gratifying advancement!

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[1] In 'Das Kapital," Marx also discussed the impact of nature on population development. Citing one example, he said: "Why did (ancient) Egypt have such a large population?" The natural conditions of the country such as fertile soil, good climate and fresh air constituted also one of the important factors.

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EARLY CRITICISM OF THE QING DYNASTY FEUDAL AUTOCRACY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Zhang Jinfan [1728 2516 5672], Qui Yuanshou [6726 6678 3757] and Yang Kan [2799 1030]: "The Modern Struggle to Criticize the Qing Dynasty Feudal Autocracy"]

[Text] In China the concentration of feudal autocracy is expressed in the absolute power held by the Emperor. The Emperor alone is the center of the administrative, legislative, judicial and military powers and as such holds the highest power in the nation. In the wake of the ultimate development of imperial power, the Royal family and the Emperor's wives' and mother's families also shared in the glory, power and influence. Even servants and officials usurp power by becoming the Emperor's spokesmen. The Han, Tang and Ming dynasties all suffered the usurpation of power by officials. The formation of the system of feudal autocracy together with the absolute power held by the Emperor produced a unified autocratic, centralized state. This had a progressive effect on national developments. However, the misuse and corruption of this system of imperial power by beaucratic politics had a major reactionary effect on history and became an obstacle to social developments. This was clearly shown by conditions in the Qing dynasty. The goal of the Qing dynasty rulers was to scrupulously maintain their ancestral system and clan laws and repress all reforms. Up till the time of the bourgeois revolution in the west the Qing government still strangled all capitalistic developments in order to maintain the economic foundation of the autocracy--the natural feudal economy, and fell ever further behind the advanced nations. The functioning of the entire machinery of state revolved around the Emperor and the people's political initiative and progressive thoughts were smothered. "Speak but little and bow a lot" became the most common attitude and guide in bureaucratic circles. This provides a clue to the stagnation, backwardness and corruption of the Qing dynasty.

Even though the reigns Kang Xi, Yong Zheng and Qian Long were able to maintain a certain degree of national power, nonetheless, after the mid-Qing dynasty, the corrupt autocracy was in a steady decline and the Chinese people bordered on disaster. After the defeat in the Opium War the progressive people in China were awakened, and opposition to the feudal autocracy gradually became the main trend in modern progressive thought.

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Around the time of the Opium War, the blows of the peasant rebellions against the Qing dynasty, the influences of the initial development of capitalism and the danger of foreign capitalist invasion caused the landlord class to produce a number of progressive thinkers. They saw the evils of rule by the feudal autocracy and made analyses and gave criticism. Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan are representatives of this new trend of thought.

Gong Zizhen more or less understood the close relationship of the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy and the corruption of bureaucratic rule with "10,000 mute horses" in intellectual circles. He blamed the Emperor's attempt to maintain his absolute authority for the use of such high-handed tactics that "there was universal hatred for officials and everyone's honesty and sense of shame were ruined." This was accomplished by issuing such decrees and laws that the longer a person was an official the less the sense of shame; the greater the ambition the more they curried favor; the closer one's position to the Emperor the more subtle one's tricks. Officials in high positions used all their energies to judge the Emperor's likes and dislikes in order to further their own interests. They knew of nothing beyond this. To preserve their official positions they became "models of experience" in collecting their salaries without working and passing their days in a life of ease. The fate of the nation and the suffering of the people became "dark dogs under the white clouds, totally unrelated." (GUSHI GOUCHEN LUNYI MINGLIANG LUN ER, SAN, SI [THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY, ON GOODNESS 2, 3, 4]) Gong Zizhen's description of the flagrant mistreatment by the Qing dynasty rulers and the shameless corruption of the officials opened peoples' eyes to the fact that the autocracy was the source of the social problems and government corruption.

Gong Zizhen was very concerned and openly wondered if this were to continue "what would become of the nation?" This then generated the demands for a change from the system of autocratic rule. Because of the limitations of his time period and location he was unable to suggest any new system of social order, but could only "prescribe the same old cures" (YIHE ZASHI [MISCELLANEOUS POEMS]) and restore the three dukes' "discussion of the Way." His suggestions on the expansion of the authority of the high officials and for more imperial respect for the high officials had no effect on the monarchy.

In some respects Wei Yuan's discussions and criticisms of the monarchy surpassed those of Gong Zizhen. He also opposed the selfishness of the Emperor's treatment of the nation, "his power, interests and fame robbed us of our happiness and brought worry to all the people." He saw the choice between the imperial selfishness or concern for the nation as the factor which determined good government or chaos.

Wei Yuan compared the state to the human body. The Emperor is the head, the officials the hands and feet, and the people the breath. If a person wished to continue living he must breathe every minute. So the life and death of a nation is totally dependent on "taking care of the breath." Therefore, the "enlightened ruler" must "breathe with the people" and make sure that the peasants' "opinions were made known to those above." He was opposed to "partial opinions" and favored "broad opinions." The Emperor must have broad access to the people's views in order to be fully informed and wise. He should be "dictorial" in gathering correct views and not "dictatorial" in gathering individual opinions. The demand for removal of barriers between the monarch and officials and superiors and inferiors became a basic point in the later bourgeois demands for "promoting the people's rights" and "establishment of a parliament." Wei Yuan went further in saying that the Emperior is not divine, "the Emperor is made through mass agreement," which means to be produced by the masses. The Emperor is but "one of the masses" and no more. (MOGUXIA-ZHIPIAN 2, 3, 12 [WRITINGS ON AN OLD TABLET, ON GOVERNMENT, 2, 4, 12]) He did not at all believe that the Emperor was an inviolable god. On the contrary, if a country fell into chaos "the fault lay with the Emperor and the people should blame him." (SHU JINSHIWAN GU YUANYI ZHUAN HOU [WRITTEN UPON COMPLETION OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF GU YUANYI FOR THE JIN DYNASTY HISTORY]) This was a new view for those times.

After the Opium War Wei Yuan came in contact with Western forms of government and expressed his admiration. He said, "America uses tribes to represent the ruler. This solution can be universally applied without harm." Switzerland is the "paradise of the West." (HAIGUO TUZHI, HOUXU [A DESCRIPTION OF MARITIME NATIONS, POSTSCRIPT]). Although this explanation is shallow and mis-informed it nonetheless was the beginning of contact with Western political and social systems for the intellectuals and explains why they saw Western democratic forms of government as superior to the Chinese feudal autocracy. The formal suggestion that they "regard the barbarians as masters," i.e., learned from them, smashed the restrictions of the feudal aristocracy which had closed off the country. This opened the path for others to contact bourgeois thinking and start the struggle against the feudal autocracy. Wei Yuan's bold attact on "royal authority" showed a certain degree of awareness of the people's strength and wisdom, demonstrated his vague perceptions of the progress of Western democratic government and revealed the special features of early democratic thought in China. This worked to "cut through the thickets in forging a path" in setting the mood for and promoting developments in democratic thoughts.

(2)

Following the formation of anti-revolutionary forces both in China and abroad around the 1870s the government of Qing dynasty feudal autocracy daily became an evermore useful tool in oppression of the Chinese people by the foreign invaders and it declined ever deeper into corruption and reactionary mentality. After the birth of the bourgeoisie there was progress in development of thought in opposition to the Qing dynasty autocracy. This thought expressed the early bourgeois reformist ideological trend of criticism of the aristocracy as found in Western bourgeois political theory. The major representatives of this trend were Zheng Guanying, Wang Tao, Chen Chi, He Qi and Hu Liheng. After the war between China and France they gradually began to feel that the feudal autocratic government was a hinderance to the development of bourgeois modern enterprises, so they continued their criticism against this rule and advocated a constitutional monarchy. He Qi and Hu Liheng described China under feudal dictatorship as "government for selfish ends not for the public good, and unfair laws favoring some over others. The people are like children but the ruler treats them no better than slaves. The officials are like tigers yet the ruler indulges them like hawks and dogs." (CENG LUN SHU HOU [2582 6158 2579 1775]) They believed that to change China from a poor weak nation to a wealthy strong nation there must be a change from the system of feudal autocracy and the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary system and that "prolonged peaceful government must be based on this." (XINZHENG LUNYI [A DISCUSSION OF NEW GOVERNMENT])

After the Sino-Japanese War the nation was in a national crisis of unprecedented gravity. The fate of a nation was at stake and the restoration movement reached a high tide. Under these conditions the bourgeois reform faction made an even more fierce attack on the monarchy. Yan Fu followed the Western "doctrine of social contract" in believing that the birth of the monarch was separate from divine will and that he served the people in the function of a "public servant." When the state was being maltreated because of weakness the soverign ought to "protect the people" by exerting all his energies to improve the people's abilities, morals and strength and thus make the nation "stronger and more wealthy day by day." The inability to perform this would result in loss of position as the people have the power of recall. From this we see that Yan Fu's concept of the "sovereign" was no longer the Emperor of the system of the feudal autocracy. He believe that after the Qin dynasty all emperors were "nation-stealing bandits" who made many laws to "protect what they have stolen" and "prevent mass opposition." These laws "destroyed the people's talents, scattered their strength and weakened their morals. The result was a weakened nation which could not resist an invasion. To demonstrate Chinese weakness and Western strength he made a comparison. "The Westerners describe their rulers as follows: The state is the public property of the people and the nobles, generals and ministers are public servants of the state. However, in China the ruler is described as follows: The Son of Heaven owns the four seas and has innumerable subjects. . . . This being the case, the people of Western nations have more respect and honor than our nobles, generals and ministers, while the Chinese people are mean and humble, no better than the offspring of slaves. If there is war the citizens fight for public property and public interest, while in China it is slaves fighting their masters' interests. What hope of victory is there if slaves must fight against people so ennobled?" (BIHAN [6582 7281]) Although these comments give excessive praise to bourgeois social and political systems they do reveal the oppression and enslavement of the people by autocratic rule and from the viewpoint of the weakening of the state are quite correct.

Tan Sitong made an even stronger criticism of the feudal autocratic dictatorship. He issued a call to "cast off the neck of the monarchy" and showed a stronger more combative democratic spirit. Tan accused the Emperor of believing the entire nation to be his "personal property," of "wasting the nation's life's blood and vitality" and of being vain and licentious. He accused the Emperor of oppressing the people in "unimaginably harmful ways and of invoking the crime of "despoiling joyous occasions" to oppose reforms, all of which resulted in numerous tasks remaining undone. He thoroughly cursed the Emperor as an "enemy of the people" and cursed the dictatorship as "benighted, obstructive and unethical." He advocated "slaying the Emperor" and abolishing the monarchy, thus demonstrating his especially negative attitude toward the royal system.

He also suggested a "doctrine of social contract" similar to that proposed by the enlightened Western bourgeoisie and used it to refute the heart of the system of feudal autocracy-royal power. He pointed out that the relationship between the ruler and the people was: "First there was the people and then there was the ruler, so the ruler came last and the people are basic." He believed that, "those that rule should perform for the people, the officials aid in the performance of the people's affairs." If the ruler is not suited to his position, the "removal of the ruler" is a matter of course. (REN XUE [PERFECT VIRTUE]) This refuted the concept of divine ruler found in the theory of "rule by divine right" and argued that the people have the right to remove the ruler. Although his presentation was not very scientific, nonetheless it was seen as a powerful attack against the divine right of rulers. Tan Sitong openly demanded that bourgeois freedom and equality replaced feudal obligation and advocated using the "people's rights" and "democracy" to transform the feudal autocracy. He once also united criticism of the monarchy with anti-Manchu feelings. In the view of Tan Sitong the entire Qing dynasty was thoroughly corrupt, "like a dark prison without a single law or policy worthy of being recorded. It is thoroughly vexing." (ZHI WANG KANGNIAN SHUER [A LETTER TO WANG KANGNIAN])

On the basis of criticism of the system of feudal autocracy Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao suggested the establishment of a parliamentary system. Kang Youwei believed that "all strong nations have a constitution and a parliament. In the parliament the ruler and the people discuss laws of the land." Therefore, China "ought to establish a constitution and a parliament and let the people share in the many affairs of state, thus forming a three-way system of authority." This was seen as beneficial in transforming the system of feudal monarchy into a capitalist system of constitutional monarchy. (QING DING LIXIAN KAIGUOHUI XI [AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTION AND A PARLIAMENT]) Liang Qichao believed that in China the feudal dictatorship had "taken over each person's right of self-determination and invested this in a single individual, so one person had taken away the rights of a multitude." (LUN ZHONGGUO JIROU YOUYU FANGBI [CHINA'S WEAKNESS ARISES FROM INDULGENCE AND ABUSES]) The result was that for a long period China had "accumulated weaknesses." YU YAN YOULING XIANSHENG SHU [A LETTER TO MR YAN YOULING]) He herein emphasized that the problem of "people's rights" is central to the success or failure of the nation. He clearly pointed out that the "source of wealth and power" of Western capitalist nations lies in the capitalist political system. He heaped lavish praise on parliamentary government and advocated establishing a constitutional monarchy in place of the feudal autocracy.

From the above we can see that in the latter part of the nineteen century there was much more opposition to the feudal autocracy than during the Opium War. Moreover, there were other differences. At the same time there was a development from minority criticism into an ideological trend of definite scope. This opposition had greater influence in society and made an even greater attack on the corrupt autocracy. This then simulated a wild hatred of reactionary forces. The feudal autocratic clique under the leadership of the Nala clan carried out a bloody repression of the Constitutional Reform and Modernization Movement by the bourgeois reformist faction. This event demonstrated the stubbornness of the feudal autocracy and demonstrated that victory in the struggle against it was no easy matter.

(3)

The lesson taught by the successive failures of the Reform Movement of 1898 and the Boxer Rebellion two years later made some patriots realize that in order to develop capitalism and save the nation it was necessary to overthrow the "foreign ruling house" of the Qing dynasty autocratic dictatorship. Thereupon, the bourgeois revolutionary faction as represented by Sun Zhongshan advocated the violent overthrow of Qing ruling house. There quickly arose a democratic revolutionary trend of thought advocating the establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic, and this became the mainstream of progressive thought in twentieth century China. From this moment China entered a new stage of thought in opposition to feudal autocracy.

The book GEMING JUN [THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY] by Zou Rong [6760 1369] which was written in a sharp, incisive style became a call to arms in the attack against the autocratic system. He said that the autocratic form of government made successive rulers believe that the whole nation was "the private property of a single ruling family" and that "none of the people have any equality or freedom." Therefore, it was necessary to use revolution to "slay the autocrats who rule us and thus restore the human rights accorded by Heaven," to "sweep away several thousand years of autocratic rule and escape from several thousand years of slave-life mentality in order to purify the Chinese homeland and turn the decendants of the Yellow Emperor into the fathers of a new nation." He also made a rational explanation of the need to overthrow the Qing dynasty autocratic dictatorship and enthusiastically praised revolution as a "general rule of evolution," "a universal truth," and "the innate wisdom of the people." He moreover offered the outline for a Chinese nation based somewhat on the French declaration of human rights.

Chen Tianhua verified the need for the elimination of the autocracy in order to forge a democratic republic. He said, "all those who have recently made comments on the comparative forms of government say that democracy is the best. The cry of nationalism is heard daily. The call is for the removal of the evil form of the old government and the implementation of the very best and most beneficial form of government, a republic." He believed that "for one person to be a god above reproach and for one family to hold power over a whole nation" was not compatible with the trends of the time. (LUN ZHONGGUO YI GAI CHUANG MINZHU ZHENGTI [ON THE BENEFITS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN CHINA]).

The great pioneer revolutionary Sun Zhongshan was influenced by theories based on Western bourgeois politics. He summed up recent historical experience in opposition to aggression and in opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy, outlined modern ideological trends opposing feudal autocracy and offered his theory of the three peoples principles. The main organizational parts were opposition to feudal autocracy, the establishment of a bourgeois republic and the implementation of a bourgeois democratic system of civil rights.

Sun Zhongshan was profoundly aware that if the Qing court and the autocratic system were not quickly overthrown it would be difficult for the impoverished and weakened nation to avoid disaster from outside powers. He felt a passionate and lofty sense of responsibility to the nation and the people. He took an even stronger democratic revolutionary stance in criticizing and exposing the evils of the Qing dynasty autocratic rule. As he pointed out, "The present government of China can be summed up in a few sentences: In all matters whether they pertain to the royal court, the people's affairs or even local matters, the common people have no rights of expression or information. The officials have the power to render judgments, and when the people are abused there is no one to turn to. . . . The people's ears and eyes are blocked and their intelligence is obstructed. Even more frightening is that political documents are not available and the newspapers are severely restricted.... As for the invention of new implements and the creation of new ideas, the people are afraid of the death penalty and dare not act. There is not a single Chinese person who is not covered in darkness." (LUNDUN BEINAN JI [A PRISONER IN LONDON]) These words used clear democratic concepts to expose the oppression of autocratic politics, point out the lack of people's rights under autocratic dictatorship, explain why autocratic dictatorship is an obstacle to social progress, scientific culture and the development of production technology, and point out that it is a factor in making

China remain a poor, backwards nation. He concludes from this the liberation of China from "a thousand years of poisonous autocracy," and "the implementation of people's rights" "cannot be delayed." (MINBAO FAKANCI, SANMINZHUYI YU ZHONGGUO QIANTU [INTRODUCTION TO THE 'MINBOA,' THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES AND CHINA'S FUTURE])

In the TONGMENGHUI XUANYAN [DECLARATION OF THE TONGMENG SOCIETY] Sun Zhongshan clearly called for the "expulsion of the Manchus, restoration of Chinese rule, the establishment of a nationalist state and the equality of rights." He made a further description of his plans for establishing the nation, "after the popular revolution establishes a nationalist government all citizens will be equal and can participate in the government. There will be the general election of a president. A parliament will be formed of publicly elected representatives, and it will formulate a national constitution to be obeyed by everyone. Anyone who dares declare himself Emperor will come under open attack by all!" This has three levels of significance: the first is the armed struggle for power; the second is the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary republic; the third is the prevention of any restoration of a feudal monarchy. Sun Zhongshan is worthy of being called a democratic, revolutionary warrior. He demanded the complete overthrow of the dictatorship of the Qing dynasty feudal monarchy, implemented the highest form of democratic republic found within the bourgeois revolution, and moreover carried out a struggle against the bourgeois royalist faction that wished to implement the perverse theory of a constitutional monarchy. "Anyone who dares declare himself Emperor will come under open attack by all!" This vigorous battlecry manifested his brave opposition to the feudal autocracy and his extreme faith in the principles of a democratic republic, and at the same time demonstrated the bravery and determination of the revolutionaries to fight for and protect democratic rights.

The above material clearly shows that the ideology of the bourgeois revolutionary faction had surpassed and made great improvements over the early levels of opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy. The modern democratic thought in opposition to feudal autocracy promoted a high tide in the older democratic revolution and won broad sympathy and support. Under the leadership and struggles of the bourgeois revolutionary faction the entire population of China arose in opposition to the Qing dynasty, finally carrying out the revolution of 1911, which with one stroke overthrew the feudal autocracy of the last two thousand years and established the republic. However, the weak bourgois revolutionary faction bowed to the might of imperialism and feudalism and China soon became republic only in name. Under the northern warlords government was actually a dictatorship by the landlord-comprador class. There was only the outline of a nationalist state, the people's will and rights were all destroyed.

The modern struggle to criticize the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy expressed the important aspects of a struggle between progressive and reactionary forces and between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary elements, and expressed the struggle between advanced capitalist modes of production and corrupt feudal modes of production. It reflected historical trends in social developments, heightened the people's awareness of democracy and mobilized the organization of mass opposition to the Qing dynasty feudal autocracy. However, because the Chinese economy was undeveloped, the national bourgeoisie was very weak and the world had already entered the imperialist era the effectiveness of the Chinese struggle against feudal autocracy was not great. The national bourgeoisie lacked the power to change or eliminate the economic foundation of feudal autocracy--the national feudal economy, its social foundation--

the feudal clan system and its spiritual supports--feudal relationships and morality. Therefore, the traditions of the Chinese feudal autocracy were like "historical inertia" which hung over the whole society. Although they were later swept away by the new democracy and the socialist revolution their poisons are strong even today so we must still carry out an unrelenting struggle against them.

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ARTICLE DISCUSSES STATUS OF LAW IN CHINA

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 7-12

[Article by Dong Likun [5516 4539 1024] of the Legal Research Institute of the Shanghai College of Social Science: "No One Can Stand Above the Law: A Discussion of the Relationships Between the Law and Individuals, the Party, the Government and Policies"]

[Text] Our socialist laws reflect the will of all the people. They are vigorously enforced standards of behavior which all people must respect. All individuals, organs of state and social groups must obey the law, no one can stand above the law. Therefore, at the Fifth National People's Congress Comrade Ye Jianying strongly pointed out, "China's socialist laws must have the greatest possible authority." Since the founding of the nation we have enacted a great many laws. If these laws have the highest authority and if everyone from the highest state and party leaders to each citizen was able to consciously obey the law and work according to the law then the plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power could not have succeeded and the nation would not have suffered ten years of chaos. The overturned cart is a warning to the carts behind. We must honestly sum up our historical experiences, discover the reasons why Chinese laws lack authority, make an honest analysis and suggest solutions in order to establish supreme authority for socialist laws and truly implement socialist legal rule.

The Relationship Between Law and Individual Will

An extremely important problem in imparting high authority to our laws is to clarify the relationships between the leaders, individuals and the law. For a long time the function and authority of the individual have had inappropriate influence while the law has been secondary to the individual. During the Cultural Revolution Lin Biao made perverse slogans giving ultimate authority to the individual. He turned our leadership's words into "the highest directives" and "the highest law" while not even glancing at the constitution or the law. Even after smashing the "gang of four" the leadership's words still remain in absolute authority in the minds of some people, and the two "fanshi" [0416 2508] theories are the most recent forms of expression of the absolute authority of such leadership. Those who adhere to this viewpoint of the two "fanshi' theories are not afraid to go against party decisions, violate state laws or harm the party and the state. They only fear violating the words and phrases of such leadership and forcefully work according to these two "fanshi" theories. One can hardly imagine that operating according to such a viewpoint would maintain the authority of our state laws!

Is the individual subject to the laws or are the laws subject to the individual? Marx has expounded on this in a profound, enlightened manner. He said, "Law ought to be an expression of the interests and needs generated by the whole society and by a particular concrete mode of production, rather than the irresponsible acts of a single individual." (MAKESI-ENGESI QUANJI [THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 6, p 292) Marx very clearly explains two problems: (1) Law is the product of the development of a particular state of the mode of social production, which is the division of social classes, and is a tool by which the ruling class rules and oppresses the class which is ruled. (2) The law is a tool which manages the state and adjusts the internal relationships within the ruling class. The ruling class and all its representatives must equally obey the law. The first problem can be understood by everyone. The second problem has long been ignored by people. In actuality, it is only when the law is thoroughly functioning in making adjustments to the internal relationships within the ruling class that this class is able to maintain its status as such. As everyone knows, in a class society the so-called class rule cannot be carried out by member of the ruling class, but is accomplished through a ruling group composed of representatives of the ruling class. Then, how does the ruling class select its representative and how does it organize this ruling group? How does the ruling group focus its class will, implement its class mission and protect its class benefits? All these problems were solved through the use of laws. "Law expresses the winning of the authority of state government." (LIENING QUANJI [THE COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 13, p 304) "If the will is that of the state then it ought to be expressed as the laws enacted by the state organs. Otherwise the word 'will' is nothing more than an empty word." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 25, 75) The law unquestionably not only reflects the will of the ruling group, it also reflects the will of the general membership of the ruling class. The general membership of the ruling class uses laws to oversee the activities of the ruling group in power and moreover enacts laws to share in the benefits obtained through class rule. The ruling group in power uses law to exercise rule over the whole society and also uses law to handle criminal elements within its own class, protect class unity and to more effectively repress resistance from the ruled class in order to maintain the status of rulers. Therefore, the reckless behavior and lawbreaking of any individual is contrary to the overall interests of the ruling class and must be subjected to the unified opposition of the entire ruling class. Individual submission to the law is a special form of submission by the individual to the overall group (class). Past and present both in China and abroad there are countless examples of ruling class leaders who broke the law and were deprived of power.

According to Chinese historical records Prince Taijia of Yin "flaunted the laws of Tang and was immoral" so the minister Yi Yin placed him under palace arrest. (SHI JI, YIN BENJI [THE HISTORICAL RECORDS, THE BASIC ANNALS OF YIN]) Yi Yin was known as the most virtuous minister of antiquity. Prince Chang Yi of the Han dynasty was enthroned as emperor but his behavior "destroyed the rites between emperor and prince and brought chaos to the Han legal system." he was finally deposed by Huo Guang who could be still regarded as a loyal Han dynasty official. (HAN SHU, HUO GUANG ZHUAN[THE BOOK OF HAN, THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUO GUANG]) For an official to depose an emperor is a truly unforgivable act, but as the deeds of Yi Yin and Huo Guang protected the overall interests of the ruling class they were praised by feudal historians. Since ancient times there has been the saying "the ancestral temple honors the lord." (HAN SHU, HUOGUANG ZHUAN) It can be seen that no matter whether it is a class which rules over slaves or is a feudal ruling class the interests of the entire class always come before the interests of the individual. The bourgeoisie are naturally just the same. Everyone knows that in recent years the president and officials of capitalist nations have been forced out of office because of criminal behavior.

China is a socialist nation under a proletarian government, the law reflects the will of all the people, leadership cadres of all levels are public servants who carry out the will of the people, the public servants must carry out the will of their masters and serve their masters. How could the masters be expected to obey the servants or permit any reckless behavior by the servants? The Paris Commune, the world's first proletarian government, long ago set an example for us. All worker personnel of the Paris Commune were chosen directly by the people and the people used the law to oversee their work. Moreover, the worker personnel could be recalled at any time for transgressions against the people's will in the performance of their duties. All worker personnel of the state must give absolute obedience to the law and obey the people's will. This is an important lesson which the Paris Commune has given to us.

Will not emphasis on individual obedience to the law negate the effectiveness of the leadership in managing the state? It will not. The reason why the great leaders of history were great and why proletarian leaders became leaders is because they were very skilled in focusing the hopes and needs of their class and they became its representatives. If these great leaders dwell on a lofty plane above the class members and do not reflect or represent the interests of or work for the hopes of the class members then who would qualify them as a representative and who would ever say they were great? All of our state and party workers must carry out a system of democratic centralism, the cadres must carry out a work style of "coming from the masses and going among the masses," must concentrate on mass needs and wishes, must go through normal organizational and legislative procedures, and must centralize the common needs and desires of the masses in the party and the state policies and laws. Without proletarian leaders and without all levels of leading cadres in the party and state these important tasks will not be properly accomplished. However, any departure from the vital livelihood practices of the proletariat and the broad masses would leave all policies and laws like rivers without sources, trees without roots. The means of concentrating on mass hopes and needs and transforming the vital livelihood practices into party and state laws requires the complete utilization of the skills of the proletarian leadership. On the second day after the October Revolution the newly born Soviet government adopted Lenin's proposal to enact the famous "Peace Act" and "Land Act." These two acts reflected the existing hopes of the Russian masses and greatly stimulated the progress of the socialist October Revolution. The acts were proposed by Lenin, they were promulgated by the Soviet government, they reflected the hopes of the Russian proletariat and masses, and this entire process reflects the function of the proletarian dictatorship in formulating new laws.

In the question of the relationship between the individual and the law in the proletariat, each person must obey the law and the words of the individual are no substitute for the law, just as in the case of the words of the leadership. The proletariat strongly advocates that "all people are equal before the law." Any person who breaks the law is subject to legal punishment. An important French thinker of the Age of Enlightenment J. J. Rousseau said, "No matter what the form of government in a country, any person within the scope of its jurisdiction who is not required to obey the laws will inevitably come to control the rest of the people." (LUN RENLEI BUPINGDENGDE QIYUAN HE JICHU [DISCOURS SUR L'ORIGINE DE L'INEGALITE DES HOMMES] p 52) This is a profound statement. Feudal society places the feudal ruler above the law, implementation of "authority rests solely with the emperor," and "there is no reverence for the law as such." Therefore, feudal society has no democracy and no rule by law, all it has is the despotism of the feudal ruler. We are the revolutionary proletariat and want not only to liberate ourselves but also liberate all mankind. How could the proletariat ever permit any control by the will of other people?

Nonetheless, we cannot but notice that we have had several thousand years of feudal society and feudal thought has deep roots. At the same time, for a long time since founding the nation we have virtually ignored the law and with the added destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we now are plagued with the remaining poisons of applying the laws to suit a person. Therefore, we cannot but operate according to the law and truly make everyone equal before the law. This concerns not only the authority of our socialist laws but also concerns the prestige of the party and the state as well as the future of rule by socialist law. We must strictly enforce the laws. All people who break the law must be legally and equally punished no matter how great their past glories or how high their status.

The Relationship Between the Law and the Party and Government Organs

There are now quite a few people who use the name of the party or an organization to place themselves above the law, resist implementation of the law and even transgress against it. For example, the SENLINFA [FORESTRY LAWS] were enacted but some rural brigades, communes and even some county committees openly broke the Forestry Laws by cutting and harming large areas of the national forests (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 6 August 1979). The State Council enacted the SHUICHAN ZIYUAN BAOHU TIAOLIE [WATER PRODUCTS AND RESOURCES PROTECTION ACT], but in the Dongting Lake region some factories, communes and farms still knowingly harmed state water products resources (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 25 July 1979). On November 17th of last year the RENMIN RIBAO reported that in Jilin province certain brigades, communes and commune-run enterprises together with state and collective units acted entirely for their own interests under their leadership to organize the large-scale theft of enormous amounts of imported oil-field implements from the state. This created a serious incident which resulted in an oil-field shutdown. The stolen implements were valued at several hundred thousand yuan. Some places and units even enacted land policies and land laws contrary to state laws. Without doubt, if the above-mentioned deeds were the acts of ordinary individuals they would quickly have been placed in custody, but because they were done by state or enterprise units even loud protest by the masses would be of no avail. Such conditions have seriously endangered the implementation of our state laws and have harmed the authority of our socialist laws.

Our party regulations clearly stipulate that the most important task of party organizations in all levels of state organs and in all enterprise units is to guarantee the thorough implementation of party policy and state laws and regulations. They are the tools for the complete implementation of party policy and state policies and laws. How then could some party organizations place themselves above the law? This took place under certain conditions. First, for a long time, especially during the cultural revolution, we placed unsuitable imphasis on centralized party leadership and had the party leadership monopolize matters. Some people mistakeningly believe that since the party provides leadership in all matters we should obey the party committee in all matters and the law is no exception. It was natural that the "party committee should be superior to the law." Second, in practice some individual party committees actually placed themselves above the law. They said that "independent judgements" and "obeying only the law" was anti-party, that it "used law to oppose the party" and made repeated criticisms. Examination and approval by the party also became systemized and for a long time there was the idea that the party committees were above the law. Third, in cases where individuals made false records in the name of their organizations there was no way to correct the matter and all cases were determined by the party committee according to what the secretary of the party committee said. Even if this was contrary to state law the people could do nothing about it. Therefore, we had to carry out re-education regarding the relationship between the party committee and the law.

As everyone knows our constitution was drafted by responsible persons of the party central and by persons from all the various organizations and was discussed in committee. It also was passed by the state's highest organ of authority--the National People's Congress, embodies the will of the entire party and all the people and represents the shared interests of all the people. If state laws are subject to the decisions of any level of the party then in truth the group interests of the entire party and all the people are subject to the interests of an individual or a small group. This is an absurd theory and a dangerous practice.

The party's judicial work is not dominated by the party committee. The party's most important task is to guarantee the complete implementation of the state laws, to guarantee the independent performance of the judicial organs and see that they are not subject to takeover by or interference from other government organs, groups or individuals. The state is like a human body and is composed of various components. The various parts have mutual restrictions and provide mutual support, but no one part can substitute for another. The brain can direct the work of a person's hands and feet but cannot perform that work in place of those organs. The judicial work of the party leadership has the same principle. Those who believe that only the party committee can judge cases and that they are party leaders only if the party interferes in judicial work just don't understand this principle. Actually, the independent performance of duty by the judicial organs is not independent of the party leadership. Each level of the judicial organs must make work reports to comparable levels of the National People's Congress and the responsible standing committees, and at the same time, each level of the judicial organs also has a party organization. Isn't this party leadership? For a long time we ignored the specific function of the judicial organs and were unable to guarantee the thorough implementation of the state laws. This fundamentally weakened the party leadership.

We now have a real need for energetic construction of the judicial organs. We must especially do research on how the judicial organs are to carry out legal supervision of all levels of state organs and enterprise units. As for the problems of how to exercise investigative authority and judgemental authority over their illegal acts, in our search for solution it is worthwhile to examine the means used in other countries. (Miersen) a professor of law at the British Academy recently told us in an information exchange that before World War II British law prohibited citizens from suing state organs and only permitted suits against individual government workers. Therefore, the government had the potential for great incursions in the rights of citizens and they suffered consiedrable loss of rights because of this. After the war British law not only permitted legal action against the government, the parliment also established a new special agency to receive accusations at all levels of govennment and to be responsible for investigating these accusations. England also established an administrative court to resolve disputes between citizens and the government. The Yugoslav expert Professor (Pupofuji) emphasized a particular point during an information exchange. In Yugoslavia when any unit of a state organ, district or enterprise breaks the law it is treated just like any natural person in the pursuit and determination of legal responsibility. He gave the example of a municipal committee making a wrong decision, one which broke the law. This committee could be prosecuted in order to determine their legal responsibility. The Yugoslav Constitutional Court has charges of criminal cases involving units of government agencies, districts and enterprises.

After the Socialist October Revolution Lenin advocated the establishment of a Worker-Peasant Procuratorate in order to oversee the work of the agencies of the newly formed Soviet government. Lenin said, "The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate is established for our government agencies and its activities should without exception touch all government agencies--local, central, commercial, administrative, educational, theatrical and so on--in short, no agencies are to be excepted. (LIENING LUN GUOJIA YU FA [LENIN'S DISCUSSION OF THE STATE AND THE LAW] Vol 3, p 310) The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate was of great use in ensuring that all levels of state government thoroughly carried out Soviet laws, regulations and policies and protected the new Soviet system of government.

The early experiences of England, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union teach us that full implementation and application of the nation's laws requires not only that all offenders be punished but that all state agencies, collectives and enterprises that break state laws are to be prosecuted to the extent of their responsibility, and that moreover there should be a special agency to perform this work. According to article forty-three of the constitution, "The Supreme People's Procuratorate shall conduct investigations of all workers and citizens in State Council departments, local agencies and state agencies who do not obey the constitution and the law." From this we see that all state organizations are subject to investigation and prosecution just the same as any individual person. In the past we enacted many laws but made no provision for implementation by any particular agency so that after a law was broken there were no places where the masses could go to lodge a complaint. It was the relatively common condition of "having laws but no enforcement." Lenin has told us, "If there is no agency to force the people to obey the laws and regulations then they have no authority at all." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 25, p 458) We now must clarify the relationships and individual professional responsibilities of the legal and judicial agencies with party committess on all levels and the state agencies, greatly strengthen and build up the investigative agencies, ensure the independent investigative authority and judicial dicisions of these agencies, truly operate according to the constitution and the law, ensure that the judicial agencies supervise the implementation of the laws by all units of the state agencies, collectives and groups and enterprises and prosecute any violations of our state laws. We also ought to have a special agency to accept and handle any exposure of and complaints against the illegal acts of any units of state agencies and enterprises made by the masses. In short, we must take thoroughgoing effective action to ensure that our laws are fully implemented by all departments, districts and units.

The Relationship Between Law and Policy

The substitution and negation of law by party policy has prevented China from fully and truly implementing its national laws, and for a long time the ideology of legal nihilism has been a major factor preventing their implementation. Hasn't someone called us to account by asking, "You advocate the authority of law, but where does that leave the party and party policies"? Therefore, if we don't clarify the relationships between policy and law our socialist laws are but empty words.

Theory and practice tell us that if party policy replaces the law the alliance between the proletariat and the other classes will be damaged and the proletarian revolutionary activities well be seriously endangered. Everyone knows that the party is a class organization and that the communist party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Its guiding principle, line and policies are formulated by the party's All-China National Congress and the central committee which collectively reflects the hopes and needs of the proletariat. The laws express the national consciousness and are formulated by the nation's highest power structures. The nation's highest power structures not only have proletarian delegates but also have representatives from all classes with which the proletariat has alliances. It also has representatives from the socialist workers and from patriots who protect socialism and national unity. Together with the proletarian representatives they participate in discussing and determining our national laws. To replace laws with party policies is to deprive all the non-communist party political factions, the various classes and levels of their legislative rights. This results in harm to the efforts of the proletariat and socialism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out their extreme "leftist" policies, trampled on the law, destroyed the political alliance, stopped the normal activities of the National People's Congress, and carried out the "centralized leadership" of their gang and the results brought a great disaster to our party and the nation. Could we ever forget this painful historical lesson?

Another reason why party policy cannot simply replace laws is because policy and laws have different modes of expression and different means of implementation. Party policy is the party's guiding principle and the concrete manifestation of the party line. It has a guiding function for our practice and generally is relatively involved with principles. The law is a standard of behavior which everyone must obey. The definition must have clear content and make sharp distinctions. The law must clearly define what can be done and what can not be be done. Implementation of party policies depends primarily on persuasion and education, while the laws depend on enforcement by the state. When a law has been broken the punishment must be administered and there is no room for discussion of the matter.

Party policy cannot replace the law, however legislative action can change a policy into a national law. As Engels pointed out, "All needs of citizens and society--no matter which class is in control-- are still subject to the will of the nation so that the laws can be expressed in a form that can be effectively acted upon." (MAKESI-ENGESI WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 2, p 393) Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] said, "Law is the expression of the codification of the party central's direction and policy and is the embodiment of the relatively mature and proven party practices in the form of laws." (See the RENMIN RIBAO for 29 July 1979) Obviously in China to offend the law means to offend party policy and to obey the law means to obey the party leadership. Without doubt all party organizations, groups and individuals must without exception carry out party policy just as they carry out the law. All decisions, directives and documents must be carried out to benefit the law and cannot be in conflict with the law.

The law is a special form of party policy and in the great majority of cases the law and party policy are unified. However it is hard to avoid contradictions between law and policy. The means of resolving such contradictions is not only related to trust in the law but is related to the existence of the socialist legal system. Most of the time in the past, we over-emphasized the idea that laws must serve the needs of the conditions of class struggle and when there is a contradiction between law and policy the law must stand aside even to the point where party policy replaces or negates the law. For a long time the broad masses lacked faith in our law and when cadres felt that laws were too binding they ignored or negated them. The fact that after 30 years of national construction we still do not have a complete legal system is definitely related to this way of doing things. "In a nation without an unwavering set of laws the people have no basis on which to act." Because we lack a stable set of laws the "gang of four" had an opportunity to seize power, the party and nation fell into a long period of chaos and there was fundamental harm to the proletariat and the masses. Practice proves that emphasis on the subservience of law to policy is extremely harmful. We must absorb the lessons of our past experiences and when there are contradictions between the two the law must take the lead. We must solve our problems according to the spirit of the law and protect the stability and authority of the law.

Of course a law once enacted is not beyond change. If a law has fallen behind conditions in construction or in the revolution the spirit of the policies can be followed to use the state legislative organs to eliminate, modify or replace the law. Lenin said, "If the old laws won't do, the already changed conditions then require that they be transformed, so they ought to be changed." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 28, p 204) What we emphasize is that the elimination, change and enactment of laws must be undertaken according to a strict legal process by the appropriate legislative organs. No person's words or any group's decisions or any conditions must be allowed to arbitrarily replace the laws with policy. Recently the standing committee of the National People's Congress passed a resolution extending the life of all laws and regulations except those which conflict with each other. The National People's Congress and its standing committee are our only legislative bodies and without their consent no laws can be changed or eliminated.

We have discussed the relationships between the law and the leadership, the party committee, the state agencies and policy. For a long time these relationships were overturned in China, and because they were overturned our laws lacked authority. We must now correctly handle these relationships. In terms of theory we must clarify the problems, in terms of practice we must resolutely follow the laws in our operations. We must reach the state where there are laws to obey and with mandatory observance of them, and where infractions of the laws are investigated and where severe punishments are carried out without exception. Our socialist laws will then possess the greatest possible authority and only this can guarantee peaceful unity of the political situation and promote the smooth progress of the "four transformations."

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REGIMENT PICKS NEW LEADERS BY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Ji Xuan [3444 1357]: "Integration of Recommendation by the Masses and Examination by the Leadership Is a Good Method"]

[Text] Recently, a certain regiment of the Jinan Units, under the guidance of the higher-level organizational work team, used the method of integrating recommendation by the masses with examination by the leadership in selecting successors in forming the regiment's leading group.

This regiment has been engaged in this work since the last third of July. They--the regiment--first of all concentrated on the cadres of the entire organization and the cadres at the company level and above, carried out ideological mobilization and the study of relevant documents so that the masses knew the policies well. On this foundation, they used the method of having the masses write down secretly their opinions, writing their recommendations for whom should be selected, what kind of post he should hold, and the reasons for the recommendation on a printed form. Afterward, the work team gathered and studied the forms, made an overall appraisal, examined the candidates, determined the objectives of the selection process, put forward a plan for the composition of the leading group, and finally reported it to the higher-level party committee for its approval. By adopting this method, the political ideology, military techniques, professional level, organizational ability, and confidence of the masses, as well as age, physique, and cultural level, of the members making up the leading group were all fairly good.

Practice proves that the integration of recommendation by the masses with examination by the leadership in selecting successors has the following advantages: First, it speeds up the process of rejuvenating the leading group. Before readjustment of the eight persons in the regimental leading group, seven were overage. The average age of the group formed by the democratic recommendation is now 37.5 years, 6.1 years less than that of the former group. Second, it is of benefit in discovering talented persons and leaders who know their subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities. For example, Tian Hongchi [3944 3163 3069], former deputy political instructor of the 3d Battalion, received the most recommendations from the masses for the post of director of the political department. A thorough examination of him by the work team proved that the views of the masses were correct and thus unified the leadership's views. Tian Hongchi was promoted to be director, skipping intermediate ranks. Third, democratic recommendation provides a good education for cadres. The people of this advanced group are all topnotch people in the regiment. Regimental commander Wang Futian [3769 1381 3944] is solid and experienced in his job, well versed in the artillery soldier's profession and highly trusted by the masses. Political commissar Li Guangping [2621 0342 2494] has been a company political instructor and a battalion political instructor for many years, and has comparatively rich experience in basic-level work. Chief of Staff Li Zhijun [2621 1807 6511] has a fairly high level of military techniques and staff work, and is bold, resolute and vigorous. Now, the leading members of this regiment are enthusiastically grasping their work and vigorously "fighting" at their respective work posts.

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FULL-TIME MILITIA CADRES AGING, YOUTH NEEDED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 80 p 3

[Article in "Notes on Militia Work" column by Wang Wanchang [3769 2429 2490] and Pan Yusong [3382 3768 2646]: "Ranks of Full-Time People's Armed Forces Cadres Must Be Rejuvenated"]

[Text] Recently, in continuing to gain an understanding of militia work, we feel profoundly that to effect the rejuvenation of the ranks of full-time people's armed forces cadres is an important question in building up the militia. At present, it is fairly common for full-time people's armed forces cadres to be too advanced in years. According to our understanding, many of them at the county level are 40 or more years old, and there are commune people's armed forces department heads who are over 50. If this situation is not changed, it is bound to affect the development of militia military training and the building up of the militia.

Therefore, we should vigorously engage in the work of selecting young cadres, striving hard to create a full-time armed cadre contingent that is young, possesses a definite military and political quality, and is full of vigor and vitality. According to the traditional method of selecting full-time armed cadres, first, they can be selected from among specialized, demobilized armymen and, second, they can also be selected from among outstanding militia cadres and others who are suitable for this type of work. At present every year a group of specialized demobilized armymen come to the localities, and there are also many outstanding militia cadres who have both ability and political integrity. For one county, there are many persons who are suitable for and ready to do militia work. It will not be difficult to select several tens of young cadres if we carry our work into the family household.

From the long-term point of view, we ought to set up a necessary system for maintaining the youthfulness of full-time armed cadres. Departments concerned can, according to actual conditions, make rules that separately require youthfulness for secretaries in charge of people's armed forces and for people's armed forces department heads, thereby systematically insuring the youthfulness of people's armed forces cadres. To set up a fixed system that puts an age limit on cadres engaged in people's armed forces work will also be of benefit in making satisfactory arrangements for full-time people's armed forces cadres.

The rejuvenation of the ranks of full-time people's armed forces cadres is not only a matter for the people's armed forces department but is a matter for party committees at every level. The party committees should, together with the people's armed forces departments, get a good grip on this work and vigorously coordinate with the departments in selecting, examining, and approving young full-time people's armed forces cadres, and conscientiously solve problems that arise in this process. For cadres that are not suitable for continuing people's armed forces work, they must, according to the individual situation, make appropriate arrangements.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MATERIAL BASE SAID NECESSARY FOR GOOD MILITIA WORK

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhaozhe [3769 0340 0772]: "Getting a Grip on Foodgrain and Money Promotes Militia Work"]

[Text] In the past several years in Zhaoyuan County production has greatly developed but there are still many production brigades in which production depends on loans and the commune members do not have money to spend. The militia work in these production brigades, in which life passes in this kind of "poverty." all along has been unable to break out of this backward circle. Only 60 percent of the militia companies throughout the county completed their stipulated training missions, and a third of the militia companies have no company headquarters or weapons rooms.

The county people's armed forces department, grasping the practice of militia work, felt: If a production brigade's production does not rise, it is impossible for it to get a good grip on militia work. To get a grip on militia work it is necessary to overcome the purely military viewpoint, and, setting out from getting a grip on foodgrain and money, integrate this with getting a good grip on militia work. After the Third Plenary Session of the Party [11th] Central Committee, the county people's armed forces department changed its past method of doing militia work and helped the production brigades to give priority to getting a good grip on production. They--the armed forces department--held meetings of full-time armed cadres and militia cadres, educating all of them to concentrate on leading the militiamen to be enthusiastic about getting a grip on foodgrain and money for the collective. When engaging in capital construction of farmland, the county and communes dispatched competent personnel or deployed cadres of the commune people's armed forces departments to lead the militiamen to press the attack. Understanding the situation of militiamen when working in the countryside during peacetime, the personnel and cadres concentrated on helping the production brigades to resolve their difficulties in production. When staying at the grassroots level, they also made grasping production the central task. Department head Hou Baozhang [0186 1405 7140] and political commissar Qu Baoshan [2575 1405 0810] took the initiative of suggesting to the commune party committees that they needed to extract foodgrain and money from barrel hills, and went to every militia company and mobilized the militiamen to organize hill-transformation teams, ore-prospecting teams, and stone-extracting teams, thinking of all sorts of ways to make the commune members prosper.

In this way, owing to the fact that the armed forces departments and the masses of people were thinking along the same lines, within the space of 2 years, the appearance of many communes and production brigades underwent a big change.

The development of production opened up a new situation for militia work. There appeared in militia work throughout the county three "breakthroughs": First, the training missions were completed better than before. Formerly, the cadres in the poor communes and poor production brigades, owing to the fact that production did not rise, were very worried and, basically, could not concentrate on militia work. With the present prospect, the cadres' minds are at ease and militia work registers well with them. This year, when the season to finish hoeing had just arrived, the party committee of every commune studied the arrangements for time for militia training. By the first third of September, over 1,500 armed militiamen had completed 15 days of training. Second, many communes and production brigades have strengthened the basic construction of militia companies. Since last year, throughout the county more than 300 rooms have been built for the militia company, the majority of militia companies have headquarters, and over 90 militia companies in the production brigades throughout the county have clubs and reading rooms. Some production brigades also bought military necessities for the militiamen such as canteens and Sam Browne belts. Third, the militiamen are more enthusiastic about taking part in training. Many militiamen have said with intimate knowledge: "In the past we went to the drill ground concerned about the fact that we had no money to buy cooking oil, salt, soy sauce, and vinegar, so how could we think of crawling, climbing, rolling, and fighting? Now we have food, drink, and spending money, so that when we train we are brimming with energy." In this year's training, 90 percent of the armed militiamen have done exceedingly well. At the same time, there have emerged 200 experts in shooting, tactics, and training. The change in militia work has made the comrades in people's armed forces departments throughout the county incomparably happy and, when summing up their experiences, they say: The goodness or badness of militia work is closely related to material conditions. When poverty blocks the way, it is hard to develop militia work; by getting a grip on foodgrain and money, the militiamen have a solid material foundation and are thus able to get a grip on the rifle and the bullet.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF RECRUITS FROM TOWNSHIPS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 80 p 3

[Article: "Having Taken an Oath To Advance Education and Enlightenment Enthusiastically, One of the Military Units at Guangzhou Is Successfully Carrying Out Ideological Work Among the Fighters Who Enlist From the Townships"]

[Text] One regiment among the PLA units at Guangzhou, because of the peculiarities of the young fighters being recruited from the townships, has developed its ideological work, enthusiastically helping the recruits to establish a correct purpose in life.

In order to have complete and accurate knowledge about the new fighters, the regimental party committee especially sent people to conduct investigations in the new fighters' hometowns and mobilized all of the more than 200 cadres and fighters in the regiment to make friends with the new fighters. Everyone saw that nearly all of these youths were the sons of workers or cadres, and that ideologically they were sincere and broadminded, while their cultural level was comparatively high, with a comparatively high receptivity. But they had been born during the economic difficulties of the first 3 years of the 1960's, and during the following 10 years of disorder the concepts of law and morality had been lacking, so they do not understand the meaning of uprightness in life. The regiment's party committee recognized that you should treat this type of young persons with special warmth and enthusiastically educate and enlighten them. Only then will you be able to make them overcome their bad habits.

In the cannon company of the regiment's 2d Battalion, there was a new fighter recruited from Guangzhou who ordinarily was very disorganized and who had also joined a fighting gang. The cannon company's cadres, from beginning to end, did not discriminate against him but rather enthusiastically helped him, first letting him serve as a communicator for the battalion, while they explained to him the importance of strengthening discipline and the reasonableness of individual obedience to the whole group. When they found that he had made progress, he was publicly praised. Afterward they sent him to a gun section as a gunlayer and used examples from the defensive counterattack against Vietnam to explain to him the wartime duties of a gunner, in order to help him establish the attitude of glorious self-sacrifice in defense of the fatherland.

Recently this fighter sent home a picture of himself in his neat and correct uniform that made his mother very happy when she saw it. She sent back to him an old picture of him with long hair and a beard. On the back she wrote two sentences: "I hope you do not change back again into this 'eat, drink, and be merry' lifestyle. I want you to become a good fighter in a short time."

The 7th Company had one new fighter who, being the child of a cadre, had disorganized habits as well as mischievously playing jokes on people. The seven cadre members of the 7th Company all enthusiastically carried out their ideological work, patiently explaining to him the standards for people and telling him about their own unit's martyr, Du Xijiang [2629 6007 3068], who had bravely given his life in order to open the road to victory for his brothers in his company during the defensive counterattack against Vietnam. This made him understand that to be a man is to be one who benefits the people. After his misunderstanding had been raised, he frequently volunteered to do a lot of good within the company. Because the battalion's television set, which was kept in the commons, was not well safeguarded, he sacrificed his rest time to build a wooden case in which it could be secured. When there was a shortage of fertilizer for raising vegetables, he gave up his naps to climb the mountains to collect cow manure, for which everyone praised him for being a good fighter who worked enthusiastically for the general good. His accomplishments in military training became excellent in every course. He was honored as the battalion's best marksman, and three times he received awards.

The new fighters who this year joined the regiment from the townships have all made obvious progress, and among the 52 new fighters from Guangzhou City, 29 have received awards from their regiment, battalion, or company.

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URUMQI REGIMENT PROMOTES UNITY AMONG NATIONALITIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 80 p 4

[Article: "In a Regiment Among the Units at Urumqi, Cadres of Each Nationality on the Party Committee Are Working Together To Raise the Unity Among the Nationalities and Are Struggling To Achieve Exemplary Unity"]

[Text] In a PLA regiment at Urumqi, cadres of each nationality on the party committee, through mutual assistance, joint study, mutual respect, and closeness, have led the whole unit's cadres and fighters to unite very well.

The regiment is stationed in the region of the Kunlun Mountains, on the edge of the Takela Makan Desert. The cadres and fighters of the regiment include elements from eight national minorities, including Han Chinese, Uygurs, Kazakhs, Chinese Muslims, and Khalkas. At the leadership level of the regiment's party committee, along with Han Chinese cadre, are also Chinese Muslim cadres and cadres from such minorities as the Uygurs. From first to last, the regiment's party committee has strengthened unity among the cadres and fighters of the various nationalities, regarding it as an important matter earnestly to improve in this and, moreover, to set a model of exemplary unity. The Han Chinese members of the regiment's party committee especially respect the customs and practices of the minority cadres. In order to cooperate and do well in their work, the Chinese earnestly study the Uygur language with the Uygur cadres. Because letters and materials from higher levels have sometimes not been translated into the minority languages, the Chinese verbally translate these documents for the minority cadres, so that they can promptly understand the spirit of the instructions from higher levels and can freely go to work. In his work, the secretary of the regimental party committee and political commissar, Yao Xincai [1202 5281 2088], a Han Chinese, emphasizes listening to the opinions of the cadres who are from brother peoples and making full use of their positive contributions. Each time a member of the regimental party committee who is a member of a brother nationality comes back from work or leave to visit his family, Yao promptly tells him of the decisions made by the regimental party committee and seeks out his opinions. Moreover, Yao takes seriously the cultivation, promotion, and use of cadres from brother nationalities. He has positively suggested to the party committee the selection of 17 cadres from brother nationalities to serve as leading cadres in their organization or company-size units, or has sent them for advanced study at the Central Institute for Nationalities or the Soldiers Institute.

Throughout, all leading cadres from brother nationalities on the regimental party committee also emphasize preserving the party committee's unity, advancing friendship in their relations with the other committee members, being forgiving in discussions, and cooperating to improve the committee's work. The deputy political commissar, Kadewushou [0595 4104 0710 1343], is a young Uygur cadre who joined the army in 1968. Once, while still in the ranks of the regiment, he was ordered to take responsibility for an urgent construction project. He forcefully shouldered this heavy burden and took the initiative in helping the Han Chinese cadres solve many difficult problems.

Under the influence of the members of the regimental party committee, the cadres and fighters of each nationality throughout the regiment also have united closely. Because the 2d Company, which is composed of Han Chinese fighters, has done well in its military training, organizational personnel from the 3d Company, which is composed of fighters from brother nationalities, went to them to seek instruction. The 2d Company, without holding back in the slightest, introduced their experience to them and, moreover, enthusiastically served as a skeleton force to strengthen training in the 3d Company. The 2d Company lacked production experience for its part-time agricultural activities, so the 3d Company, on its own, sent people to give them guidance, so that this year the 2d Company has reached self-sufficiency in vegetables, planting watermelons and canteloupes which were both big and sweet. In one squad of the 5th Company, the Uygur fighter, Kuerbanjiang [1655 3643 3803 3068], the Muslim fighter Yang Zhijiang [2799 3112 3068], and the Chinese fighter Xu Hanming [5171 3352 2494] formed a military training group to help each other, to study together, and to develop competition, with the result that all of them obtained excellent records, for which they were praised by their superiors. Together they joined the Communist Youth League, and their comrades all said that they "truly resemble three brothers."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ECONOMIC POLICIES TO CONTROL POPULATION GROWTH URGED

Shanghai SHANGHAI SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [SHANGHAI TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 2, 25 Apr 80 pp 16-21

[Article by Gui Shixun [2710 0013 8113]: "Population Control and Economic Policies"]

[Text] Following the first scientific symposium on population theories held in November 1978, most provinces and municipalities throughout the country decided on various economic policies to control population growth, and the relevant departments of the central authority are also studying the enactment of a "Law of the PRC Governing Family Planning." Why is it, at this stage of our nation, necessary to formulate economic policies to control population growth? How are we actually to determine which economic policies are best to control growth at this stage of our nation? What are the points that must have our attention when implementing such economic policies? This article gives the result of initial inquiries into the above questions, mainly based on investigations in the Shanghai area.

Objective Grounds for Economic Policies To Curb Population Growth

In our opinion the main reason why our country at this stage must adopt concrete measures regarding economic policy to curb population growth is that contradictions still exist between the material interests of the socialist state on the one hand and the individual families among the masses as regards population control, and that it is necessary to use economic methods and adopt measures of rewards and sanctions to adequately deal with these contradictions.

As everybody knows, our country is a socialist state which is at present in the process of development. Under the system of socialism, the family is a unit that produces and nurtures the next generation as it is also a consumption unit. By following the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," all workers in each family must, and only can receive that portion of economic income which is commensurate with the quantity and quality of work that he has contributed to society, subject to certain deductions made by society, to support all the members that belong to that particular family. According to the natural life cycle, every family member passes through three stages, namely from early youth where he has no labor capacity, to fully developed man with social work capacity, and finally to old age with no further work capacity. In stages one and three, he is obviously nothing but a consumer; only in stage two is he mainly a producer but at the same time a consumer. This causes changes in the consumption level of every family in the socialist state, changes which are of course closely related to the number and work capacity of its workers and which are also dependent on the number of small children the family is raising and the number of old people it is supporting. Under these conditions it is therefore neither feasible nor realistic to have every family in our country completely disregard the economic effects on the family when they decide to raise children.

Presently, the problem is that at the present stage of our country there still exist, to a varying degree, conditions in our cities and particularly in wide areas of the countryside, due to various objective and subjective reasons, that allow economic benefits to be derived from having more children, especially more boys, thus creating a conflict between the state and the individual family as regards material benefits from the measures to control population growth. There are two aspects, in concrete terms, of this economic condition of "many boys, much good fortune:"

One is the low level of production force at the present stage of our country and its comparative backwardness, economically and technologically; this is directly responsible for the condition that "many boys" mean "good fortune." This is most conspicuous in economically backward communes and production teams. There the rate of productivity is very low, there are little collective public welfare funds, the commune members who lose their work capacity (except at communes where the "five guarantees" have been instituted) cannot enjoy social insurance like workers in the cities, and their livelihood must still be provided by their own children. If they have many children, the expenses for caring for old parents can be easily divided and borne by the several children. Another factor is that in this stage of technological backwardness many work processes are simple manual processes so that a family spends little on bringing up a child to working capacity. It was calculated by the relevant department that at present expenses for nurturing one work force by a family in the countryside is only one quarter of what it is in the cities, on the average only a little over 6 yuan per month. Furthermore, many children in the countryside participate in some kind of work at a very early age, thus contributing to the family income. This convinces many women of child-bearing age in the countryside to have many children who will be not much of a burden to raise, but on the other hand will ensure well-being in old age. Another factor is that since our country's agricultural technology is rather backward, much of our agricultural work still depends on physical strength. The birth of boys is therefore economically more beneficial than the birth of girls, because although we have the policy of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, men generally being physically stronger than women will earn more work points (there are of course communes who still do not even truly carry out the principle of equal pay for men and women for equal work, which is even worse in reinforcing the old mentality of valuing boys higher than girls). The same mentality is reflected in the common saying heard in the outer districts and countries of Shanghai:

100 percent for boys,
80 percent for girls,
That's the rate that's fixed
For as long as you're in this world!

Yet another factor contributing in our country to the economic consideration of "many boys, much good fortune" is the result of following certain inappropriate economic policies. This concretely shows when certain areas carry out an egalitarian policy in distributions; they distribute equally by heads, be it food grain, firewood, hay, plots of land for housing and private plots to commune members, or be it living quarters, etc. for city dwellers. In the case of the distribution of basic food grain, for example, many areas in their early stages used to fix quotas by heads, so that the ration for a baby was the same as for a strong work force. In times of comparative shortages, women of child-bearing age would produce more children and use the additional rations either to supplement the rations of the adults or to sell the grain at high prices in the market. As to the allotment of housing the cities, many places allotted housing according to the number of permanent members of the household, those with many children were allotted larger quarters. This was a very conspicuous phenomenon at times when old houses were demolished and occupants moved elsewhere. In Shanghai it was in 1976 that the housing commission started mobilization for the demolition of houses and transfer of occupants. At that time the housing department determined that a family of two parents and two children are to be allotted an apartment of 21 square meters, but two parents with one child could be allotted only one room of 13 square meters. This encouraged many women of child-bearing age to have another child. The birth rate in the area of this housing commission therefore rose in 1978 from 7 pro mille to 11.8 pro mille, and the rate of families that observe family planning went down from the past 93 percent to 84 percent. Furthermore, with regard to our policy governing salaries and wages, our state has at present not yet fully established a strict and rational system of promotions to higher grades and ranks based on examinations and a correspondingly graded system of salaries and wages. This egalitarian trend in the distriution of consumer goods, disregarding higher and lower technological work or the quality of work, can result in high incomes for families with a larger number of work forces even though the quality of their work may not be high at all. On the other hand, families with a small number of work forces but producing high quality of work will not gain high incomes. This will also, indirectly, encourage the "many boys, much good fortune" mentality and be a hindrance to population control.

We see from the above that the system now prevalent in our country will have the effect that the birth of many children will, to a varying degree, increase income, increase food grain allocation and increase housing allotment, even increase "well-being in old age." At this time when the family is still the basic consumption unit, this phenomenon, in an intricate way, becomes interwoven with the feudal views on marriage and births, expressed in such old sayings as "Have many boys, one after the other" and "Of the three sins of lack of filial piety, the greatest is to have no sons." As a consequence there are a good many people even today who still harbor this idea of "many boys, much good fortune," and a great number of families are incapable of conscientiously and voluntarily practicing family planning and in particular incapable of actively heeding the call of the party and state for each couple to have only one child. If we adopt under these circumstances administrative measures of a forcible command type, such as not registering the more than one child in the census records, not to issue food grain allocations for such children and not to allow their parents to participate in work, the outcome would be contrary to our wishes, have bad aftereffects and in fact not be admissible in a socialist state. In order to have the masses conscientiously and voluntarily practice family planning at the present stage of our country, we must therefore carry out conscientious and effective ideological education in family planning, when we must explain that the state and every single family have fundamentally the same interest in the control of population growth. At the same time we must formulate a correct economic policy and employ effective economic measures to solve the contradictions between the two, the state and the family, in an appropriate way, such measures to ensure material incentives for families to follow the call of the state for population control and to provide sanctions of a material nature against families who disobey the call of the state for population control.

Select the Best Economic Policy for Population Control

All over the country we already find a number of various economic policies and measures decreed with the purpose of curbing population growth. To further improve these policies and measures, we must now first of all start out from the realities that we find at the present stage of our country, engage in a penetrating study, sum up the lessons we have learned in the course of actual practice, study and emulate the scientifically proven elements of relevant policies and measures in foreign countries and after a detailed analysis of the many different ways to achieve population control by economic means, select the best method which are most effective economically.

How are we then to select and determine which economic policy will be the best at the present stage of our country? In our opinion we must study and give due consideration to the following main points:

First of all, we must start out by a scientific determination of the focal point in population control at the present stage of our country, to help us find a suitable policy of economic rewards and sanctions. Should we, at the present stage of our development, adopt a policy that would urge each couple to have "best only one, at most two" children, or should our policy be "best no child, at most only one?" This is a question that actually asks what the focal point really is in our population control at this stage of our country. Some comrades suggest adopting the latter policy so that we can achieve a definite reduction in our population at an early date. Consequently they propose that our economic policy should favor couples who have had no children throughout their lives above those who have had one child. However, looking at the present state of childbirths in our country, the most outstanding problem is that cases of a third or even further childbirth in a family account for approximately one-third of all childbirths. If we can strictly control this share of excessive births, we shall achieve a substantial decrease in the birthrate of our country. It will also in the long run greatly increase the ratio of cases of one child per couple (hereafter called single-child ratio) within the general reduction of births. To take Shanghai as example, in 1978 the excessive births numbered 189 in the municipal area and 1,760 in the suburban and county areas. However, after implementing on a trial basis a policy of rewards for single-birth families as of September 1979, and according to statistics up to the first 10-day period of October, 98,483 families were issued "single birth certificates" (when the child was from a full 4 to 16 years old), which is equivalent to the total annual births in Shanghai during 1974. If the rate of single births can be broadly expanded nationwide, it will undoubtedly have a very great effect on the reduction of the birthrate. Although we must gradually introduce social insurance for childless old people, we still cannot adopt "best no child" as the focal point in our efforts to reduce our birth rate. This is so because, firstly, it would not be compatible with the traditional customs of our people and would arouse much antagonism if unduly enforced; secondly if there are too many childless couples in our society, couples that could have had children, this would cause many social problems. We therefore still regard a policy of "best only one, at most two" children per couple as the best policy at the present stage of our country. Our economic policy for control of population growth must also start out from this basic standpoint and must accurately target various effective measures toward guaranteeing the realization of this policy.

Secondly, when implementing a policy of rewards and sanctions we must pay due attention to the interests involved in the control of population growth, namely the interests of the state, of the rural collectives such as communes, and brigades of the individual families. To effectively control population growth, we must adopt measures of rewards, such as paying child-rearing expenses to single-child families. However, in view of the rather backward state of our country's economy at the present stage and the existence of two forms of public ownership, the expenses for such rewards to rural commune members will still have to be borne by the commune and team to which the couple concerned belongs. A system of rewards for population control therefore not only affects the economic relations between the state and the individual families concerned, but also between the rural collectives such as communes and brigades and the families concerned. Very low awards will not be effective; on the other hand very high rewards will cause hardships to state communes in our present state of limited state income and stringent finances at the communes. We must therefore start out from the economic conditions at the present stage of our country, and that includes giving considerations to present levels of wages, work points and commodity prices, when we determine what amounts would be appropriate as rewards. This is the only way that would benefit the single-child or childless families and at the same time lighten the economic burden on the state and the rural communes. For instance, if we view payment of single-child child-rearing expenses in isolation, it will seem that these expenses are merely additional expenses for the state and the communes to bear, but viewed in overall perspective, the child-rearing expenses, if paid at an appropriate rate, will on the contrary reduce the economic burden of the state and the communes. This is so because for every less child born, the state and the communes save the expenses of rearing this child to maturity. According to estimates by the competent department, the expenses to the state for rearing a child until it becomes a work force are over 2,000 yuan in the cities, almost 1,000 yuan in townships and over 400 yuan in rural communes. And secondly, if a woman of child-bearing age has one child less, she will not need the official leave of almost 100 days for pregnancy, birth and infant feeding, but can devote this time to produce values for the state and the commune. The Shanghai Textile Mill No 12 has calculated that at the beginning of 1979 each staff and worker creates an average of 29 yuan of net value per day. If a woman bears one more child, she will have 56 days of childbirth leave and official time off of altogether 43 days for pregnancy and infant feeding and thus fail to produce almost 2,871 yuan of net value. Thirdly, by bearing one child less, a family consuming commercially sold food grain will require less rations of grain and oil from the state. In the case of a family not consuming commercially sold food grain, the production team may, after satisfying the state's grain purchases, sell the grain for one extra person to the state at the price applicable to state purchases in excess of designated prices, which would mean an additional contribution to the state as well as an additional income for the commune. Considering all these expenses, the payment of an appropriate reward to the single-child family is extremely beneficial for the state and for the communes.

Shall we then also pay an additional living expense subsidy of 5 percent of their original work earnings to single-child parents at the time of their retirement (excluding staff and workers who retire with a 100-percent retirement pay)? In our opinion, we must not decide this in the same way for all cases. According to the conditions that we have actually investigated it is indeed a necessity that the commune should pay the single-child parents a living expense subsidy of 5 percent of their original work income on their retirement when they lose their work capability. This is because at present agricultural productivity is very low throughout the country and the economic income distributed annually by the commune to each labor force unit is very small. If husband and wife are both from single-child families, and in view of the fact that communes are still not yet able to provide sufficient welfare to old members who have lost their work strength, the couple will find it very difficult to bear the living expenses for seven heads (the couple themselves, their four parents and one child). If we therefore could not determine that single-child parents on losing work capability, can count on a certain monthly expense subsidy, this would dispel their fears of the future, and the commune will also be able to bear this item of expenditure. One section of the statistics of Hengmian Commune, an advanced unit in family planning in Nanhui County, reveals that among the single-child families of that place there are: mothers 35 years or older: only one; 30 to 35 years: eight families, the rest all below 30 years. This shows that this commune will gradually start to issue living expense subsidy to single-child aged parents only after 20 years, i.e., at the end of this and the beginning of the next century. Due to the modernization of agriculture the commune will by that time certainly be in a position to carry out such a scheme. As to single-child parents who will retire as staff ans workers, it will not be necessary to pay them the additional 5 percent of their original wages on their retirement. From many investigations we know that there have been no cases where fear that difficulties in their livelihood, because of not getting the additional retirement allowance, would make staff members or workers unwilling to limit themselves to having only one child. On the contrary, after retirement staff and workers will in general still want to help their children economically and with having only one child on retirement will find themselves better off. Besides, it will add up to quite a sum if the state undertakes this expenditure. According to our present system and level of wages, the average monthly wage of a staff member or worker is about 60 yuan, but would in general be somewhat higher at the time of his retirement. If we figure the preretirement wage at 70 yuan per month, the retirement allowance of single-child parents with the additional 5 percent would be as high as 84 yuan. Estimated at our country's present retirement age for staff members and workers and average life span, the state would have to pay the two staff members or workers for 15 years retirement allowance, and that amount would be 1,260 yuan, which is about double the total expenditure paid for child-bearing expenses to single-child families as generally fixed by provinces and municipalities. If the rate of one-child families among staff members and workers in our country is to be up to 80 percent, the total amount of this item of expenditure will be quite considerable. In the first half of 1979, several provinces and municipalities did not make awards of this kind part of their economic policies for population control, and the implementation of their control policies did not suffer at all. "Some Rules Governing Family Planning," instituted by Shanghai Municipality, did include such rewards, but due to the present financial stringency of state and local finances and the present high rate of single-child families among the older staff members and workers, the detailed regulations for the enforcement of the rules stipulate: Any staff member and worker 16 years of age or older will not receive these rewards on retirement. These regulations raised much dissatisfaction among sections of the masses and caused much trouble in actual work. We, therefore, think the additional 5 percent reward to retiring staff members and workers holding "single-child certificates" should be abolished; out of the money the state had been prepared to spend on this account, a small portion should be allotted to institute social welfare for old people without children or whose children are not with them. In this way the state can save itself quite a bit and become more effective in its control of population growth.

Furthermore, in the case of self-employed workers who do not enjoy the retirement benefits of staff members and workers when they retire in old age, the state should pay a living expense subsidy of approximately 5 percent of the general staff members' and workers' wages as a reward and encouragement. To sum up: when deciding the concrete figures of the reward we must start out from the overall situation, consider past and future circumstances, consider on the one hand the effect of the reward and on the other hand the ability, at present and in the future, of the state and the rural communes to make such payments, and we must aim to achieve the greatest possible results in population control with the least possible expenditure.

Thirdly, starting out from the reality of the situation, we must decisively revise those economic policies that greatly hamper population control and that it would actually cost little to remedy. Viewed from results of investigations at Shanghai, the outstanding problem at present in controlling population growth in cities and townships is the policy of allotting housing according to the heads of permanent members of a household. Many families comment on this point: "If the policy of allotting housing is not changed and you even promise me several hundred yuan as single-child family reward, I would rather forego the reward and have a second child." We, therefore, believe that regarding the question of house allotment--apart from giving preferential consideration to late-married couples and couples marrying at an advanced age--we should speedily adopt a policy of allotting housing to single-child families as if they were two-child families. Some comrades fear though, that with the present housing shortage, if further consideration is to be given to single-child families, will that not merely increase the number of families without adequate housing and widen the gap between supply and demand? There is of course some ground in this argument if considered in isolation. But we must also realize that if we want to provide a fundamental solution for the problem of insufficient housing in cities and townships, the problem is not only one of building new houses as rapidly as our developing economic base will permit, but also a problem very much related to the question of reducing the birth rate in our country. If we do not adopt a policy in allotting housing that will encourage families to have only one child, many women of child-bearing age will bear another child merely for the purpose of better housing. This will not only increase just the same our present difficulties in allotting housing, but will also increase the demand for housing 20 years from now. It is, of course, not possible at present to satisty the housing demands of all single-child households. We only hope that all those concerned will show good sense and understanding. If only those comrades in charge of house allocations are clear and definite in their minds and conscientiously carry out a policy of house allocation which treats single-child households as if they were two-child households, and based on the development of our production and speeded-up building of new houses, which will by stages and in groups gradually solve the housing difficulties, including those of the single-child households, this will be a great factor in promoting an increase in single-child families. After the implementation of economic policies to curb population growth, there also should be absolutely no consideration shown to hardships that arise from births in excess of the desired limits per family. In the countryside the system of distributing basic foodstuffs must be changed from an equal distribution by heads to one graded according to the persons concerned; in the adjustment of private plots and allotment of land for house construction single children shall be counted as two children, and to those who hereafter exceed the number of desirable births, no extra rations shall be given. To sum up: the changes in economic policy described above are very beneficial for population control and do not require extra expenditure on the part of the state or the rural commune collectives; why then not go ahead with it?

Fourthly, in economic sanctions against families producing more children than desirable, the punishment must be severe enough and yet not endanger the health of mothers and children. To reduce administrative decrees and stop more than one birth, we must formulate a policy that would restrict and punish by economic means the families with more than one birth. In the past some localities have decreed that they will not reimburse expenses incurred by more than one birth, which include examinations during pregnancy, medical expenses incurred due to pregnancy effects, prevention of miscarriage, anaemia, midwife or hospital expenses. Leave of absence due to childbirth is to be considered as ordinary leave due to private affairs. The children born after the first child are not to enjoy medical privileges where these included the family, cooperative medical care or labor insurance as directly-related members of the family. Although these are all economic sanctions, it is our feeling that they are detrimental to the health of the mothers and children and run counter to our socialist system and the spirit of our revolutionary ethics, they should best be changed to a system of imposing charges for more children. At the same time it is our opinion that in the future the economic sanctions against families with more than one birth should be more severe, because in the present conditions of low productivity in our country, it is a conspicuous fact that families gain benefits from having an excessive number of children. Only when the sanctions are really severe, will women of child-bearing age, who will not allow themselves to be ideologically convinced and still want to bear more children, seriously start to weigh the advantages and disadvantages and think twice before bearing more children, and only then will we achieve an effective stop to excessive childbirths without the need to impose punishments on the masses. Conversely, if the economic sanctions are too light, some women of child-bearing age will still think it more profitable to have more children and then rather incur the small charges for the larger number of children. Not only would this prevent putting a stop to more than one birth, but it would also bring about punishments over a wide area. We must also realize that these children born in excess of the desirable number will increase expenditure by the state and the collectives such as communes and brigades in bringing them up to become labor force. It is, therefore, absolutely fair and reasonable to have comparatively stricter and heavier sanctions which will greatly lighten the burden of the state and the communes in this respect.

Question To Be Noted When Implementing Economic Policies

It was definitely wrong when the role of economic policies was ignored in the past in our family planning activities. However, we must also realize that success in family planning depends on many factors. Currently, when implementing economic policies for population control in order to achieve a speedy reduction in the rate of our population growth, it is furthermore important that we pay attention to the following questions:

Firstly, it is necessary to carry out an effective and penetrating ideological education for systematic control of our nation's population growth. The leadership at all levels must attach great importance to family planning work and handle it as a major issue. We must raise even higher the sense of responsibility and initiative of all engaged in family planning work, to have this work performed more penetratingly, morer meticulously and more effectively. We must get the masses to handle correctly the relationship between state, production unit and family as involved in the matter of marriage and child-bearing, to have them consciously and voluntarily carry out family planning. All this requires that we propagate with great effort the great significance of controlling population growth. We must particularly *emphasize in our propaganda the relationship between family planning and the* speedy realization of the four modernizations. After we have formulated our economic policy in support of family planning, and if we continue to do effective work in propaganda education on the significance of family planning, creating a new social custom that will regard it as honorable to have only one child, then our economic policy will certainly be turned into an even greater and more effective force. It is furthermore necessary that ideological education enable the masses to correctly approach these economic policies so that they will understand that presently state income is limited and will not allow large sums to be spent in this respect as material rewards. If we pay high rewards, we cannot achieve our aim of gaining through a reduction in population growth a corresponding increase in the country's productive accumulations and of improving the livelihood of the present population. The policy of economic sanctions against families with more than one birth is also not omnipotent; a small number of families, hopelessly imbued with feudal views on marriage and childbirth, will possibly still ignore these regulations and insist on having many children. Our success will, therefore, only come through the coordination of repeated, patient ideological education with work in other directions.

Secondly, we must raise the quality of hygienic techniques used in family planning. After implementing economic policies to reward single-child families and limit excessive births, and in order to achieve population control while at the same time reducing as far as possible induced abortions, we must effectively propagate medical and hygienic information and raise the quality of medical means of birth control. Looking at conditions in Shanghai, the number of induced abortions has been fairly large. If a woman undergoes several abortions, it will not only be detrimental to her health but also certainly detrimental to her work. In 1978 a check of induced abortions in Shanghai has shown that in the majority of cases the persons concerned did not want the pregnancy, but that pregnancy was due to their lack of birth control knowledge, skipping the medicine or having the injection, or the medicine having lost its effectiveness. Now that the rate of single-child families increases and excessive births will be strictly curtailed, many women of child-bearing age will adopt more reliable methods of birth control or even sterilization by surgery which also demands that the quality of operations for family planning purposes must be greatly improved to avoid sequelae as much as possible and have the masses safely and effectively practice family planning.

Thirdly, we must strengthen health care for infants and educational work among our youths. Many women of child-bearing age do not want to limit themselves to one child only because they fear it is "not safe." Especially the women living in the countryside, in mountainous areas or along rivers are afraid some of their children will die of acute diseases, drowning or other causes, and for that reason they want to have several children. To significantly increase the rate of single-child families it is, therefore, necessary not only to reward them by paying child-raising expenses, but also to develop medical and hygienic conditions to have effective infant care and reduce deaths of children due to abnormal causes such as sicknesses, drowning, etc. From experiences in the communes it is evident that the operation of child-care centers, kindergartens, raising the medical proficiency of barefoot doctors, are all forceful factors encouraging family planning. In his book, "Required Reading for Parents," the Soviet educator Ma-ka-lian-ke [transliteration] already expressed the opinion "that over a million cases could be cited to prove that children from families with many children are achieving great successes, while, conversely, children from single-child families very rarely achieve success." As we see it today, this way of putting it is a very one-sided one, because in many developed capitalist countries with low birth rates, the rate of single-child families is very high, but still they have produced many specialists and scholars of great achievement who are only children. Of course, in actual life in our country we also have cases where the only children are easily spoiled by the parents by making them "the center of attention of the whole family." In the present criminal rate in our country, only children also occupy a rather high position. To launch a penetrating study of the education of only children, to raise the educational quality of our schools, to guide heads of families in correctly educating only children, all these are, therefore, factors of great significance for an increase in the rate of single-child families and for effectively curbing population growth.

Fourthly, we must exert efforts to institute effective social welfare for old people without children or whose children are not with them. As family planning progresses and as the rate of single-child families greatly increases, there will in the future be more and more households with only one child. A number of these children will have to leave their parents in order to work away from them as the needs of the state may require. Many women of child-bearing age are afraid, therefore, that some day their child will be gone, they will be left alone and lonely, they will be old and weak, no longer capable to look after themselves or sick in bed with no relatives to care for them, and it is for this reason that they will not want to limit themselves to one child. To fully demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system and to alley the fears of the future in the minds of heads of families with one child or without children, the rural collectives such as communes and brigades must at this time exert efforts to institute a social welfare system for these old people, establish old-age homes and a system of welfare workers who will care for the livelihood of the old people and serve in hospitals for them. As the economic strength of the state and the communes increases, increasing amounts of funds should be devoted for these purposes, and various forms and methods should be adopted to raise the social welfare efforts on behalf of these old people who have no children or whose children are not with them anymore.

We see from the above that if we really want to control population growth, we must not only study what economic policies to draw up for the control of population growth, but will have to engage in a great amount of related work. Let us in actual practice continuously sum up the lessons gathered in our experiences and gradually make improvements to finally establish a set of Chinese-style policies and methods for the control of population growth, and make further efforts to reduce the growth rate of our population and to speedily realize the four modernizations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WELL-KNOWN FIGURES DISCUSS HOW TO STIMULATE LITERARY, ART WORKS

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 18, 12 Oct 80 pp 2-13

[Article: "How To Stimulate Literary and Art Work"]

> [Text] Editor: The series of momentous decisions made by the Third Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Third Conference of the Fifth Political Consultative Conference on China's socialist modernization construction will produce a profound impact on all realms of life. In literary and art work, how to summarize the lessons of experience of the past 30 years, adapt to the changes in the new situation and the need of the new social life, firmly implement the party's policies, reinforce and improve the party's leadership, reform the system and enliven literary and artistic work is an issue of concern to the broad masses. For this reason, we have created this special column and we asked, for this issue, some of the delegates in the field of literature and art attending the two meetings for their views. We hope that our comrades in literature and art and the broad readers will show an interest, participate in the discussions and express their opinions, understanding and suggestions. We will continue to publish manuscripts on this subject.

[Article by Ba Jin [1572 6855]: "More Encouragement; Less Interference"]

Attending the National People's Congress this time, I feel that, in view of my advanced years, I should retire. Furthermore, a writer should devote his time to writing.

Concerning literary and artistic work, it is best to hold a full committee meeting of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles to discuss the matter. I have long felt that the achievements and defects of literary and artistic work in the past 30 years should be conscientiously summarized. The good points should be popularized and the mistakes should not be repeated. Though I pursue literary and artistic work, actually I do not understand it. Until now I still cannot clarify one issue, viz., the effect of literature and art. At times it is regarded very highly. One film, one play, one novel or one song can lead the young people to the road of crime and the author is held responsible. After publication, when some defects are found in a work, many people will make comments, as if one work will destroy the party and the state. Actually, how could people like us produce such a great impact? Sometimes the effect of literature and art is raised very high, while other times it is regarded as very low. In general, the living and working conditions of those engaged in literary and artistic work are very poor; some of them do not even have a desk. I know of a translator whose house was confiscated during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Now it is impossible for him to have a room where he can spread out his books and do his translation work. When the effect of literature and art is supposed to be so great, such neglect of the literary and artistic workers is truly incomprehensible. Now everyone is discussing serving the four modernizations. We must rely on knowledge and the intellectuals to promote the four modernizations, and they should produce an important effect, yet the policy on the intellectuals has not been completely implemented even today and the intellectuals have not gained trust. Since today we need them and must rely on their enthusiasm, we must furnish them with some proper working conditions. I feel that the meeting this time is excellent. But it is only words, spoken and written. As for how the words are carried out in the future, I feel that the resistance remains great. As there were too many hollow words in the past, people do not easily believe in words. More work must be done to win the confidence of the people. The supreme leaders have the determination to combat bureaucratism, but there will be difficulties in the middle level. One may not necessarily feel optimistic over many things. We must be prepared for the difficulties and the tortuosities. We must do it conscientiously and properly. In regard to whether the four modernizations can be realized by the end of the century, the people's confidence is still inadequate, and much has to be done. I feel that serious attention must be given to literature and art. Their effect is to exert a subtle influence, cultivate a noble spirit and build the ideal of serving the country and the people. We must conscientiously implement the double-hundred policy. Literary and artistic workers must be given serious attention and provided with relatively favorable working conditions. I advocate more encouragement and less interference.

[Article by Ye Shengtao [5509 5110 7118]: "Equal Discussions Advocated"]

I hear that the leaders have the idea of enlivening literary and artistic work. It is excellent, and the literary and artistic workers indeed have such a demand. Why is there such an idea? Why is there such a demand? Naturally it is because literary and artistic work today is not lively enough, but still rather rigid.

It has been 4 years since the "gang of 4" was smashed, but why is it that the spiritual shackles have not been completely removed? In the 4 years, one hears almost everyday the slogan of emancipating the mind, but why is it that the mind has not been thoroughly emancipated?

Often there are people who ask: What ideas have the "higher-ups" expressed? Is it going to be "restraint" again? Some days later, they receive words passed on from the "higher-ups," to the effect that currently it is not a question of "restraint," but the issue of inadequate emancipation of the mind.

Inadequate emancipation of the mind--the words of the "higher-ups" are very clear. Then, if one has the intention to create, one should concentrate on it. Why does one still waste one's energy to inquire about the wind direction?

It is said that one must still make such inquiries. Because in the past, many people had such an experience: The "higher-ups" would start a gentle breeze, but it would gather momentum and turn into a gale of force 7 or 8, or 10 plus, and many people were inexplicably engulfed and suffered punishment.

After one has been bitten by a snake, one trembles at the sight of a rope. Those who have never been bitten by a snake are infected with such fear. The deep and broad influence has formed, and cannot be eliminated in 1 day. Therefore, some people have acquired the habit of inquiring about the wind direction, and one cannot blame them for it.

Naturally it will be undesirable for it to continue. If it continues, literary and artistic work cannot be enlivened. How does one change the situation? In recent years, that the result of the announcements and appeals of the "higher-ups" is not apparent is a fact. To truly change the situation, appropriate concrete reforms are called for.

According to my view, literary and artistic criticism must first be reformed. In past years, the so-called criticisms were mostly launched subsequent to conclusions. The conclusions naturally came from the "higher-ups," and everyone wrote articles accordingly, making groundless accusations, quoting classics, raising the tone ever higher and intimidating with the momentum.

I feel that literary and artistic criticism is the need of the masses and should come from the masses. The masses must mutually encourage one another in practice and make matter-of-fact criticisms together, basing their views, favorable or unfavorable, on facts. The words of both, or several, sides must be heard, so that there will be equality for all and freedom from bias. Conclusions naturally can only be reached after arguments. Isn't it ridiculous to form the conclusion first and hold the arguments later? It is also alright not to reach a conclusion, or not to be in a hurry to reach a conclusion. The "higher-ups" should believe that the masses will gain something in the arguments and will naturally gradually raise their ability to comprehend and appraise literary and artistic works.

Criticisms must be aimed at helping the criticized, instead of pressuring. The right of the criticized to refute must be truly safeguarded, but he should not be required to clarify his stand. In the realm of literature and art, there should be the freedom to accept or reject criticisms and to clarify one's stand or remain silent. Besides, accepting criticisms is not a verbal thing. If they are accepted in mind and in practice, what is the necessity of announcing the acceptance in words?

Those participating in literary and artistic criticism are equal in position. While arrogance is reprehensible, nor is regarding the words and phrases of one individual as "directives" desirable. I feel that only when everyone treats others as equals will the practice of inquiring about wind directions gradually vanish and literary and artistic work become more lively than today.

[Article by Xia Yan [1115 5888]: "Emancipating the Mind; Reforming the System"]

The Third Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress ended successfully yesterday, and so will the Third Conference of the Fifth Political Consultative Conference this afternoon. Precisely as stated in the RENMIN RIBAO editorial, it has been a great meeting of democracy, of reform. The people demand democracy and reality forces us to reform. The party and the government told the people the truth, informing them of the situation in politics, the economy, culture and education, and science and technology, including the amount of deficits, the reason for the deficits and the tentative plans for their elimination. The people's delegates also exercised matter-of-factly the rights of making suggestions and criticisms, and even inquiries. By so doing, naturally we won the support of the people of all nationalities in the country and the approval of the world public opinion. Even certain foreign newspapers and publications which had always opposed China and the communists could only say: "Such reforms still cannot depart from the realm of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought."

To reform the party and political leadership system and to develop the socialist democracy and reinforce the socialist legal system, the party and the government, after careful consideration, took a cautious and resolute step. However, to carry out the resolutions of the congress this time, we are confronted with many difficulties, obstacles and even resistance in various forms --in the political and economic aspects and in the cultural and artistic aspects. One only has to recall the facts last year since the Fourth Literary and Artistic Delegates Congress to arrive at this conclusion. Personally I feel that, in one aspect, the achievements in the field of literature and art have been tremendous, with new works and talents, and some of the works have surpassed the level between the thirties and the sixties. However, in another aspect, we must not overlook the fact that the emancipation of the mind has lagged far behind the rapidly changing objective reality. Just before the opening of the people's congress, some people wanted to find out whether it would be "restraint" or "release." In the small group discussions, many criticisms of the literary and artistic leadership were heard. Some people said: "The hat factory has closed; the shoe factory has opened." According to what I know, utilizing power and influence to make writers and critics "wear tight shoes" remains a fairly commonplace phenomenon. Naturally, even today the editors of some periodicals are still "feeling for the spirit of the leadership." Isn't this odd? Didn't Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's [5170 5069 6721] talk at the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Circles embody "the spirit of the leadership?" In a speech in late July, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We adhere to the correct direction on our theoretical and literary and artistic fronts, and we do not permit the pursuit of the class struggle as the key link. We are firm on this point!" I find that "spirit" cannot be "felt." Instead of "feeling," we must "learn" and "think!" I hope that our comrades in the field of literature and art attending the congress this time will, upon returning to their posts, conscientiously and concretely study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the inauguration of the Political Consultative Conference and Comrade Hua Guofeng's report at the National People's Congress. Besides studying, we must ponder repeatedly in conjunction with the current reality. "Studying without reflection" will not work. We must see further and think deeper. Emancipating the mind is bound to entail some hazards. Marx, Engels and Lenin all braved the hazards, without fear of failure or of being accused of heresy, pondered and practiced repeatedly before creating theories which are accurate when placed anywhere in the world. Furthermore, Marx, Engels and Lenin never regarded their theories as the final truth, forever immutable. "The Condition of England's Worker Class," Engels' famous work written in 1845, is widely read even today. Yet some 47 years later, in his introduction to its republication in 1892, Engels said that, in regard to the conditions described in the book, "at least in terms of England, many of the aspects have become obsolete." Then, in the eighties of the 20th century, can we still transplant intact the theories of the forties of the 19th century? The dialectic materialism and historical materialism of Marxism-Leninism will always serve as the sharpest weapons of the proletariat to prosecute the revolution. However, it was impossible for either Marx or Engels of the mid-19th and early 20th centuries to formulate for us an entire set of blueprint for building socialism. On 7 May, when mourning the death of the Yugoslavian president, RENMIN RIBAO published two articles, one by Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] and the other by Comrade Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455]. They both found that Tito's greatest contribution to the proletarian revolution and the socialist construction in his lifetime was his refusal to recognize the possibility of a common mold for building socialism. I feel that only by following this viewpoint in the reforms today, i.e., reforms in the party and political leadership system and changes in the economic system, will we emancipate ourselves from China's unique feudal ideology of several thousand years and from the dogmatism installed by the CPSU and the Third International, and only thus will our literature and art flourish.

Besides emancipating the mind, the issue of reforming the system also confronts us, while the greatest obstacle to the reform of the system is China's unique bureaucratism, which is different from both the bureaucratism of the pre-liberation "Revelation of Officialdom" and that of capitalist countries. It is a bureaucratism which has a blood relationship with our feudal patriarchy and a link with the overconcentration of power in the political, economic and cultural systems directly transplanted from the Soviet Union. We must realize and understand that such deep-rooted bureaucratism is an archenemy to the introduction of the socialist democracy, to the reform of the economic and cultural systems and to the realization of the four modernizations. In his 40-page report at the National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng devoted full 10 pages against bureaucratism and, at a meeting, Comrade Deng Xiaoping listed 24 charges against it. It indicated the determination of our Party Central Committee to resist bureaucratism in order to introduce democracy, reform the systems and promote the four modernizations. Meanwhile, it has also assigned our literary and artistic workers the task of resisting bureaucratism with the weapons of literature and art. I believe that, as long as we emancipate our mind and reinforce our unity, we will perform the task successfully.

[Article by Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211]: "The Worries of a Fool"]

One of the most important tasks of China's literature and art today and for a long time to come is to vigorously promote our socialist modernization, because without highly modernized material and cultural construction, our country will not be able to survive and our literature and art will have nothing to lean on.

Literature and art should express the great cause of building the four modernizations by the people with one heart and one mind and the victorious advance of the four modernization construction in the difficult and complex struggles. However, this does not mean that literature and art can only depict the four modernization construction, for it will be too narrow an interpretation. The four modernization construction is a matter of prime importance linked with the life-and-death of the nation. Therefore, all aspects of our people's life and struggles, their prayers and hopes, their joys and sorrows are, whether consciously or unconsciously, closely linked with it. For this reason, regardless of the subject matter, whether realistic or historical, domestic or international, as long as a work stimulates and does not depress, inspires confidence and does not demoralize, and provides healthy recreation and does not spread mediocre and vulgar interest, it is directly or indirectly beneficial to the four modernization construction and needed by it.

In recent years, many literary and artistic works have effectively exposed and castigated such evil phenomena as bureaucratism and the prerogatives of cadres. This is entirely necessary, because such phenomena seriously endanger the four modernization construction and severely damage the relationship between the party and the masses. The pernicious feudal influence, which breeds bureaucratism and the prerogative mentality, must be wiped out. However, today there exist also the influence coming from the bourgeoisie and the erroneous tendency of extreme egoism and anarchism. As such unsound trends as bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door on the part of some leading cadres have not been promptly overcome, some people have lost faith in the future of the four modernizations, or even their revolutionary ideal, and become pessimistic and despondent. There is also a small number of people who feel that, since the leading cadres follow the evil trends of bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door, then, it is reasonable and legitimate for them to disobey the organization, slow down on their jobs, be unscrupulous in reaching their personal goals and violate discipline, and no one may interfere. Such mentality is extremely harmful and calls for criticism and education. Each and every socialist citizen has the obligation to discharge his proper responsibilities to the socialist motherland. We must launch proper struggles against bureaucratism and special privileges, and we must not counter the wrong conduct with the wrong conduct of negative slowdown and violation of discipline, for it will only damage the interest of the state and the people, and it will not overcome bureaucratism and special privileges. In regard to such people, we should rally them, but we must not condone their wrong thinking and conduct. However, it seems that the phenomenon has not attracted sufficient attention from the writers and is seldom reflected in their works. While exposing bureaucratism, special privileges and entering by the back door, some works express understanding and sympathy for such wrong tendencies as extreme egoism, anarchism, loss of ideal, pessimism and despondency, and even beautify them. Obviously, this is also unfavorable to the four modernization construction.

The fundamental task of literature and art is to cultivate socialist new people. Socialist new people are of many types, and they definitely do not come out of the same mold. There are common warriors who quietly immerse themselves in hard work as well as combat heroes who can command the winds and the clouds, and the former constitute the majority. Today, the main criterion to determine whether an individual is a socialist new person is his attitude toward the four modernization construction: Whether he supports or opposes it; whether he is positive or negative. While those opposing the four modernization construction are naturally not socialist new people, nor are those standing indifferently on the sidelines or even making sarcastic remarks. Likewise, the main criterion to determine whether a literary work is good or bad is not the subject matter or how it is written,but its influence on the masses. Does it fill the readers with confidence and hope and make them dedicate themselves concretely and in face of the difficulties to the struggle of the four modernization construction, or does it make them retreat from difficulties, become depressed and indifferent and wallow in their personal melancholy, or "detest the world and its ways," ridicule everything and attempt nothing and accomplish nothing? I feel that both kinds of works exist. It seems that our literary and artistic publications should survey the readers in this aspect and refrain from looking only at the cash register. When we say that literature and art cannot sever themselves from politics, we mean that they cannot depart from the four modernization construction, which is the greatest politics. According to some people, "literature is only literature and has nothing to do with politics." Actually, the tendency of separating literature from politics contains itself a political goal, precisely like the saying that "literature and art are not propaganda" is, in itself, a propaganda. It is the outworn cliche of bourgeois scholars, and nothing new at all.

That the policy of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending must be followed in order to bring prosperity to literary and artistic creation is publicly recognized. However, the policy itself is not the goal. Any group and any class can use it to attain their own goal. When we introduce it, it is for the purpose of developing Marxism and bringing prosperity to the socialist culture and art. It is our long-range and fundamental goal. Therefore, 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending constitute our long-range and fundamental policy. Before the "Great Cultural Revolution," we, especially I myself, did not truly understand or properly implement it, thereby causing a great loss to literary and artistic work. Today the condition has somewhat improved, but is still far from adequate, and there are all kinds of obstacles. We must not interpret the policy as something which is against socialism and unfavorable to the four modernization construction and which permits noninterference and freedom from struggle. However, as long as the people's common fundamental interest is not violated, discussions and contentions among different views should be permitted. Truth has its objective criterion; the masses are able to distinguish the right and wrong. Literary and artistic publications should publish different views without discrimination and launch vivid and lively discussions, even if the arguments become heated. Only thus will they arouse the readers' interest, enlighten their thinking and raise their theoretical level. Today there is a tendency, which is mutually accusing one another of hitting with the big stick. Actually, often the accuser himself is hitting with the big stick, and a frightfully heavy big stick at that. For instance, what a frightening political label is the accusation of resisting the spirit of the Third Plenary Session made at the drop of a hat! I feel that there is no harm for a critic to be sharp and biting. As long as he is reasonable, even ridiculing and reviling are permissible, but the evil habit of attaching political labels arbitrarily must never be repeated. If this evil habit is not eliminated, the double-hundred policy will only be an empty phrase. It has been proved by the experiences of the past.

17 September.

Two Thoughts

[Article by He Luting [6320 4845 3060]: "Two Thoughts"]

A controversial issue comes to my mind, viz., exposure and eulogy. Is it exposure or eulogy? Chairman Mao discussed it at the Yanan Literature and Art Forum. Why must there be only eulogy, not exposure? When we were in Yanan, though we had defects, as the Kuomintang was very powerful, if we followed that way, it would be equivalent to helping the Kuomintang. Today, the situation is different from the Yanan era. Our every word and every act have the attention of the world. At the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference, the criticisms made by the delegates were sharp. Our open criticisms of defects and praises of new measures have not only not damaged our country's prestige, but won favorable comments. Currently, should we praise or should we criticize the defects and expose the dark side? Is there a dark side in our socialist state? When we look at it now, there is such a side. It is the feudal mentality left down through several thousand years. Though the feudal society was overthrown, the feudal mentality still survives, and it is impossible for it to be wiped out in one day. It exists even in our literary and artistic workers themselves. As a literary and artistic soldier, I feel that today we must fight a battle against feudalism and the bourgeois ideology, mainly the former. Exposure is an important fighting task of our literature and art. If we are sick, but, wearing smart clothes, insist that we are healthy, we will be out of luck when we drop dead from our ailment.

The other point is the question of whether our literary and artistic workers themselves are incompetent in politics or whether their Marxist-Leninist level is low. Why must we have an amateur who does not understand literature and art and whose political level is not high to serve as the party committee secretary and exercise leadership? This situation is not limited to any one area, but is found in every organ. Not just in literature and art, it exists in other units. An individual issues orders in ignorance, because he happens to be the party committee secretary. Today our intellectuals have been receiving the party's education for 30 years. Whether they are party members or not, their Marxist-Leninist level is not necessarily lower than the bureaucratic party members. The purpose of my words is not to knock anyone down and trample on him, but to improve and reinforce the party's leadership and change the undesirable style. As stated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, we must be honest persons, honest in words and in deeds, for the purpose of benefiting our literary and artistic work and the four modernization construction.

[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]: "Literature and Art Must Boost the Morale for the Four Modernization Construction"]

The whole world focused its attention on our National People's Congress. The congress declared solemnly: We have made decisions of a historical meaning at a historical moment. The following passage appeared in the closing address:

"We hope that the people of all nationalities in the country will rally even closer around the party and the government, raise high the revolutionary banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and, to complete the tasks proposed at this meeting, to unify the motherland and consolidate the national defense and to promote the great cause of the four modernization construction, make new contributions."

Thunderous applause broke out at these words. Coming from the fervent heart of each and every delegate, the applauses were the pledge of the courageously advancing people on the path of the four modernizations. As a literary worker, what are my thoughts? I ponder how literature can make contributions and how to accomplish the tasks assigned by the great era to literature.

Primarily, I think literature should boost the morale for the four modernization construction.

The four modernization construction must rely on a matter-of-fact scientific attitude, without exaggeration or rashness. We have had plenty of historical lessons in this aspect. However, we must, at the same time, realize that the four modernization construction is a great revolution in the building of socialism and that we cannot make new explorations if we take a detached and indifferent attitude. The reason is because it is an arduous yet heroic path and calls for the down-to-earth effort of hundreds of millions, with firm confidence and strong determination. The sacred mission of literature and art is to boost morale spiritually, so that our people will unite and advance with their feet on solid ground, full of confidence, of one heart and one mind, and march toward the expected goal of the year 2000.

Sitting in the auditorium of the National People's Congress, my mind galloped to distant places, to the midst of the pioneers toiling day and night and dedicating their youth and lives to the four modernizations. Today, whoever unable to see the concentration in their eyes, hear their calm and painstaking breathing and feel their fervent beating hearts fails to understand our new era. Creation is the most beautiful in the world. The sculptor concentrates on carving; the poet sings with his heart; the four modernization builder creates new history, new era and a new world with his entire body and soul. Naturally, like all creators, the builder must use his wisdom as well as his strength. If one prattles about the ideal of the four modernizations, while failing to see those toiling conscientiously to build the new world, one will not be able to make contributions to the four modernization construction. The contributions of literature are to serve the hundreds of millions of creators. They are the objectives of our creation as well as our service. Naturally, creating a new world is not an easy matter. On the road of the long march, people must open path and advance simultaneously. I feel that literature must produce the effect of promoting history in two aspects: Extolling the new things, the advanced models and the positive and progressive forces in life; attacking the old things and eliminating the various kinds of desperate resistance and disruptions. However, regardless of which aspect, our literature and art must stimulate morale, fully develop the intelligence and wisdom of man and build people's confidence in victory. Without conviction, there can be no victory.

A group of new people is building the four modernizations; the four modernization construction is creating a group of new people. Their spiritual world, ethics and qualities, thinking and feelings, joys and sorrows all require the deep explorations of the writers and artists. Thus, the writers and artists must enter the rich and colorful and ever changing real life. We must consider it an honor. In our lifetime, at the start of a new milepost, we have a clearly defined responsibility: Go into the people! Our achievements today are the result of the line formulated by the party's Third Plenary Session. To be truly loyal to the line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, our writers and artists must first shift their emphasis to the midst of the pioneering people in the process of building the four modernizations. Whoever failing to make the shift has failed to truly emancipate his mind, understand the new era and new reality and dedicate himself to the new realm of life. Cherishing the outmoded and preserving the obsolete, closing the door and keeping to oneself are only manifestations of ossification and semi-ossification. A dialectic materialist will, after all, consciously realize that life is the source of creation. The view that one's own life is sufficient for a lifetime of writing will only lead us away from the advancing reality, because life is not static, but developing. For the writers and artists, without fresh life, it will be similar to being without fresh air, and life will wither away. Their works will only be like apples long left on the shelf, without the luster of life. We must create, not fabricate. Bourgeois artist (Rodin) said in his late years: "I obey 'Nature.'" So, how can our socialist writers and artists sever themselves from reality? Apart from real life, there can be no thinking in terms of images. Naturally, we must not stop at the surface of life. Only by penetrating the inner truth, i.e., the inner world of man, the spiritual realm, will one truly master man, and only then will the words, lines, movements and notes of the writers and artists truly express the people of the new generation, the people maturing in the struggles between beauty and ugliness, good and bad, light and dark. Such people have ideals, worries, excitements, silences, joys and sorrows, but the most important thing is that they, with their life and blood, strength and wisdom, are toiling bit by bit for the building of the four modernizations and advancing heroically. Only thus will there be beauty and poetry, artistic strength touching man's soul, the zeal for the new society, the enthusiasm and effort for the four modernizations. Only such literature and art will mold the soul of a generation of new people; only such literature will embody the characteristics of the new era, serve as the treasury of mankind and add a bright and dazzling new page to history.

After repeated summations of the lessons of victories and failures, the great era of socialist construction pursued by us for many years has finally arrived. In the reality of our struggle to create material wealth, we will certainly also create spiritual wealth. From the material to the spiritual, from the spiritual to the material, it is the function of our literature and art in the new era. Let the workers on our literary and artistic front unite as one, advance hand in hand and make our contributions to the four modernization construction!

[Article by Luo Chengxun [5012 2110 8133], assistant editor-in-chief of the Hong Kong DAGONG BAO and editor-in-chief of XINWAN BAO [NEW EVENING NEWS]: "Doubtlessly Spring Has Finally Arrived"]

Is it "release" or "restraint?" Since the conclusion of the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Circles last November, the question has been in the minds of our friends in Hong Kong and abroad. All are concerned over the country and over literature and art, and happy over the democratic atmosphere and springtime panorama manifested by the congress. However, there are also some who do not feel confident, wondering whether spring has truly arrived and, if so, whether it will last.

Subsequently, it was learned that there were a playwriting forum, a national cultural bureau chiefs' meeting, a national conference of editorial workers of literary periodicals and discussions on the interpretations of the "double-hundred" policy; it was also learned that controversial plays such as "the Swindler" would not be performed again.... One feels that at times it is "restraint" and at other times it is "release." Back and forth and back and forth, one is now worried and now happy.

After attending the Congress of Literary and Art Circles, I personally felt rather confident, though also somewhat anxious. Attending the Political Consultative Conference in Beijing this time, I came with the idea of finding out just how it was, and what I personally saw and heard made me feel that I could maintain my confidence. Take the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference for instance: Compared with the past, they were unprecedented. People could express themselves more freely and the democratic atmosphere was very pervasive. When there is democracy in politics, naturally democracy in literature and art is guaranteed.

It occurs to me how, in the Taiwan aspect, some people vociferously advocated "learning economics from Taipei" and "learning politics from Taipei." Recently someone proposed "learning literature and art from Taipei." Let us leave economics aside and talk about politics. How can Taipei's "Legislative Yuan" and "Yuan" and its "State Construction Study Conference" attended by overseas scholars upon invitation compare with our National People's Congress and Political Consultative Conference in democratic spirit? Naming names and airing views without reservation, criticizing certain vice premiers (not just one) of the State Council and addressing solemn inquiries to certain ministers (not just one) are things which cannot happen in Taipei. Democracy in politics will naturally assure democracy in literature and art.

As for "learning literature and art from Taipei," those proposing this slogan feel that the literary and artistic achievements of the mainland have failed to keep pace with Taiwan and that Taiwan has made achievements in literature and art while the mainland has not accomplished much. I feel that this is a prejudice which is not convincing. Take just novels alone for instance: Back and forth, they dwell mostly on Bai Xianyong [4101 0341 0516] and Chen Ruoxi [7115 5387 2569], one writing about the "Taipei people" and the other about the "Cultural Revolution." In regard to Chen Ruoxi, once our writers liberate themselves and emancipate their mind, their works exposing the 10 years of calamity, known as "scar literature," will be more profound than her writing. As for the literary and artistic achievements in the past 30 years, whether literature or art, as long as one is free of prejudice, one will understand that momentous achievements have been made on this side of the straits. Naturally, we are not indifferent to the effort and achievements of the Taiwan writers. The publication of their novels, poetry and songs, and essay collections in Beijing volume after volume is the proof. (Some people feel that the selection of novels is fairly comprehensive, but that of poetry and songs and essays is rather one-sided). I feel that we should not overlook the talented and accomplished novelists, poets and essayists. Their works naturally contain things which can serve as our reference. But generally speaking, no matter what, one cannot draw the conclusion that Taiwan's literary and artistic achievements in the past 30 years excel those of the mainland. Some outstanding individuals cannot change the overall situation. Therefore, I would like to repeat my view expressed at the Writers Association meeting during the Congress of Literary and Art Circles, and hope that our mainland writers will produce more and better new works to prove that we have made achievements, are continuing to do so and will accomplish much.

(Written after the statement at the reception of the China Literature and Art Association on 12 September).

[Article by Wang Chaowen [3769 2600 5113]: "Do Not Just Manage To Get Through the Days"]

The "eight-character policy" for economic construction stressed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is applicable to culture as well. I feel that his demand to devote our effort to "gradually improve the people's material and cultural life" is pertinent to literary and artistic work.

In our literary and artistic work, are there such "serious defects" as "actually encouraging waste rather than thrift, slipshod work rather than quality improvement, and laziness rather than diligence," etc.? I feel that they also exist in our literary and artistic leadership, creation, criticism and research. The emergence of works such as "the Flower Announcing Spring," "Flower Rain on the Silk Route," "Arriving at Middle Age," "Mayor Chen Yi," etc. has proved that many comrades are devoting their effort to improving the quality of artistic creation and have made encouraging achievements. However, works of such high caliber are inadequate in number and rather slow in coming.

The key is the leadership. Some cultural, literary and artistic leaders also discuss "democracy in art" and "leading art according to the laws of art," but actually do they act according to the demand of "opening all avenues for people of talent; making the best use of men?" Are they striving to understand the laws of art in their leadership work? There are also other problems. The broad rural villages, for instance, urgently need popular literature and art which are sound and acceptable to the masses, yet the artists who are willing and qualified to perform for the masses do not have the opportunity to do so. Is this "economy" or "waste" of talents? In the creation of literature and art, are there contradictions between production and consumption? In regard to the long existing contradictions, are the leaders doing their best for their solution, or do they refuse to acknowledge their existence? How can such leaders guide us properly in our cultural construction? How can they guide us to build a highly civilized motherland? Some leading comrades constantly express their humility: "Ah, I am an amateur!" Humility is a virtue, yet, how do they justify their amateur status after 4 years, after 30 years? Could they not have made some effort to turn themselves into experts or acquire some expertise? If they are satisfied with tolling the bell as long as one is a monk, doing the minimum possible, or even too lazy to toll the bell, is it not the bureaucraticism criticized by the comrades of the Party Central Committee and this congress? As they are amateurs, they are often baffled by the problems posed to them. As they are amateurs, they have difficulty recognizing talents, cultivating talents, and easily take a winged steed as a donkey or a mule. In short, a leader, whether old or young, must no longer share the rice in the large cauldron and manage to get through the days, but must reinforce his feeling of responsibility, making up his own deficiencies wherever necessary, and turn himself into a socialist cultural builder in substance as well as in name.

If the leadership is good, does it mean that there will be no problems? No. If those led fail to make an adequate effort, the quality of art will not improve either. After hearing the words of Comrades Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, I have the feeling that "I am not willing to die even though it is evening." It does not mean that I still have much energy and refuse to give up, but I feel that there are still many things which I have not yet learned. If it is said that "after hearing the principles in the morning, I will die willingly in the evening," there are still many "principles" which I have not yet heard! Time is life. We must, with the spirit of seizing every minute of the day, change the maladjusted conditions in ourselves and our environment. If we remain indifferent over the abnormal conditions unfavorable to our economic and cultural construction, do we have absolutely no fear of the condemnation of future generations?

[Article by Chen Dengke [7115 4098 4430]: "Systems Must Be Reformed; Creation Must Be Freed"]

How to enliven literary and artistic work? Pondering the issue, I find that there are two "must's," i.e., systems must be changed; creation must be freed.

Let us first discuss the reform of systems. The systems of our state were acquired from the Soviet Union in the fifties. In literature and art, even the royalty system was copied from it. Viewed from the practice of the past 30 years, it hampers, rather than promotes, literary and artistic creation. If we lead literature and art today according to the rules and regulations of the fifties, it will be impossible to enliven literary and artistic work, because the system is flooded with the feudal style and repetitious bureaucratic structure. When examining a film, a play, the leaders have different ideas on changes and revisions. Basically, instead of leading literature and art according to the laws of creative work, it is the amateur leading the professional, issuing arbitrary orders according to the preferences, interests, experiences or even prejudices of certain leaders, and the writers and artists are baffled. To reform the system, we must rely on the writers and artists to free themselves from the old confines and encourage them to smash the shackles. We must learn the way economic work is handled and strive for control without rigidity and liveliness without confusion. To enliven literary and artistic work, we must foster more pathbreakers who have ideals, pursuits and determination and are courageous in looking squarely at reality, facing the truth, reflecting the aspirations, feelings and desires of the people without reservation and thoroughly reforming the old systems in the practice of literary and artistic creation.

How should the old systems be reformed? I think of four points: 1. The life tenure of literary and artistic leadership cadres should be abolished and the leaders of all levels in literary and artistic work should be freely elected by the writers and artists. 2. The feudal leadership structure of the literary and artistic leading organs, including the various literary and artistic associations, must be changed. 3. The inspection system of literary and artistic works should be abolished. In other word, the feudal patriarchy and the practice of one man's word should be changed. 4. The free association of writers, artists and literary and artistic workers who are basically identical in their artistic viewpoints, interests and pursuits should be encouraged, and the free competition in literary and artistic creation of all kinds of styles, schools of thought and mass organizations should be promoted.

Let us now discuss the freedom of creation. Literary and artistic creation involves complex individual mental labor, which cannot tolerate arbitrariness, high-handedness and blind direction. The party's leadership of literary and artistic work refers only to its propaganda, guidance and influence on the writers and artists in its literary and artistic policies and theories; it absolutely does not indicate that the party committees have the right to order the writers and artists on what to write and how to write. A writer is not the secretary of the party committee, and cannot follow orders on what to write and how to write. As a writer can only write about what he sees and hears, what he feels deeply and what he believes in, it is impossible to order him to describe something of which he has no knowledge or feeling. If this is not blind direction and arbitrary interference, what else is it? During the National Conference of Editorial Workers of Literary Periodicals, we saw two films, viz., "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" and "an Instant," which were both banned at that time. It appeared that "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" was revised, and was permitted to be shown after cutting several scenes. When the showing of a film hinged on a few scenes, people could not help asking: Does it mean that the life of a film is determined by only a few scenes, let alone the fact that the scenes in question basically do not involve issues of principle? When they were not issues of principle, why must they be deleted? Some people arbitrarily said that too many people died. It was not good for too few people to die, and it was not good for too many people to die. Then, just how many would be good? It was truly baffling. "An Instant" is the first film directly exposing Lin Biao's small fleet counterrevolutionary plot. Reportedly it was banned after an airforce club wrote a letter. China has one billion people, and how many can a club represent? Just who gave it such great power to destroy rashly the diligent toil of so many artists and the 800,000-yuan investment of the state? Just who should pay for such a tremendous loss? Yet, even today, relying on their high position and great power, certain individuals constantly borrow the "revolutionary" banner, raise the sticks of "liberalism" and "smearing the troops" and hit indiscriminately and interfere arbitrarily in literary and artistic work. They fail to understand the equality of all before a work of art and the absence of distinction between the superior and the subordinate, between the leader and the led in the court of art. For a long time, they have no respect for the mental labor of the writers and artists and are accustomed to showing conceit, issuing haphazard orders and interfering arbitrarily in literary and artistic work. I feel that this is the reason for the failure of literary and artistic creation to flourish fully even today.

Though the condition in the field of literature and art in the past 3 plus years has changed greatly and a lively and vivid new situation, which did not exist not only in the time of the "gang of four," but also in the 17 years, has appeared, the writers and artists are at times still apprehensive and concerned. The peasants say: You discuss policies when the situation is bad, change policies when it is good and criticize policies when a movement arrives. Same as the peasants, our writers and artists are also afraid of the three items. When the situation deteriorated, when finally only eight sample plays were left from the "gang of four's" rampage and when culture was on the verge of destruction, the "double-hundred" policy, ideological emancipation and "freedom," after smashing the "gang of four," were discussed. After a while, when the situation improved and everyone wrote more freely, and some vitality appeared in the literary world, a cold wind began to blow, saying that such freedom was disastrous; that it was bourgeois liberalism and must be controlled; that the policy must be changed! Today, everyone is still worried, not knowing when another movement will be launched, and our writers and artists will again be the first to bear the brunt and suffer criticism. Why is there still such worry? It is because the law still has not clearly provided the protection of the rights of the writers and artists. Therefore, the phenomenon of arbitrary interference in literary and artistic creation still exists in a serious manner. Can one say that instances such as the Bohai No 2 case in the field of literature and art resulting from confused orders are few in number? Who is investigating the political and economic responsibilities? I feel that the Writers' Rights Protection Committee of the Writers' Association should earnestly perform its functions.

In short, I feel that, to truly carry out Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statement against "arbitrary interference" and enliven literary and artistic work, legislation is required, and concrete laws must be enacted to eradicate feudal patriarchy in literary and artistic leadership and earnestly protect the creative freedom of the writers and artists.

[Article by Xie Tieli [6200 6993 7537]: "Keep the People in Mind"]

The 10-year long-range plan for national construction makes me feel that our film industry must also formulate a long-range plan as soon as possible. It should include the unified planning and arrangement of the production, distribution and showing of films, the film industry and the training of specialized personnel.

Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "The fundamental goal of our pursuit of the modernization construction is to satisfy the people's needs in their material and cultural life." If we measure the present situation of our film enterprise with these words, I find that we give too much consideration to the cities and too little to the 800 million peasants, too much to the ticket office and too little to the influence on the young and young adults (the basic audience in the cities). Take innovation for instance: Is it innovation for the sake of innovation, or is it innovation for the needs of the cultural life of the broad masses? If we do not ponder and solve the problems in terms of this fundamental goal, I feel that we will easily deviate in our direction.

When "the Dazzling Starlight Tonight" was filmed, some people asked: "You still make this film today? Will there be people who want to see it?" After it was shown, the questions were answered in the many letters from the viewers. One young worker wrote that, after seeing the film, he yielded his quota to someone else at wage evaluation. Another youth wrote that he and other young people imitated, by their practical acts, the leading characters in the film. It has further convinced me that the characters portrayed in the film are acceptable to the young people. I feel that, as the young people of this generation will, 20 years later, take over the shift and determine the future of the state, if we can produce some positive influence on their growth, it will indicate that our work is meaningful. With such a sense of responsibility, my next creative planning is to make films on modern subject matters. Naturally, it does not mean that I do not support the breadth of subject matters and the great variety of styles in films.

One very important problem in film creation which requires solution is respect for the writers' labor and protection of their creative spirit.

The "100 flowers blooming" policy in film making should be like the chefs who each displays his own unique skill and creates his own specialty to satisfy the different tastes of the diners. However, for a long time in the past, the practice was to boil a large pot of food for the 1 billion people. Now it has been improved, and the situation has somewhat changed. Naturally, while any dish may be served, there must be a premise: The chef must consider sanitation and avoid food poisoning of the diners. Today when film creation is gradually flourishing, we must realize that it is impossible for everyone to be satisfied with a film and to have no complaint. On the contrary, when a film pleases the majority of the audience, it is possible for it to offend a part of them. This is a normalcy. Different opinions in artistic appreciation may coexist and may be discussed and debated, and it is not necessary to seek arbitrary uniformity. As long as no fundamental mistake in political principles is found in a film, even if one does not like it, one must not oppose others for liking it or decide on the fate of the film according to one's own preferences by administrative means and coercive measures. Inspection and ensuring soundness are necessary, but will it not be better to place the main responsibility on the film production plants? The current inspection system is not clear and the inspection is often too concrete. A film costs several hundred thousand to 1 million yuan. If, upon its completion, the leaders of the various levels make all kinds of comments on problems which are not fundamental and require numerous revisions, or even suspend its showing, it will result in a great waste. I advocate that, as long as the problems are not momentous and fundamental, whether to revise or not should be left to the writers themselves, and their views should be respected. The different views may be openly discussed in newspapers and periodicals after a film is shown, or they may be brought to the writers' attention for improvement in the future.

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 156

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13 January 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 156

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PART II OF 'XINHUA' ROUNDUP ON INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

OW261010 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0730 GMT 23 Dec 80

["Part II of Yearend Roundup by XINHUA Reporter: '1980--A Year of Changing Events'"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--The Struggle of the People of Southern Africa

In 1980 the struggle of African countries and peoples for national independence and against racism continued to develop and achieved new results, of which the most outstanding is that Zimbabwe won independence. With the support of African countries, especially the support of the frontline countries, the Zimbabwean people waged a protracted and arduous armed struggle, dealt crushing blows at the racist forces and forced the Rhodesian racist authorities to reach peace agreement with the Zimbabwean nationalists. In an independent general election, the Zimbabwe African National Union won with an overwhelming majority and formed an independent Zimbabwe Government with Mugabe as prime minister. The Republic of Zimbabwe was formally founded on 14 April, thereby pronouncing the final collapse of the racist stronghold that had ruled this land.

Zimbabwe has abundant national resources and holds an important strategic position. Its independence is of great significance to the development of the revolutionary situation in southern Africa. Since independence, the government has promulgated a "minimum wage law" to protect the black people's interests, increased the purchase prices of farm products by large margins and rehabilitated and developed the war-torn economy at a rather rapid rate in order to rebuild the country. Noticeable achievements have been made in the short span of more than half a year. The government has adopted a realistic policy and declared that it will protect private capital and encourage foreign investment that will help develop Zimbabwe's economy. As a result, the country's economy is recovering step by step. Zimbabwe has also resettled more than 1.2 million refugees and is gradually forming a national army by integrating the guerrillas and the former Rhodesian security forces.

However, Zimbabwe at present is also confronted by some difficulties which cannot be ignored. For some time, armed conflicts and violent incidents have occurred incessantly between a small number of the members of the two groupings of Zimbabwe nationalist organizations, resulting in injuries and deaths and economic losses and adversely affecting social stability and the people's livelihood. Healing the economic wounds caused by the protracted war and upheaval, overcoming the difficulty of the critical shortage of capital in rebuilding the country and reorganizing the armed forces to form a unified national army are also arduous tasks. The Zimbabwean Government is taking positive measures and striving to solve these problems.

The fact that Zimbabwe has won independence has greatly encouraged the Namibian people in their struggle for national liberation. While the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is continuing its armed struggle, African frontline countries and the international community are making concerted efforts and are engaged in frequent diplomatic activities on Namibia's independence. The South African racist authorities have been forced to agree to take part in a meeting on the issue of Namibian independence to be held early next year. However, because South Africa has changed its attitude many times before, African countries are closely watching what schemes the South African authorities may still play to obstruct a peaceful settlement of the Namibian issue.

Zimbabwe's independence has made the South African racist regime even more isolated and it finds the going very tough. To extricate themselves from the predicament, the reactionary authorities are on the one hand continuing to suppress the black masses and on the other hand making a pretense of "relaxing" their racial discrimination, attempting to deceive the masses. However, the masses of blacks and colored people, fearing no suppression and refusing to be deceived, are constantly boycotting schools, striking and demonstrating, demanding the "abolition of the system based on racial discrimination." The massive boycott of schools and strikes that broke out successively in April and June this year dealt heavy blows to the racist authorities.

With the birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, independent African countries now number 50, and the forces in Africa against imperialism, colonialism and racism have become stronger. The African countries and peoples united under the OAU are determined to step up their struggle and advance courageously to thoroughly crush the racist system on the African continent.

[OW261340] Turbulent Central America

If we say that the situation in Central America in 1979 was characterized by the upsurge of struggle against dictatorships marked by the overthrow of the Somoza regime by the Nicaraguan people, then since the beginning of 1980 the contradictions between various political forces in this region have become more acute and the situation is complicated and turbulent.

Central America includes five countries in the long, narrow isthmus between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, namely, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The situation is most eye-catching in El Salvador, the smallest and most densely populated of the five countries. It reflects some characteristics of the current situation in Central America.

In October last year a military coup d'etat led by young officers took place in El Salvador. The Romero dictatorial regime was overthrown, and an executive committee composed of military officers and civilians was formed. However, shortly after the government was formed, the rightwing began to criticize it for failing to energetically suppress the leftists, and the leftists regarded the new government as a change in form but not in essence. From then on, fighting between government forces and leftist guerrillas, assassinations of leftist figures by rightwing terrorist organizations and violent activities of leftist guerrillas intertwined with one another, throwing El Salvador into a state of civil war. Several thousand people have died in the violent conflicts in 1980.

This year the various antigovernment political organizations gradually joined forces with the guerrillas in El Salvador, saying that they were going to fight a "decisive battle" with the government. They engaged the government forces in frequent battles and staged three nationwide general strikes and struck at the government economically by such means as setting fire to coffee warehouses and so forth. They also sent several delegations to sell their ideas to foreign countries in order to win international support. The rightwing terrorist and assassination activities have become more rampant. Six leaders, including Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was sympathetic to the leftists, and (Enrique Alvares), general secretary of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, and four women from the United States were all victims under the butcherknife of the rightists.

The present Salvadoran government has been organized many times since the beginning of this year, and the contradictions between the "hardliners" and the "moderates" within the armed forces have also become increasingly apparent. After several contests of strength, the forces of Gutierrez, representative of the "hardliners" and member of the executive committee, are gradually gaining the upper hand, and the position of Majano, representative of the "moderates" and also a member of the executive committee, and his supporters has been weakened. This country is still in a state of unrest.

The situation in Guatemala is in many ways similar to the situation in El Salvador. Several antigovernment guerrilla forces have also formed a United Front to fight the government forces and the rightwing paramilitary organization.

In another country, Honduras, the government is striving to stabilize the domestic situation through the democratic process. However, the struggle of the masses for democracy still tends to increase daily.

In Nicaragua, since the Somozan dictatorship was overthrown last year, certain achievements have been made in healing the wounds of war and for economic and cultural construction. However, the contradictions in domestic and foreign policies between the Sandinist National Liberation Front, which holds the state power, and other parties and organizations are becoming more and more pronounced. This has resulted in the successive resignation of two well-known democratic figures in the junta: Mrs Chamorro and Mr Robelo. In November this year, 11 representatives of a number of political parties, trade unions and enterprise-owner organizations withdrew from the legislative and consultative organ, the Council of State. Then the authorities charged that the leaders of some enterprise-owner organizations were plotting to stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. The extremely close relationship between the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Cuba has also caused dissatisfaction among some people in Nicaragua.

The turmoil in Central America is caused by long dictatorial rule, economic backwardness, the wide gap between the rich and the poor and acute social contradictions. In this turbulent region, the Soviet Union and Cuba, which are adept in taking advantage of others' precarious positions, have in the past few years used the revolutionary desires of the people in this region against imperialism, dictatorship and the oligarchical forces, meddled in the national and democratic movements in the region and contended for spheres of influence with the United States. This has further complicated the struggles in the region.

[OW261612] Western Countries Find Themselves in Economic Straits

The economies of the major capitalist countries of the West have experienced serious difficulties in the first year of the 1980's. Circumstances indicate that most of them will continue to face a gloomy prospect in the coming year.

At the very beginning of 1980, the United States, Britain and Canada one after another landed themselves in an economic crisis. The U.S. industrial production index began to drop in February and continued dropping for 6 months. Although in August it began to rise slowly, industrial output up to November was still 2.5 percent lower than the same period last year. Then, in the second half of this year, the economy of a number of West European countries also began to drop one after another. It is estimated that the size of economic growth of the nine countries of the West European community this year will be smaller than any year since 1975. According to a 27 November REUTERS report, some factories in various European countries had been closed down, the situation was desolate, and "the European economy is falling into a recession."

Soaring prices is another "serious problem" the Western countries find difficult to cope with at present. The ministerial conference of the economic cooperation and development organization held in Paris in early June of this year and the Summit meeting of seven Western countries including the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada in Venice in late June of this year both unanimously expressed the need to control rising prices. Since the beginning of this year, these countries have also each adopted some measures, but the results are very little. It has been disclosed that prices in seven major capitalist countries including the United States in September this year increased more than 10 percent over that of a year ago, and that prices are rising most sharply in Britain and Italy. It is estimated that this year's overall price increase in these two countries will not be lower than 20 percent. In the United States, because of the constantly rising prices, what could be bought for $100 in 1967 costs nearly $254 in October of this year.

The worsening economic situation has aggravated the unemployment problem in the Western countries. As disclosed by the experts of the Economic Cooperation and Development Organization in November this year, in the 23 Western countries (not including Turkey) of that organization, the total number of unemployed reached about 2.4 million, and, in addition, there were more than 20 million semi-unemployed who could only find part-time work. Since April this year, the number of unemployed in the United States each month has hovered around 8 million, and this means there are at least 7 persons out of every 100 on the average who cannot find work. The number of unemployed in the 9 countries of the European community in November this year increased to 7.6 million, an increase of 1.6 million over a year ago. The number of unemployed in Britain and Denmark each increased by 50 percent over a year ago.

Leaders and economists in some Western countries are of the opinion that 1981 will continue to be a year in which the Western world will be confronted by political and economic difficulties. West German Chancellor Schmidt felt that the economy of the Western world will make almost no growth in 1981. A U.S. economic research organization believes that the slowly recovering U.S. economy is in danger of again falling into a recession in 1981. Some major economists in the West pessimistically predict that in the first half of 1981, the rate of economic growth in West Europe is estimated to drop to zero.

[OW262055] Reagan's Entry Into the White House

The United States holds an election once every 4 years. The year 1980 was an election year. On 4 November, Republican Presidential Candidate Reagan won an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes and was elected the 40th president of the United States. Incumbent President Carter suffered a stunning defeat. This was the first time such a thing happened in the United States in nearly 92 years.

The election was held with the United States facing serious difficulties in both domestic and foreign affairs. Domestically, the U.S. economy had been "stagnant" for a protracted period. The production of major industrial departments was stagnant or even declining. The inflation rate reached 12.7 percent. The number of unemployed people stayed at about 8 million. The actual income of the working people was dropping. Internationally, due to the Soviet Union's global aggression and expansion, the U.S. interests were in immediate danger. The U.S. Government had too many problems to tackle and felt quite helpless. Even the issue of the hostages in Iran remained unsolved for a long time. Because of all that the American people felt disappointed and angry, lacked a sense of security and earnestly hoped to change the state of affairs. This was the situation when Reagan won the election.

The Democratic Party lost 12 seats in the congressional election that was held concurrent with the presidential election. A number of liberal congressmen, who had been in Congress for a long time, lost and were replaced by conservatives. Conservative organizations were quite active during the election campaign. The conservative think tank "Heritage Foundation" proposed a 3,000-page plan for action to the Reagan group, recommending a large-scale increase in military spending, the accelerated development of nuclear weapons, suppression of "radicals in the country," and even resumption of activities of the right-wing organization in the 1930's "The Committee for the Investigation of Unamerican Activities." Indications suggest that with Reagan's election victory the conservative forces in the United States is gaining ground.

Reagan is a conservative of the Republican Party. His major election campaign slogan was: "Rebuild a Powerful America." He emphasizes the need to revitalize the U.S. economy and military strength and to restore the United States' "position as world leader." Domestically, he proposed to slash the budget of the Federal Government, cut taxes and reduce the regulatory role of the government among private enterprises. At the same time, he favors an increase in defense spending, acceleration in arms expansion and the restoration of U.S. military predominance. In foreign affairs, he believes that the Soviet Union is the "source of all turmoil in the world" and he proposes to adopt an even stronger policy in dealing with the Soviet Union to deal a heavy blow to Soviet aggression and expansion and to protect U.S. interests in various parts of the world. He also expressed his determination to strengthen U.S. relations with its allies and to support Israel.

Concerning U.S. policy toward China, on the one hand Reagan supports efforts to normalize relations with China and expresses his intention to continue developing Sino-U.S. relations. However, at the same time, he more than once advocated the reestablishment of an "official relationship" between the United States and Taiwan.

In an interview with a reporter from the French newspaper LEFIGARO on the eve of the general election, he said: Sino-U.S. relations will be "based on an overall and strategic concept." He believed that to continue developing the Sino-U.S. relations conforms with the interests of the United States, possibly "interests of a fundamental nature." At the same time, he once again said that he will seek to "maintain relations with Taiwan" according to some articles of the "Act on Relations with Taiwan."

Since the late 1960's, U.S. strength has been clearly on the decline. At present, not only its conventional strength is lagging behind the Soviet Union, but it may possibly be surpassed by the Soviet Union in nuclear weapons. It is impossible to change this situation overnight. In the United States, various political forces oppose each other. The conservatives and moderates within the Republican Party are trying to outdo each other as they have different political opinions. We have to wait and see what kind of domestic and foreign policies Reagan will advocate after he officially takes office.

At present, President-Elect Reagan is busy forming his cabinet and making preparations to take over the government. The principal cabinet members have already been appointed. Reagan's new administration will officially take over on 20 January of next year.

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' ON RECONCILIATION BETWEEN EGYPT, OTHER ARAB STATES

OW261214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Article by Wan Guang: "Roundup: Tendency for Reconciliation Between Egypt and 'Moderate' Arab Nations"]

[Text] Cairo, December 25 (XINHUA)--Certain Arab countries, which have split because of differences over ways to deal with Arab-Israeli relations, have shown tendencies to reconcile. This was seen as a new development in the Arab region this year, against the background of the grave Soviet menace.

Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan' Ali declared on December 21 that Egypt hoped that the year 1981 would become "a year of Arab dialogue" and "a year of Arab accord and harmony."

Antagonism between "moderate" Arab countries and Egypt has somewhat mitigated this year. These countries expressed their desire for unity after the Israeli authority adopted the law annexing Jerusalem last July. Moroccan King Hassan the Second sent a message then to Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat, urging him to take measures which "would enable us all to embrace again Egypt." Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal indicated last August that his country wanted to see Egypt in the Arab ranks. The press here also carried articles at that time calling for solidarity between the Arab nations to oppose the enemy.

Owing to the differences between Egypt and other Arab nations including Saudi Arabia over the Camp David agreements, the voice for reconciliation was again silenced for some time.

Since the Iraq-Iran war broke out in September, Saudi Arabia and some Gulf countries have voiced more urgently than ever the need for unity in struggle as they were worried that the Soviet Union might step up its southward drive. Many Arab countries, already on the alert after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan have strengthened their defences in order to resist the Soviet expansionists. Egypt has repeatedly declared its readiness to provide military facilities to the United States so as to defend the security of the countries in the Gulf and in the Middle East.

This year, some "moderate" Arab countries and Egypt have increased economic and cultural exchanges. Cairo newspaper yesterday reported that the board of directors of the Agricultural Development Fund has approved a 28 million U.S. dollars loan for Egypt under the support of Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Kuwait and in defiance of Libya's opposition. This was the first loan the fund has granted to Egypt since it was established in 1977. Delegates of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait also attended a number of international scientific conferences held recently in Cairo.

Egypt appointed in November new heads of its "interest offices" in Kuwait, Iraq and Jordan and promoted them from the rank of councillor to that of minister. It was said that private contacts and dialogues between Egypt and some Arab countries have taken place recently.

Observers here hold that both "moderate" Arab countries and Egypt want an early settlement of the Palestine problem so as to oppose in unity the hegemonist threat in the Gulf and the Middle East. Most of the Arab states are now in favour of the settlement of the Palestine problem through peaceful negotiations, though differences remain over ways and conditions for conducting such negotiations.

Some Arab personages pointed out that although antagonism between some Arab countries and Egypt has reduced it still takes time for them to restore full relations.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA': MUSKIE CONDEMNS USSR AFGHAN INVASION, BACKS SANCTIONS

OW250132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0117 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Article: "Soviet Aggression Against Afghanistan Must Be Penalized, Says Muskie"]

[Text] Washington, December 24 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie today censured Moscow for its aggression against Afghanistan and called for continued implementation of sanctions against the Soviet Union as long as its forces remain in that country.

In a statement on Christmas Eve, Muskie said: "The Soviet Union launched its attack on Afghanistan a year ago this week, using large numbers of troops and armor. That attack has been met by the widespread resistance of virtually all the people of Afghanistan. Despite the continued massive use of force, Soviet forces have been unable to suppress popular resistance. They cannot impose a government and army capable of exercising effective control in Afghanistan or acceptable to the Afghan people. Over a million Afghans have fled Soviet troops and taken refuge in Pakistan.

"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has had major repercussions throughout the world. It has particularly affected the Islamic and Non-Aligned countries of southwest Asia whose concern over the threat to their own security has sharply increased. It has led the U.S. and its allies to accelerate measures to strengthen our capabilities to resist further Soviet aggression in that vital region of the world.

"The intervention in Afghanistan has been overwhelmingly condemned by the members of the U.N. nations of virtually every political persuasion have called for the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

"The Soviet Union continues to reject all reasonable proposals aimed at the withdrawal of Soviet forces and affirming the right of the Afghan people to live freely under a government of their own choice, secure from outside interference.

"The United States believes that aggression must be penalized. The weight of international public opinion and the continued implementation of concrete measures affecting the economy and programs of the Soviet Union will continue as long as Soviet forces remain in Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan people.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA': BRZEZINSKI ON AFGHAN, OTHER ISSUES

OW290147 Beijing XINHUA in English 0126 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Washington, December 28 (XINHUA)--Zbigniew Brzezinski, assistant to the President for national security affairs, said today that the courageous resistance to Soviet invasion and occupation in Afghanistan is a national liberation struggle which is beginning to command broader sympathy and international support.

The Soviets throughout their action in Afghanistan and elsewhere, he said, "have imposed very major strains on detente and this has caused a very fundamental shift in American public attitude" toward the Soviet Union.

It will be "very difficult to develop positive relationships with the Soviets unless they more visibly desist from their expansionist posture," he stressed.

Brzezinski made the remarks in an interview on NBC-TV "Meet the Press" program at noon today.

A year after the Soviet invasion, the national security advisor said, the Soviets control by and large the cities in Afghanistan. But much of the countryside is not subject to Soviet control and national resistance continues.

"There is no doubt that the Babrak Karmal regime in Kabul is a quisling regime maintained only because 85,000 Soviet troops are there to protect him. It is an occupied country which continues to resist," he said. He also noted that out of a country of some 17 million or so people, about 1 million to 1.2 million have been driven out of their homes, suffering as refugees because they do not wish to live under Soviet occupation.

Referring to a recent statement by John R. Block, secretary of agriculture-designate, suggesting to lift grain embargo against the Soviet Union, Brzezinski said, "It would be to my judgment a one-sided concession to the Soviet Union to lift the grain embargo and it would be a curious act of weakness on the part of the administration which is coming to power, committed to the principle of strength."

On the hostage issue with Iran, he believes that it is in the interest of the United States and Iran jointly for the issue to be resolved "On the principle of retroactivity"--the reestablishment of status quo ante. That is, the United States will release the assets frozen following the seizure of the American hostages and Iran will release the hostages.

"The independence and integrity of Iran are threatened," he said. "Iran has lost some territories. It has a neighbor to the north that traditionally, historically has been a threat to Iranian sovereignty."

He expressed the hope that Iran would "ponder the longer range consequences of this destructive feud" with the United States which at the same time "does so much to tarnish Iran's international image."

On possible Soviet intervention in Poland, Brzezinski warned the Soviet Union that a military conflict in the heart of Europe would have "totally unpredictable" consequences, not only in a security sense but more generally political. "Monolithic and dogmatic solutions can no longer be imposed on other nations by nations no matter how powerful," he said.

He spoke for a "new sense of national unity" in Poland and in favor of economic aid to Poland in order to stabilize what he said could "otherwise be an explosive situation dangerous to everyone concerned."

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA': PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTER REVIEWS WORLD SITUATION

OW291526 Beijing XINHUA in English 1518 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Hongkong, December 29 (XINHUA)--Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi made a speech in the Foreign Correspondent Club here today, reiterating the Pakistan Government's position on the Afghan problem, the security of the Gulf region, and other international affairs.

He said that the Pakistan Government's difference with the Soviet Union is that the Soviet Union would like to see the matter settled through direct negotiations with the regime in Kabul which would imply recognition, and legitimization of a government set up through foreign intervention as the conditions for the commencement of a dialogue. Pakistan "is ready to hold talks, but seeks to do so in a manner that does not imply recognition of the Kabul regime. Recognition must be necessarily linked to the withdrawal of foreign troops."

He reaffirmed the latest U.N. resolution on Afghanistan. Speaking of the 11th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers last May during which a Standing Committee was set up to explore ways and means of promoting a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem, he said "though this committee made unremitting efforts, it could not make such headway, as the Soviet Union refused to cooperate with its peace making efforts."

Referring to the security of the Gulf region, he said, "Our view, which is based on the principles of the U.N. Charter, is that the security of any region is fundamentally the concern of the countries of that region, and that no outside power, great or small, has the right to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries in furtherance of its own interests."

Mr Shahi has just finished his official visit to China and will leave Hongkong for home today.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA': HENRY KISSINGER MEETS WITH EGYPT'S AL-SADAT

OW300734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Cairo, December 29 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat said he had requested former American secretary of state Henry Kissinger to carry some messages to the new American administration when he received Kissinger at his home village of Mit Abul Kom today.

At a press conference held by Al-Sadat and Kissinger at the village, Al-Sadat asserted that Egypt has been helping the Afghan militants since the beginning of the tragedy on the Afghan soil and will keep helping them in every way.

Al-Sadat further said that King Husayn of Jordan "has a role in Camp David," but "I suggested that King Husayn join the agreement after we reach agreement on full Palestinian autonomy," adding that "no one should determine the fate of the Palestinians but the Palestinians themselves."

On the tough stance by Egypt against the Soviet Union, Kissinger said that President al-Sadat's ideas "are not different from the American ideas in this respect" and that U.S. President-Elect Reagan will have a clear understanding of the "strategic necessity" of this area and will be appreciative of the advice of President al-Sadat in this concern.

Kissinger arrived in Cairo last night on a week-long private visit to Egypt. It was reported that he is now on a new mission of unofficial shuttle diplomacy that will include meetings with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the heads of state of Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Oman.

Speaking about his stand on the Middle East upon his arrival, Kissinger said he backed the peace process and the Camp David accords, while in the meantime, he said he believed the time had probably come for Jordan to be included into the peace process.

Before his departure from Washington, Kissinger's spokesman Peter Rodman confirmed that the former secretary of state will explore chances of breaking the stalemate in the Egyptian-Israeli peace talks and of broadening the Camp David initiatives to include other Arab countries.

It was also reported that sources at the administration of President-Elect Reagan said that Reagan himself as well as the secretary of state-designate Alexander Haig blessed this visit and were looking forward to knowing its results.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

HOSTAGES IN IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HANDS--Tehran, December 30 (XINHUA)--Iranian Minister of State and Government spokesman Behzad Nabavi confirmed at a press conference here today that the U.S. hostages are now in the Iranian Government's hands. Answering a question as to who is responsible for the hostages in Iran now, he said, "It is for security reasons that we do not allow any meeting with them, because if the place of hostages is identified, more grounds would be prepared for the United States' plots." Asked what would be the next step of the Iranian Government regarding the hostages, the spokesman replied, "We cannot please ourselves with a few sheets of paper signed by Carter or Reagan. We should have a guarantee from the U.S. regarding the return of our assets. If the U.S. could propose another solution involving some sort of surety acceptable to the Algerian Government it would be equally acceptable to us. We do not trust American statements as we have learned their insubstantiality from experience." He added: "If the U.S. procrastinates in giving the requested reply or if we consider its reply negative, we shall act in accordance with our legal duties without the least hesitation." The spokesman reiterated that "insofar as we are concerned, the question of the 52 hostages has been solved. If the conditions proposed by the Majlis parliament are fulfilled, the hostages will be released. Otherwise they will be tried." [Text] [OW310144 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 31 Dec 80]

IRAN ON U.S. HOSTAGES--Tehran, December 30 (XINHUA)--Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, ruled out yesterday the possibility of reconsideration of the U.S. hostage issue by parliament. In his regular Monday press conference here, he said, "The hostage issue has already passed," and "the Majlis has proved that the hostages would be put on trial if the U.S doesn't accept Iran's terms, but we must reasonably give them a chance to find a lawful way to settle this problem." Asked if Iran would fix a date for the trial of the hostages, he said, "I don't think it is necessary to fix a date for the trial. Nevertheless, it is us who make the final decision." [Text] [OW301308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1259 GMT 30 Dec 80]

IRAN ON SUPERPOWER RELATIONS--Tehran, December 30 (XINHUA)--"Our foreign policy is based on the principle of neither East nor West and therefore our relations with the superpowers cannot be expanded," said Behzad Nabavi, Iranian minister of state in charge of executive affairs and government spokesman, at a press conference here today. Commenting on the possibility of expansion of Iran-U.S.S.R. relations in future, Nabavi said: "These (relations) would only develop insofar as they are not harmful to our interests and independence. Otherwise they will not." When asked to comment on a recent statement of Jalaledin Farsi, a famous Islamic Republican Party member and a deputy of the Majlis, on possible purchase of arms from the superpowers, the spokesman said, "we will buy weapons if it would not be detrimental to our independence. But since the superpowers do not undertake such transactions without selfish intentions, they could not be our trade partners." [Text] [OW310142 Beijing XINHUA in English 0118 GMT 31 Dec 80]

SOVIET PROTEST REJECTION BY IRAN--Tehran, December 30 (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i last night rejected Soviet charges that the Iranian authorities knew in advance the December 27 attack on the Soviet Embassy by Afghan demonstrators, reported Radio Tehran today. Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Vinogradov delivered a protest note to Raja'i last night. The prime minister said on the occasion that what happened at the Soviet Embassy was a protest against the Soviet intervention in Iran's brother Afghanistan. He said, "I hope the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan comes to an end as soon as possible. In this way we can promise that such things, even if at its smallest scale, will never happen again." Addressing the Iranian Majlis yesterday, speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani said the attack represented "a homeless and helpless nation" voicing "the very minimum of its hatred. It is you who ought to answer this protest," he told the Soviet Union, adding, "You expect to make millions of human beings homeless without these oppressed people making any protest." Radio Tehran in a commentary the same day noted, "The Iranian authorities took maximum precautions to prevent the demonstrators from entering the embassy. To say the officials were guilty of negligence or had a hand in the events is a false accusation." [Text] [OW300746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 30 Dec 80]

GUANGDONG DELEGATION IN SYDNEY--The Guangdong Provincial People's Government delegation headed by Vice Provincial Governor Liu Tianfu, arrived in Sydney on 25 October. (Lanen), the state premier of New South Wales, greeted the delegation and Liu Tianfu handed him a letter from Xi Zhongxun. Liu Tianfu and the state premier (Lanen) held friendly talks. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 26 Oct 80 HK]

POLISH CRISIS--Bucharest, 10 Dec (XINHUA)--The Romanian communists and people fully believe that the Polish communists and the working class and people of Poland are determined to seek the most suitable way for overcoming their current difficulties and are capable of doing so. This was said by the Romanian paper SCINTEIA in its 10 December editorial department article on the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact member countries' leaders. The article says that Romania "fully supports the Polish communists and progressive forces as well as the working class and people of Poland in their struggle to overcome their current adversity and for the development of socialism in their country. Our party has reiterated its firm belief that Poland's problems can and should be solved by the Polish people themselves so that these problems will not affect their relations with the international community and their policy of detente, independence and peace." [Text] [OW131211 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1640 GMT 10 Dec 80]

CSO: 4005

PLA CADRES DOUBT, FEAR ECONOMIC POLICY

OW170418 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] In accordance with the instructions of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee and the PLA General Political Department, many military districts, military subdistricts and PLA units stationed in various localities have sent cadres to the countryside and enterprises to familiarize themselves with the actual conditions while simultaneously organizing them to study the central authorities' documents on new policies.

Of course, this helps people understand the new principles and policies of the central authorities. However, it must be noted that many commanders and fighters are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the current economic policy and line. They cannot understand the ultrarightist ideas which have prevailed in recent years in all fields, and they are against these ideas. Yet, the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee and the PLA General Political Department have so far failed to present any convincing propaganda documents to solve this problem specifically. That is why dissatisfaction is growing daily.

Therefore, when they criticize army cadres during the political work meetings at various levels and in army newspapers for sticking to bookish dogmas, for refusing to cast aside old conventional ideas and for taking what is erroneous and ultraleftist as what is correct, and when they criticize the party branch cadres at the enlarged meeting of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee for failing to correctly understand the party's major economic reforms and new economic policy and for failing to free themselves from the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." [passage indistinct]

CSO: 4005

'HSIN WAN PAO' REPORTS PROGRESS OF BEIJING TRIAL

HK181441 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 18 Dec 80 p 1

[Special dispatch from this paper's special reporter in Beijing on 18 December: "Special Court Begins Debate Today, and the Trial of Jiang Qing Is Adjourned Until Next Week"]

[Text] The trial of the 10 evil persons, including Jiang Qing, which has been conducted by the special court of the Supreme People's Court, today entered the second stage which is that of debate. During the first stage, the court investigated the facts of the crimes but, due to Jiang Qing's stubborn resistance, the investigation of her crimes still remains unfinished.

The First Tribunal tried Chen Boda today. The procedure is that the judge announces the opening of the court, the procurator who is the prosecutor first delivers a speech, sums up the case and expresses the prosecutor's viewpoint, and subsequently the defendant replies to the charges. The defense counsel speaks on behalf of the defendant. The court allows the prosecutor and the defense counsel to aid their own views and to argue fully. It also allows the defendant to make the last speech.

The Second Tribunal tried Huang Yongsheng and Wu Faxian. The procedure is the same as that of the First Tribunal.

From today until Saturday, the First Tribunal tries Chen Boda, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan. The Second Tribunal tries Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao. It is estimated that 3 days will be sufficient for these nine persons to conduct a debate in the court. The investigation of Jiang Qing alone remains unfinished. All charges against Jiang Qing (not all crimes she committed), except for "setting fire to the grass on the wasteland" and opposing and causing disorder in the army, have been investigated. It is reported that the court will arrange time next week to continue its investigation and to allow her to reply to the charges.

After completion of the debate stage next week, the court will enter the stage of closed-door conferences, which will be the third stage. It is said this stage will take more than 1 or 2 days. Subsequently, the full court will pass sentences--this is the fourth stage. From this, it seems that it will be impossible to conclude the trial in 20 days as originally estimated. People concerned say that the trial will be completed before New Year's Day.

The attitude of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao can be described in one sentence: Jiang Qing's attitude is "what can you do to me?" And Zhang Chunqiao's attitude is "I do not give a damn if I defy death." It was reported that Zhang Chunqiao has suffered cancer of the intestines and the date of his death is near, anyway. He is prepared to be beheaded. People are watching whether he will act like a mute to the end or whether he will speak at the last moment and issue a statement making slanderous accusations against the people.

CSO: 4005

HUANG YONGSHENG DEFENDS SELF AT COURT SESSIONS

OW201918 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] At court debates on the afternoons of 18 through 20 December, the special court's Second Tribunal fully entitled defendant Huang Yongsheng to make statements and defend himself. Huang Yongsheng defended himself for nearly 3 hours and refused to admit that he was a principal culprit of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. By presenting the facts, public prosecutor forcefully refuted Huang Yongsheng's arguments and pointed out that Huang Yongsheng had never been ready to plead guilty.

Public prosecutor Zhang Zhongru was the first to speak. He said: That bunch of people with Lin Biao as the leader and with Huang Yongsheng and others as the principal culprits was a counterrevolutionary clique designed to overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in China. After recounting the serious crimes committed by Huang Yongsheng, Zhang Zhongru said: In accordance with stipulations in Articles 92 and 98 of the criminal law, it is found that defendant Huang Yongsheng is guilty of subverting the government and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group. He is now referred to the special court for penalty according to the law.

While defending himself, Huang Yongsheng pleaded guilty only of [word indistinct] the frameup case of Guangdong's underground party and submitting secret information to Lin Biao and Ye Qun. He refused to admit the crimes of framing and persecuting party and state leaders and shoved the responsibility onto his superiors or subordinates. He said: I have committed serious mistakes and am guilty in some cases, but I am not a principal culprit of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. I had no idea of and do not take part in the "joint fleet," the "outline of 'Project 571'" or other counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities.

Public prosecutor Zhu Zongzheng rebutted one by one Huang Yongsheng's arguments which were meant to deny facts and shun responsibilities. Zhu Zongzheng emphatically pointed out: In view of the entire process of the crimes committed in common by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, their framing and persecuting party and state leaders and suppressing and persecuting cadres and masses were meant to seize higher power and positions with the ultimate aim of usurping state leadership and overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These serious counterrevolutionary crimes are sufficient to sustain a charge of being the principal culprit. This charge should not be determined solely by whether he was directly involved in the assassination of Chairman Mao. Huang Yongsheng's criminal facts show that he framed and persecuted party and state leaders as well as leading cadres of the PLA General Political Department, the PLA General Staff and the Guangzhou PLA units and that he groundlessly pinned counterrevolutionary labels on them. This shows that Huang Yongsheng committed crimes deliberately.

Zhu Zongzheng also cited facts to show that Huang Yongsheng maintained extraordinary, counterrevolutionary relations with Lin Biao and Ye Qun. Huang Yongsheng absolutely denied his crimes in the conspiratorial activities to assassinate Chairman Mao. The fact is, he was not only involved but was also seriously guilty. On the evening of 6 September, Huang Yongsheng secretly reported to Lin Biao and Ye Qun the content of Chairman Mao's talk in south China. This prompted Lin Biao to make up his mind to start a counterrevolutionary armed coup to assassinate Chairman Mao.

Zhu Zongzheng said: Huang Yongsheng played the role of an organizer and leader and occupied a primary position in the crimes committed in common by the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. In accordance with the stipulation in Article 23 of the criminal law, it is found that defendant Huang Yongsheng is a principal culprit of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique.

CSO: 4005

FIRST TRIBUNAL DEBATES ON ZHANG CHUNQIAO'S CRIMES

OW210222 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] This station's reporter relates that the First Tribunal of the special court debated in the morning of 20 December on defendant Zhang Chunqiao's crimes.

Zhang Chunqiao refused legal representation. The tribunal repeatedly told him that he had the right to make a statement and present a defense according to Article 118 of the PRC's law of criminal procedure. The defendant maintained silence throughout the trial. The tribunal announced that the defendant did not make a statement and offered no defense and that this would be recorded.

In his statement, prosecutor Ma Chunyi pointed out that, through the special court's trial and investigation on three occasions, ample evidence attests that defendant Zhang Chunqiao was a chief culprit of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In early 1967 the defendant instigated that the leading powers at all levels, from the grassroots to the central organizations, be seized so as to usurp the party and state power and overthrow the government of the proletarian dictatorship. He advocated that the Great Cultural Revolution meant a change of dynasty, and vilified that all veteran cadres were bad. In essence, his such remarks became the program of action of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Based on this counterrevolutionary program, they wantonly accused, framed and persecuted party and state leaders and wantonly suppressed cadres and masses.

The prosecutor pointed out that, to realize his ambition of usurping the party and state power, defendant Zhang Zhunqiao, using Shanghai as a base in the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, wantonly grasped the organization of armed forces and, on the eve of their destruction, incited Xu Jingxian and others to conduct armed rebellion in Shanghai.

The prosecutor said in conclusion that Zhang Chunqiao committed the crimes of plotting to overthrow the government, inciting armed rebellion, libel, counterrevolutionary killing, causing personal injury, and making counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation, and that these crimes directly committed by him violate PRC's criminal law.

The defendant refused to acknowledge his crimes during the trial. The prosecutor asked the court to mete out severe punishment to him.

CSO: 4005

PROSECUTION ASKS LENIENCY FOR QIU HUIZUO

OW201602 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Report by station reporter: In his final statement in court this afternoon, the defendant Qiu Huizuo pleaded guilty. He said: I hang my head and admit my guilt as charged in the indictment by the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The court investigation into the facts concerning my offenses is fair because it has sought truth from facts. The investigation has enabled me to deepen my understanding of my offenses.

Qiu Huizuo then said: It is right to put me on trial and to punish me according to law because I committed crimes. My court trial is a correct measure to strictly enforce the law and discipline and to uphold justice. I admit my guilt, and that always.

The Second Tribunal of the special court conducted an argument about facts concerning Qiu Huizuo's offenses. Public prosecutor (Wang Pusheng) pointed out in court: Because Qiu Huizuo took an active part in the plot of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique to usurp party, state and army leadership, he is one of the principal culprits belonging to the clique. By carrying out such criminal activities, he violated the stipulations of Article 92 and 98 of the criminal law. It is, therefore, requested that the special court punish the defendant Qiu Huizuo in accordance with the law. However, in view of the fact that the defendant Qiu Huizuo has taken a rather cooperative attitude in admitting his guilt, the prosecution requests that the court consider this when measuring penalty for the defendant.

CSO: 4005

WANG HONGWEN PLEADS FOR CHANCE TO REFORM HIMSELF

OW201853 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1152 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--During a debate at the First Tribunal of the special court this morning, Wang Hongwen said: "The charges against me enumerated in the indictment are all facts and the abundance of evidence produced in court is conclusive." He said that "I honestly admit my guilt" and "submit to the court decision." He asked the court to give him "a chance to reform himself and turn over a new leaf."

During the court debate, Jing Yusong, procurator of the special procuratorate, pointed out: The charges against the defendant Wang Hongwen have been proven accurate through court investigation.

Jing Yusong said: The court investigation shows that Wang Hongwen for years colluded closely with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan in plotting to overthrow the political power of proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system, committing grave crimes. Wang Hongwen played an important role in their joint criminal activities.

The procurator said: The defendant Wang Hongwen plotted to overthrow the government and split the state, attempted to engineer an armed rebellion, organized counterrevolutionary cliques, framed and persecuted people and carried out beatings, smashings and looting for counterrevolutionary ends, in violation of Articles 92, 93, 98, 137 and 138 of the criminal law of the PRC. It is requested that the court mete out the punishment to the defendant in accordance with the law.

Jing Yusong also pointed out: I would like to call the court's attention to the fact that during the pretrial and the trial the defendant Wang Hongwen has pleaded guilty and, to some extent, has repented and shown a willingness to submit to the law.

During the court investigation conducted earlier, Wang Xiuzhen, a defendant in the same case [as received], testified in court that Wang Hongwen had said, "We have no people in the army." During the debate, Wang Hongwen explained this remark by saying: This remark quoted by Wang Xiuzhen was not true and he could not make this remark. At that time, he said that "a number of people in the army are not ours," "because at that time, we had people in the army and they held important positions. Zhang Chunqiao and I held official posts in the army at that time, not to mention others."

Following the conclusion of the court debate, Wang Hongwen made a final statement. He said: I have nothing to debate. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," I participated in the counterrevolutionary activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, was an important member of the cliques and committed grave crimes. Through self-examination and confession over the past several years, especially through the pretrial by public security organs and the investigation by the procuratorate, I have been able to gradually realize the seriousness of the crimes committed by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and by myself. The indictment has fully proved with host of facts and conclusive evidence that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques are guilty of countless monstrous crimes by causing extremely grave, immeasurable damage to the country. As an important member of the cliques, I committed a number of grave crimes, which I admit honestly. I committed grave crimes by participating in the framing of Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi and some other leading comrades of the central authorities, in suppressing the masses, in organizing a factional armed force and in instigating militiamen to launch an armed rebellion. I admit my guilt before the people throughout the country. I have the determination to change my stand, to reform myself, to break completely with the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and to cast off my old self and turn over a new leaf. I submit to the court decision on me.

Chief Judge Zeng Hanzhou finally announced: This court will consider the prosecutor's statement and the defendant Wang Hongwen's statement and attitude when deciding the verdict on the defendant.

CSO: 4005

WANG HONGWEN PLEADS GUILTY, WANTS TO REFORM

OW210030 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1213 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] According to a station report, defendant Wang Hongwen pleaded guilty to all charges at a hearing held by the First Tribunal of the special court today, and hoped that the government would give him a chance to reform himself and turn over a new leaf.

Public prosecutor Jing Yusong pointed out in his speech: The court investigation shows that Wang Hongwen is one of the principal defendants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and played an important role in carrying out various counterrevolutionary activities of the cliques. After citing Wang Hongwen's serious crimes, Jing Yusong called the court's attention to the fact that defendant Wang Hongwen's every criminal action is connected with the criminal activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in usurping party leadership and betraying the state. Wang Hongwen's crimes to frame and persecute party and state leaders are not aimed at any particular person, but at overthrowing all the revolutionaries of the older generation so that they may seize state power. This was the central theme of their plots to usurp party leadership and betray the state. His activities to create incidents of the use of force in struggle and set up a factional armed force were also specific steps of the above-mentioned counterrevolutionary cliques in usurping party leadership, betraying the state and committing crimes. Wang Hongwen's crimes have violated the Chinese criminal code in conspiring to overthrow the government, and split the state, in plotting an armed rebellion, in organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group, in framing up and bringing false charges against others and in conducting "beating, smashing and looting."

The public prosecutor said: Defendant Wang Hongwen's crimes are grave and the people are furious at him. However, the defendant had pleaded guilty and to some extent repented to the court and during the inquiry period. This is also the fact that I wish to call the court's attention. It is requested that the court mete out the punishment he deserves on the basis of the offenses committed by the defendant and his attitude in pleading guilty.

Wang Hongwen made a statement, saying: The offenses enumerated in the indictment and the abundance of evidence provided are all facts. The evidence is conclusive. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," I participated in the counterrevolutionary activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, was an important member of the cliques and committed grave crimes. I admit my guilt before the people throughout the country. I affirm that I will continue to examine myself and that I will inform the court if I find out any new issues.

Chief Judge Zeng Hanzhou announced: This court will consider the prosecutor's statement and the defendant Wang Hongwen's statement and his attitude when deciding the verdict. He told Wang Hongwen to await the court's verdict.

CSO: 4005

CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF BEIJING RECRUITS NEW MEMBERS

OW150642 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0111 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--This year the Beijing Municipal Committee of the China Democratic League recruited 56 new members. Among them are teachers, scientists, editors and translators from publishing departments, actors and artists. Many of these people have achievements in academic research and art, such as Zhang Dainian, professor of the philosophy department at Beijing University; Zhang Guangyan, professor at the Beijing Medical College; Zhang Guangzhua, assistant research fellow at the CAS Semiconductor Institute; Liu Dehai, pipa player at the Zhongyang Philharmonic Orchestra; Ye Zi and Yang Wei, actors at the Beijing People's Art Theater; and painters Pan Su and Fan Zeng. They said that under the care of the league organizations, they are willing to heighten consciousness, sharpen their ability and wisdom, and make contributions to the modernization program and the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

On the afternoon of 12 December, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the China Democratic League held a tea party to welcome new members. Attending were Chu Tunan, vice chairman of the league Central Committee, and Wen Jiasi, chairman of the league of the Beijing Municipal Committee. They gave a warm welcome and extended congratulations to the new members.

It is reported that now in Beijing Municipality the number of members of the China Democratic League totals about 1,500.

CSO: 4005

COMMENTARY ON IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE

OW102011 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Station commentary: "It Is Essential To Unswervingly Do a Good Job in Improving the Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Comrade Chen Yun recently pointed out: the issue of party workstyle is one that concerns the party's survival. At the national symposium on implementing the guiding principles convened by the central commission for inspecting discipline under the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang further stressed that it is essential to unswervingly do a good job in improving the party workstyle. This is an extremely important task facing the party in the new period. The whole party and the entire people must concern themselves with building a good party workstyle and understand its great significance.

Serious unhealthy tendencies exist in our party's workstyle. They are manifested in the following ways: 1) some people take the attitude of feigning compliance with the party Central Committee's lines, principles and policies and resorting to double-dealing; 2) some abuse the power entrusted to them by the party and the people to seek personal gains by forming factions and putting their followers in various posts; 3) some, paying no heed to the party's principles, establish illicit relations by giving dinners and gifts and by asking for and accepting gifts and bribes, thus impairing the prestige of the party and the state and squandering the money and property of the state and the collectives; 4) some, instead of admitting errors, use their power and influence to smear, attack and take revenge against the good people; 5) some, in order to gain a personal reputation, practice fraud, resort to boasting and flattery to deceive superiors and delude subordinates as well as to secure personal gains by speculation; and 6) some are extremely irresponsible in their work, thus causing serious losses to the interests of the state and the people.

Our party had established a fresh, honest and upright workstyle as early as the 1940's. Why is it that many unhealthy tendencies have emerged in the party? The main reason is: our party was influenced by the ideas of the exploiting class after it took the helm of the state. Some comrades have mistakenly regarded our party's leading role as the role of a ruler. They regard themselves as lords and masters standing high above the people instead of regarding themselves as servants. Therefore, they have gradually divorced themselves from the masses. Particularly during the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and company seriously undermined the party's glorious traditions and fine workstyle, thus enabling the unhealthy tendencies and pernicious influence to spread far and wide. The party's unhealthy tendencies are corrosive and can cause great harm. They undermine the relationship between the party and the people, impair the party's prestige, weaken the party's fighting capability and encourage the spread of unhealthy social values. The unhealthy party workstyle can intensify contradictions, undermine stability and unity and hinder the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

It must be particularly pointed out that for the ruling party, party workstyle is an important issue that has a bearing on whether the party and the state will degenerate. If it is not properly handled, the party and the state can perish. All communist party members and the entire people must, therefore, seriously concern themselves with building a good party workstyle.

Whether communist party members show concern for building a good party workstyle is an expression of whether they possess the party spirit and whether the party spirit is strong or weak. Many comrades within the party, however, have not yet understood the important significance of improving the party workstyle. Since the correct political line was set for the party at the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, these comrades are content with the correctness of the party's lines and policies and do not know that a good party workstyle and the correct party lines and policies depend on each other. Without a good party workstyle, the correct lines and policies cannot possibly be carried out smoothly and thoroughly.

Some comrades who have ignored the building of a good party workstyle have set the work of improving the party workstyle against economic work. They often say that economic work keeps them too busy to pay attention to party workstyle. Such ideas are completely wrong. In fact, one of the important reasons why there are so many problems in today's economic work is that the party workstyle is unhealthy. To strictly implement the stipulations of the guiding principles is an important measure for firmly correcting the unhealthy party workstyle and for doing a good job in building the party workstyle.

The party committees at all levels must firmly promote a good party workstyle and regard it as an important item on the agenda. They must earnestly strengthen leadership, carry the work through to the end and score achievements. The leading cadres, particularly the high-ranking ones, must take the lead in studying the guiding principles, check their work against these principles and set an exemplary role in the struggle to rectify the unhealthy tendencies. They must conduct education on party spirit, party rules and regulations in a big way and firmly rectify the most salient unhealthy tendencies about which the cadres and the masses are most dissatisfied with in their respective localities, departments and units. In the struggle against the unhealthy tendencies, the comrades of the various discipline inspection departments have made marked achievements.

from now on, they must show greater courage, take a clear-cut stand, uphold principles, not be afraid of offending others and dare to promote healthy tendencies for the party and the people. Those who regard themselves as special party members and citizens, who flout party discipline and state laws and who insist on practicing an unhealthy workstyle must be seriously dealt with.

To improve the party workstyle and rectify the unhealthy tendencies is bound to encounter resistance of many kinds. This is an arduous and complicated struggle and cannot possibly be solved in a short time. However, to unite to build the four modernizations, to perfect socialist democracy and the legal system, to restore and carry forward the fine traditions of the party in order to build our nation into a modern and powerful socialist state are the eager aspirations of the broad masses of party members, cadres and the entire people. All this is also an irresistible trend which no force can obstruct. The communist party members are pioneer fighters. They must dare to stand in the forefront of the current of our time, eliminate all obstructions and positively contribute to setting up a good party workstyle and improving and strengthening the leadership of the party.

CSO: 4005

GANSU HOLDS TELEPHONE CONFERENCE ON ELECTION WORK

SK271201 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Excerpts] According to our sources, Gansu Province held a telephone conference on election work on the evening of 21 November. A responsible comrade of the office subordinate to the provincial electoral committee gave some suggestions concerning election work at the conference. After reviewing the current provincial election work, he called on all localities to do the following work well:

1. Continue efforts to publicize election work. Viewing it from the current situation, we can see that some cadres and the masses still have ideological problems. Some hold that elections are not their business and that elections are merely for going through the motions. In view of this situation, we must make continued efforts to publicize this work. We must lead the masses and make them understand that there is a relationship between doing a good job in election work and achieving the four modernizations, and between election work and their immediate interests, and educate them to the fact that elections are aimed at thoroughly eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and at practicing true socialist democracy in which the people are to be masters of their own affairs.

2. It is necessary to boldly mobilize the masses to nominate candidates and consult with them in a democratic way. We must encourage them to nominate more candidates because this is an important foundation for carrying out democratic consultations with the masses through elections. Furthermore, persons elected must have representative qualities. Attention should be paid to overcome the practice of nominating too many party-members, cadres and male candidates and too few non-party members, women and candidates of the masses.

3. It is necessary to adhere to the practice of voting from a larger number of candidates in electing deputies and leading bodies. By so doing, we can select the most competent and suitable ones from the nominees.

4. Strengthen leadership over election work. It is hoped that all counties and party committees will act sincerely in accordance with the central documents, all party committee members will grasp this work and the principal responsible comrades will grasp it personally.

CSO: 4005

ERADICATION OF PERSONALITY CULTS DISCUSSED

OW241545 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 24 Dec 80

["Excerpts" of article by Fang Wen, Li Zhenxia published in HONGQI Issue 24 of 1980: "Thoroughly Eradicate the Influence of Personality Cults"]

[Text] The article says, while the entire party and the people of the entire nation are conscientiously summing up our historical experiences, everyone is asking these questions: While efforts are being made to bring order out of chaos, why are there people who still want to persist in the "two whatevers" and oppose "practice as the only criterion for testing truth?" Why are commemorative articles sometimes tainted with a cult of the personality? Why, even after the central authorities' repeated exhortations on limiting publicity for individuals, are there still people who have time and again staged shows of personality cults? A major cause is that these people have failed to correctly assess the historical role of the masses and individuals.

For a long time, there has existed in our political life a problem of giving a great deal of publicity to individuals and practicing personality cults. For this, our party and state have suffered a great deal and paid a dear price.

Guarding against and opposing personality cults is a Marxist principle that our party used to adhere to. At the second plenary session of the Seventh Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee, acting on Comrade Mao Zedong's advice, especially adopted a series of resolutions on guarding against personality cults. For some time after the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong incessantly warned the people to guard against personality cults. When China's first constitution was drawn up, Comrade Mao Zedong personally deleted improper articles that praised the leader, and said that the deletions were made not out of modesty but because the articles were improper, unjustified and unscientific.

In an article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which was adopted at a discussion meeting of the Political Bureau presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong, he scientifically summed up Stalin's mistakes in practicing a personality cult and pointed out lessons that our party must learn. The Eighth CCP National Congress further stressed the question of opposing personality cults.

In short, for a time after the founding of our republic, the party Central Committee did pay attention to guarding against and opposing personality cults.

However, amidst the lavish praise--both domestic and foreign--of the great victory of the Chinese revolution, our party's leader gradually entertained a sense of arrogance, deviated from dialectical-materialism and got bogged down in subjectivism. He then unduly exaggerated the role of the individual and overconcentrated all power into his own hands.

In the article "On the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" published in 1956, it was correctly pointed out that the personality cult was a decadent legacy left by mankind's long history and a backward concept that harms the people's cause, and that a struggle must be launched to combat personality cults. The article "Again on the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" particularly pointed out Stalin's mistakes in practicing a personal dictatorship and damaging democratic centralism. It was both correct and necessary when we exposed Khrushchev's political conspiracy of totally negating Stalin under the pretense of opposing a personality cult. But at that time, we overlooked a Marxist tenet of opposing all personality cults, which Marx time and again stressed, and held that there was a kind of so-called "correct personality cult."

By the time of the Cultural Revolution, we erred more seriously and even proposed that there should be a little personality cult and that there was a real need to engage in a little personality cult. This was a mistake, of course. The shift from opposing to advocating a personality cult brought on serious social repercussions. Once the leader separated himself from relations with the masses and the collective and stood above the masses and the party, he was apt to become a cat's-paw of opportunistic and favor-currying careerists and conspirators. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and their company deliberately made a stormy sea stormier via the personality cult issue. They made a fetish of the leader and regarded one's attitude toward the leader as a primary criterion for differentiating between the revolutionary and the counterrevolutionary. Anyone showing the slightest bit of disrespect for the leader was punishable as a counter-revolutionary. Under the influence of their distortions and instigations, a series of absurd theories and a serious personality cult emerged.

Lin Biao brazenly declared: With the chairman as the axle, we are the millstones. He demanded that the party and the people revolve around one man. That meant completely abolishing the party's collective leadership and writing off the role of the other leaders of the party. And this was used as a justification to do everything possible to overthrow the party's leading group as a whole.

They advertised that revolutionary theories were all created by one man. They insisted that Mao Zedong Thought was created by the brains of one individual genius, and that the development of Marxism-Leninism could be accomplished only by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. They totally negated the role of the party, the collective leadership and the masses of the people.

In our country, there was once a prevalent argument that there were two kinds of personality cults. The argument had a considerable bearing on the emergence of the personality cult. By the so-called two kinds of personality cult it meant that there was a wrong kind of personality cult and a correct kind of personality cult; that the personality cult which demands blind obedience without analysis was, of course, no good and not to be tolerated; but that the other kind of personality cult was not bad and was indispensable. For example, the correct things taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin must be worshiped and always worshiped, because truth was in their hands. The principal responsible person in a leading collective must also be worshiped. A squad must worship the squad leader. The minds of some people are still shackled by this viewpoint even today.

The personality cult is to deify and idolize the worshiped individual and to negate the role of the masses of the people and the power of the collective, thus resulting in blind faith in the individual. This kind of blind faith is fundamentally opposed to science. Aside from dialectics, there does not exist anything that is ultimate, absolute and sacred. We have no reason to deify the role of any individual in history and practice any form of personality cult.

Any hero or great man can only play an important role in accelerating the development of history when he correctly understands the trends of social development and reflects and satisfies the desires and demands of the masses of the people. Conversely, when he attempts to change historical conditions merely on the basis of his own fantasy and against the desire and demands of the people, historical tragedies of one kind or another will ensue.

One of the arguments of those who advocate the correct kind of personality cult is that whoever has the truth should be worshiped. This argument is hardly convincing.

Marxist truth, like all other truths, is still a unity of relative truth and absolute truth. The sum total of the cognitive ability of mankind from generation to generation is unlimited, but the cognitive ability of an individual is always limited. Even in the case of an outstanding leader of the proletariat, his ideas, writings and speeches are equally limited by the conditions of the era in which he lives. Even the ideology and theory that are proven correct by practice in a given period may still show the incompleteness of truth, even errors, in some aspects when they are tested by new practices.

Marxist truth comes from the revolutionary practice of the masses of the people. It is a reflection and summing-up of the practical activities of the masses of the people. It definitely is not innate in the mind of a certain individual, and it is not something subjective or spontaneous.

For example, Mao Zedong Thought is mainly the contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong, but it is not created by Comrade Mao Zedong alone. The proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation also participated in the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party and the people, a proletarian revolutionary science that has emerged from the protracted struggles of the party and the people.

Therefore, the argument that whoever has the truth must be worshiped and always worshiped is a departure from the source and development of man's knowledge, for it regards the ideology of the leader as the wisdom of the leader alone and as an immutable dogma.

To thoroughly correct the mistakes of personality cults, it is necessary to find out the causes and conditions that engender them, so that proper actions for their eradication can be taken. What influences China most are harmful traditions of feudal despotism and the force of habits of small producers, which are social historical causes engendering personality cults. In China's feudal society of over 2,000 years, the basic political system was a centralized feudal monarchy. The emperor was the supreme lord over the entire nation, enjoyed absolute power and dictated all state affairs. Feudal society spared no effort to propagate emperor-ministers and father-son patriachal and ethical relations and the concept of loyalty to one individual--the emperor. The working class was powerless and was regarded as [words indistinct] whom the overlords could trample at will.

The victory of the new democracy led by our party destroyed feudal economic and political systems. But no systematic criticism has been unfolded against the ideas of feudal despotism. Therefore, feudal ideas still hold wide sway in our social life and in the political life of the party.

In the history of the party, Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and Wang Ming all practiced paternalism and imperiously suppressed views that differed from their own, thus harming our revolutionary cause.

After the founding of the republic, we mentioned only combating bourgeois ideas without mentioning eradicating feudal influences. We held that in ideological struggles, there were only two schools of ideology, namely the proletarian and bourgeois ideologies, and overlooked the struggle against the pernicious influence of feudalism. At the same time, we also failed to establish a perfect socialist democratic system or to perfect the socialist legal system, which was even criticized as bourgeois democracy. The result was that the pernicious influence of feudalism spread, and the pernicious influence of paternalism and the system of "one person laying down the law" affected all aspects of political life in both the party and the state.

China's feudal system was built on an economic structure with petty peasants as the major ingredient. The small producers system was characterized by their unawareness of their own power and inability to master their own fate. They hitched their hopes to a good emperor or a savior of the world. Although China's small producer economy has essentially been cooperativized, the force of habits, such as personality cults, deifying individuals and genuinely and sincerely singing the praises of saviors, still holds extensive sway among small producers. This provides an extensive social base for personality cults.

Of course, there are causes both in ideology and in work style causing the emergence of personality cults that require us to vigorously strengthen our ideological and political work. But there are more important causes that exist in the system, because problems related to the system are more fundamental, of more overall importance and more protracted.

For a long period, a problem of overconcentration of power has existed in our leadership system. Under the slogan of strengthening the party's unified leadership, we improperly and indiscriminatingly concentrated all power in the party committee, and the power of the party committee was often concentrated in the hands of a number of secretaries, particularly the first secretary. The first secretary had to take the lead in initiating all tasks. Thus, the party's unified leadership often became the leadership of one individual. All major decisions were made by one individual. That individual could overthrow resolutions and decisions by the party and the collective.

If power is overconcentrated in the hands of one individual, then party and state power become that individual's power, and the power that serves the party and state become the power that controls the party and the state. As a result, democratic centralism will be undermined, and antidemocratic arbitrary decisions made by the individual will prevail.

In his report to the [word indistinct] NPC, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: If we do not fully develop democracy among the people and democracy within the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat will change into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or even the reactionary dictatorship of fascism. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, the above thesis became a reality in those places where their influence prevailed. From this bitter experience we learn a lesson. The question of system has an important bearing on whether the party and state will change political color or not. We must never lower our guard.

Fundamentally speaking, a backward economy and culture are the prerequisite for the existence of personality cults and other phenomena. Economic and cultural backwardness is inseparable from ignorance and blind faith. If we do not make efforts to raise the people's economic conditions and their cultural and scientific level, it will be difficult to thoroughly eliminate the masses' mentality toward the personality cults, which calls for the existence of a savior. Therefore, our fundamental task is to strive hard to carry out the four modernizations, rapidly develop productive forces in society and change our backward economy and culture. Along with the development of productive forces, the rise of the people's scientific and cultural level and the improvement and development of socialist democracy and democracy within the party, the question of the personality cults and giving prominence to the individual will certainly be thoroughly solved.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RADIO BEIJING' COMMENTS ON ZHOU ENLAI WORKS

OW280421 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Station commentary: "Valuable Theoretical Treasure, Sharp Ideological Weapon"]

[Text] Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," a book desired by the masses of people, has been published. Copies will soon be available in all parts of the country.

The first volume of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" is a valuable theoretical treasure left behind by Comrade Zhou Enlai, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, and it provides us with a sharp ideological weapon for advancing the socialist modernization drive. The first volume records the outstanding achievements of Comrade Zhou Enlai in waging an unyielding and heroic struggle for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and also sums up his experience in using Marxism-Leninism to guide China's revolution. The publication of Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" is of great significance for the whole party and people of the whole country regarding study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and history as well as the current conditions of the Chinese revolution.

For 50 long years, from the start of the first revolutionary civil war, Comrade Zhou Enlai always held important leading posts in the party Central Committee. Comrade Zhou Enlai's works manifest not only his personal practice in revolution but also the glorious course taken by our party. Therefore, his selected works are also important documents for studying the history of the Chinese Communist Party. For instance, "On Studying the (?Sixth National Congress of the Party)," "On the Party's Relations With the Kuomintang 1924-1926," and "On the United Front" have not only provided us with greater materials for studying party history, but also made up for the party's protracted shortcomings of following a rather narrow train of thought and over-emphasizing certain individuals or things in studying our party history. His selected works will better help us to widen our vision, emancipate our minds and fully understand party history.

Comrade Zhou Enlai made outstanding contributions to promoting Marxist theory. In the past, many people only recognized Comrade Zhou Enlai as a man of practice and knew very little about his theoretical contributions.

By reading the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," the masses will be able to better understand his indelible and creative contributions through theoretical work to military and political affairs, economy, culture and education, united front work, armed struggle and party building. Comrade Zhou Enlai was not only a practitioner but also a theorist. He was a great Marxist, skillful in combining theory with practice, and one of our party's leaders with penetrating judgment and outstanding ability. Comrade Zhou Enlai's works and those by Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other older-generation proletarian revolutionaries are valuable items in the treasure house of Marxist theory.

Although the works contained in the first volume of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" were written several decades ago, many of them still maintain the brilliance of truth today and provide the people with a sincere and secure feeling, as well as encouragement and education. In short, his works today are still of great significance in guiding our theoretical study, ideological study and economic construction, and for improving party work style. Therefore, we should consciously and earnestly study his works so as to raise still higher our ideological level and improve our working abilities.

As in studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, we must concentrate our efforts on studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's stand, viewpoint and methods in the course of studying the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," and pay attention to integrating theory with practice so as to fully understand the essentials of his works.

On the occasion of publishing the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," we must--in connection with the new situation, new problems and new experience that have emerged in the fields of economic construction, structural reforms and education in the democratic legal system--keep a firmer grip on the study of revolutionary theory and establish a practice of reading, thinking deeply, investigating and studying. This is the best way to wholeheartedly greet the publication of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA' REVIEWS FIRST VOLUME OF ZHOU ENLAI'S WORKS

OW270244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0221 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 27 (XINHUA)--The first volume of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" contains 60 articles written during the period of new democratic revolution, up to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Zhou Enlai was an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party. His works provide Marxist analyses and summations of a series of important issues in the Chinese Revolution.

Two articles date back to the first revolutionary civil war (1924-1927) period. "The Chinese Communist Party in the Present Political Struggle" was written in the winter of 1926, a critical juncture when successive victories were being won in the northern expedition, and the right-wing of the Kuomintang was stepping up its counter-revolutionary activities. The article was a blow against the Kuomintang right-wing and at the same time represented resistance to capitulationist leaders of the communist party, Chen Duxiu being the chief exponent.

"On Taking Prompt Punitive Action Against Chiang Kai-shek" was written in the wake of the April 12, 1927 counter-revolutionary coup d'etat staged by Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai, calling for prompt punitive action against Chiang Kai-shek.

The eleven works from the second revolutionary civil war (1927-1937) period deal with party building, work in enemy-controlled areas and building the Red Army and revolutionary base areas. This was an important historical period marking the development and maturity of the communist party in the course of arduous and tortuous struggle. During this period, the Chinese people's revolutionary forces were preserved, new positions established and the path to the victory of the revolution was found.

In the November 1928 article "On Firmly Eliminating Non-proletarian Ideology From the Party," Zhou Enlai reviewed the experience in party building accumulated by the communist party since its inception.

A directive he drafted for the party Central Committee in March 1929 summed up the experience in waging guerrilla war and building party organizations and doing mass work in the Soviet areas, and affirmed and recommended the practice of the Fourth Army of the Red Army in establishing party branches at the company level. The main task at that time, the directive pointed out, was to mobilize the masses and carry out in the rural areas the agrarian revolution in depth and expand guerrilla areas, instead of going beyond the strength of the Red Army by trying to take key industrial and commercial cities. It was aimed at the remnant influence of putschism.

A September 1929 directive to the Fourth Army pointed out that Red Army forces should be built in the countryside first and political power seized in the cities later--this was the characteristic of the Chinese Revolution and a product of its economic base.

Another directive dated September 1930 dealt with correcting the erroneous thinking flowing from Li Lisan's "left" line, which consisted of empty talk about major actions and armed insurrection. It pointed out that "left" deviations could obstruct and destroy the revolution just as surely as right errors could.

"Telegrams relating to the smashing of the fourth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign" (in the spring of 1933) consisted of eight telegrams sent by Zhou Enlai, then directing operations at the front, to the party Central Committee and its Soviet Bureau, and another telegram sent jointly by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. By then, Mao Zedong had been forced out of the Red Army by the "left" opportunist leaders. These telegrams proposed the principle of concentrating a superior force to destroy enemy forces one by one in mobile warfare. The fourth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was victorious under the command of Zhou Enlai and Zhu De.

Fifteen articles in the "Selected Works" were written during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression (1937-1945). One is a cable Zhou Enlai sent to the party Central Committee from Linfen, Shanxi Province, soon after the outbreak of the war. It emphasized the need to oppose Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang's move to seek peace through compromise and the need to persist in the war of resistance in north China It also stated that guerrilla warfare should be the main form of operations in that stage, and that the Red Army should be expanded.

"On Building a Strong and Militant Party Organization in the Southwest" (1942) expounded the guideline of the party Central Committee--long-term underground work, building up strength and biding one's time--for the work in Kuomintang-ruled areas in the face of an anti-communist campaign by the Kuomintang.

"How To Be a Good Leader" (1943) said that a correct leader should relate the party's general tasks to the characteristics of a given place and time on the basis of thorough investigation and study of concrete conditions; the experience gained by the leader and the masses should be pooled; and leaders should raise their prestige by correcting their mistakes, and not by covering them up, and by immersing themselves in hard work, not by bragging and boasting.

In a "Speech at a Meeting of Welcome in Yan'an" (1943), Zhou Enlai stressed that Mao Zedong's leadership had ensured that the Chinese Communist Party did not lose its bearings or take the wrong course at many critical junctures and on many key questions.

"On the United Front" was a speech he gave at the Seventh National Congress of the Party in 1945, systematically expounding the communist party's experience on the question of the united front during the period of democratic revolution.

Thirty-two works were written during the third revolutionary civil war (1945-1949). These cover analyses of the situation and tasks at different stages of the war; analyses of the special features of the different stages of the peace talks between the two parties; principles of work in Kuomintang-ruled areas and the strategy of the struggle; the principles and policies of land reform and consolidation of party organizations; an analysis of the characteristics of the draft common program of the people's political consultative conference; an analysis of the new-democratic economic construction; and exposition of Mao Zedong Thought and the principles of literature and art.

This period resulted in the nation-wide overthrow of the rule by imperialism and its lackeys and establishment of new China after four years of hard struggle that the Chinese people waged under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Zedong.

An outline written by Zhou Enlai in June 1948 pointed out the essential differences between the new democratic economy and the capitalist economy. It said that the new democratic economic construction was also opposed to agrarian socialism and extreme equalitarianism.

"Learn From Mao Zedong" is an excerpt from a report Zhou Enlai made at the First All-China Youth Congress in May 1949. He pointed out that Mao Zedong was a leader who had emerged from the masses in the course of a protracted revolutionary movement, and should never be regarded as a chance leader, a born leader, a demi-god or a leader impossible to emulate, and should not be turned into a deity apart. He went on to say that Mao Zedong Thought took shape as a result of a process of historical development. Mao Zedong, by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese Revolution, had indicated the correct orientation for the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle.

In analysing the draft common program at the first Chinese people's political consultative conference on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai expounded the nature of the political power of the People's Republic of China, and its basic internal and external policies. He pointed out that new China must develop in the direction of socialism and communism.

CSO: 4005

STATE PERSONNEL BUREAU HOLDS FORUM ON CADRES

OW251738 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1541 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 24 Dec (XINHUA)—The State Personnel Bureau held a discussion meeting on professional technical cadres in Beijing 15-24 December. The meeting studied ways to implement the provisional regulations of titles for professional cadres in social sciences and discussed the question of reasonable mobility for talented people.

This year, the State Council has separately approved and promulgated provisional regulations on professional titles for cadres who are editors, news reporters, translators, accountants and statisticians. Studying how to implement these provisional regulations, the discussion meeting maintained: professional cadres in social sciences have made positive contributions to publicizing the party's line, principles and policies; disseminating and accumulating knowledge in science and culture; enriching the people's cultural life; and raising the scientific management level in economic work. To further arouse their enthusiasm, rapidly build up a contingent of social scientists who are both red and expert and to encourage them to gain professional proficiency so as to do their own work well and to contribute their share to the four modernizations, it is of tremendous significance to determine titles for professional cadres in the social sciences, evaluate their performance and give promotions.

Since 1978, the various localities have reassigned more than 173,000 scientific and technical personnel who were in jobs unrelated to their fields of study or specialities. This number accounts for 80 percent of those scientific and technical personnel due to be reassigned. This figure is much higher than the total number of China's college graduates in 1965. Therefore, large numbers of technical personnel have been assigned to the cultural, educational, scientific research, industrial and agricultural fronts. The discussion meeting maintained that the reassignment of personnel in jobs unrelated to their fields of study or specialities remained an important task of personnel departments at all levels. It is necessary to follow the principle of matching one's job with one's field of study and to make plans to reassign professional technical cadres at enterprises which have shut down, suspended operations, amalgamated or switched to the manufacture of other products in the process of economic readjustment. It is necessary to adopt a correct approach toward and conscientiously handle letters and visits by professional technical personnel who are in unrelated jobs. Units and individuals that suppress talented people should be criticized and taught a lesson.

The discussion meeting maintained: following the reform in China's economic structure and developments in science and technology, the method of having party organizations assign and appoint professional technical personnel cannot fully meet the needs of the new situation. To alter the present abnormal situation of the shortage and idling of talented people and to discover and make full use of these people so as to meet the needs of the four modernizations, it is necessary to have party organizations make assignments while permitting a reasonable mobility for professional technical personnel within certain limits and in a well-guided and planned manner.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING TRIBUNAL RECESSES FOR 2 DAYS

HK250059 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 25 Dec 80 p 1

[Long-distance call from WEN WEI PO correspondent Chang Ching-yun]

[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec—The No 1 court of the special tribunal will recess today and tomorrow and resume hearings on 27 December, when it will continue to carry out debate on the charges against Jiang Qing.

When the court resumes the prosecutors will systematically refute the absurd defense statements made by Jiang Qing yesterday. Jiang Qing will be able to make her final deposition after the prosecutors have spoken.

At the same time, Jiang Qing spoke in her own defense for as long as 2 hours yesterday. In the course of her speech she said certain things which the court will investigate today and tomorrow, to establish the truth of the matter. This is to insure that when sentence is pronounced it will be based on the facts, and that the defendant will be neither unjustly punished nor unjustly released.

The whole court debate will be concluded with the resumed debate on 27 December, after which proceedings will enter the stage of assessment of the cases by a collegiate bench of 35. The bench will study and analyze the cases behind closed doors, reach its judgment and set it down in writing.

The written judgment will be based on the law and the facts, and will not necessarily correspond to the indictment. There may be disputes among the group of judges, and judgment will be reached by ballot if their opinions are not unanimous.

The 35-member collegiate bench are now hurrying to carry out preparatory work for assessing the cases. They are studying the court records regarding the court investigation and debate on the cases of the 10 accused, with the exception of Jiang Qing. The judges of the No 1 court have watched the television recordings of the proceedings in the No 2 court and vice versa. This has helped them to gain an overall understanding and knowledge of the cases.

According to authoritative sources, the special tribunal will follow the principle of reaching judgment independently without interference from the "NPC" or the party. The judgment will not be influenced by speeches of former party and government leaders or by press materials.

Nor can the factor of "the people's tremendous wrath" be taken as a basis for the tribunal in reaching its judgment, because the people's anger certainly does not constitute a guiding principle for reaching judgment. China has entered the era of the rule of law and cases are heard in accordance with the law and the facts; neither power nor public opinion may replace the law.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'HSIN WAN PAO' ON CHEN YUN, READJUSTMENT

HK080356 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 7 Dec 80 p 1

[Social dispatch: "Chen Yun Proposes Readjustment Principle, Says China Must Act According to Capabilities in Capital Construction"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Dec--The State Council Finance and Economics Commission headed by Chen Yun is in charge of the work of formulating the principles and policies for China to overcome her economic difficulties, carry out readjustment, and build the four modernizations.

China's economy has now run into new difficulties due to the serious sabotage done during the 10 years of turmoil and the mistakes made in the 2 years after the "gang of four" were smashed. There was a big financial deficit last year. Apart from daily essentials, prices have started to rise. Such things have been rarely seen since the founding of the state. In view of this, Chen Yun has proposed that China must resolutely cut down on capital construction, and that work on a number of projects currently under construction must be halted. It is necessary to make a sufficient retreat in this respect, in order to reduce investment and thus cut expenditure and eliminate the deficit. In capital construction it is necessary to follow the principle of acting according to capabilities. This is what Chen Yun has proposed.

Chen Yun is one of those who decide China's economic strategy. He is now vice chairman of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. He is also chairman of the State Council Finance and Economics Commission. China's current economic readjustment and rural policy readjustment policies were formulated in accordance with his views, after study by the central authorities.

Chen Yun always persisted in following the principle of seeking truth from facts when in charge of financial and economic work in the past. In the wake of the economic difficulties caused by the 1958 great leap forward, it was Chen Yun who put forward opinions on economic readjustment; the central authorities then formulated the "eight-character principle," and the difficulties were eventually overcome and the road to victory was opened up. The national economy had basically recovered by 1963, and by 1965 it presented a scene of prosperity.

Many of Chen Yun's viewpoints of that time are still correct today. For instance, apart from having the state and collective run industry, agriculture and commerce, the existence of a certain number of individually-operated enterprises should be permitted; under the guidance of the state plans, enterprises should be allowed a certain degree of decision-making powers and freedom; in setting plan targets it is necessary to pay attention to comprehensive balance and also leave room for maneuver, and strive for proportioned development; in assigning investment, the country should provide for people's life first and production second, and for production first and for capital construction second, and in making arrangements for production and life, it is first necessary to take care of the peasants who form 80 percent of the population; and, it is much more difficult to correct adventurist trends than to correct conservative trends in economic construction, and so on and so forth. Therefore, all these views are still of practical significance today. Since the central authorities adopted his views and formulated the principles and policies, the economic situation has been advancing from difficulties towards prosperity.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES EMPEROR TAIZONG'S REIGN

HK050838 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 80 p 5

[Article by Ren Hanwen, Du Jingzhi and Mu Futian: "From Humbly Seeking Counsel to Arrogantly Refusing Counsel--Notes on Reading the 'Political Record of the Zhenguan Government'"]

[Text] A comprehensive probe into the various reasons for the emergence of "rule by the voice of one man" in the political life of our party and state involves a lot of things and cannot be satisfactorily accomplished in a short essay. Recently, we have had the opportunity to read the book "Political Record of the Zhenguan Government." We think that this history book can guide us to study the above-mentioned question from a specific angle. "Political Record of the Zhenguan Government" was compiled by Wu Jing, a minister in charge of admonition and arbitration and an official of the Cultural Bureau during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong in the early Tang Dynasty. Written in 10 volumes and 40 chapters, this "true record" is very easy to read. The wonderful thing about this book is that it not only gives an interesting account of how Li Shimin--Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty--graciously accepted counsel during the early period of his reign but also truthfully records the historical changes--how this great emperor was able to successfully govern his country by accepting counsel and later became dizzy with success and refused counsel. These changes are by no means accidental. This is a typical case which clearly demonstrates one law: arrogance and flattery often make a politician change into the opposite.

Who was the most "democratic" emperor in the history of ancient China? Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty properly deserved this laurel. During the early period of his reign, Emperor Taizong humbly accepted counsel and "let everyone have his way." In order to encourage his ministers to speak up, especially when they disagreed with him, he at one time discarded the outworn concept that the emperor is the must august and frankly admitted that he too was fallible. In the fourth year of the Zhenguan period, he fiercely criticized Emperor Wendi of the Sui Dynasty in front of all civil and military officials, saying that the Sui Emperor "decided everything" but "was not always reasonable." He then frankly admitted: "Out of 10 judgments I make in 1 day, 5 are wrong." He said: "How can we leave a myriad of state affairs to just one person?" ("Zhengti" Chapter, Vol 1) No doubt this correct understanding was what prompted him to accept counsel.

He always compared himself to a piece of mineral ore which had not yet been smelted. He said: "What is so valuable about gold when it is still deposited in the earth?" He described those ministers who dared criticize his faults as "skilled workers" adept at smelting gold. He said: "When a fine piece of mineral is forged into an instrument, it is treasured by the people." ("Renxian" Chapter, Vol 2) Therefore, he often gave handsome rewards to those ministers who dared to incur his displeasure with admonitions. In the early Zhenguan period, Emperor Taizong sentenced a minister to death. Another minister called Sun Fujia thought that "the offense did not amount to a death sentence in law" and thus criticized the emperor for "indiscriminately meting out severe punishment." Emperor Taizong not only accepted his criticism but awarded the Lanling Princess Garden to him for his honesty. ("Najian" Chapter, Vol 2) Wei Zheng, a minister, presented a total of more than 200 memorials to Emperor Taizong during his 17 years of service. In order to correct the emperor's mistakes, he often argued with Taizong in court. He never gave an inch. At times his sharp words put the emperor in a quandary. Emperor Taizong not only did not punish him but awarded him on many occasions. According to the "Political Record of the Zhenguan Government," he was awarded no less than 1,000 bolts of silk fabric in all. Because handsome rewards were given to those who made criticisms, offering counsel became a common practice. Emperor Taizong "always pasted the numerous memorials sent in by the ministers on the walls of the palace so that he could read them as he moved in and out." (Qiujian" Chapter, Vol 2) In view of the fact that people who tried to fawn on him often blocked the road of honest remonstration, he sternly criticized the evil practice of currying favors time and again and warned his ministers against such a practice. He repeatedly admonished his ministers: "obsequious persons who flatter others with their glib tongues are injurious to the country." "The orchids may prefer to grow luxuriantly, but the autumn breeze will destroy them; the king may prefer to become an enlightened ruler, but people who slander and flatter him will pull the wool over his eyes." ("Du Chan Xie" Chapter, Vol 6) He excoriated those ministers who "pandered to his whims and acclaimed his every deed" because they "did not do anything when they saw dangers and mistakes." He said that anyone can be a minister if all he has to do is pass on the emperor's words. ("Zhengti" Chapter, Vol 1) Due to his initiative in and encouragement and earnest practice of what he advocated, the ruling clique indeed presented a thriving scene in the early years of the Zhenguan period. There was a galaxy of talents and the free airing of views. Even low-ranking officials such as county magistrates could directly submit memorials to the emperor and sometimes their proposals were accepted. Because of this, the economy, which was badly injured by war and chaos during the last years of the Sui Dynasty, was quite successfully rehabilitated and developed. This period was unanimously praised by historians of past dynasties as the "enlightened Zhenguan Government."

At that time, Emperor Taizong was still in his 30's. Endless extolments of "long live the king" and "your majesty" kept pounding away in the mind of this founder of the "enlightened Zhenguan Government." From the state of being pleased with himself, he became dizzy with success and arrogant. In the ninth year of the Zhenguan period, he superciliously bragged in front of his ministers: "All ancient rulers who brought order out of chaos were aged over 40, with the exception of Emperor Guangwu who was then 33. But I, your sovereign, was only 18 when I first mobilized the troops to fight. I was 24 when I achieved stability throughout the country and 29 when I became king. This is where I surpass the ancients in the military sense.... I have been studying constantly since the beginning of the Zhenguan period. I know the roots of decency and the source of political theories. After putting these into practice for some years, I have achieved great order across the land and changed prevailing habits and customs. I have worthy children and loyal ministers. This is where I surpass the ancients in the cultural sense." ("Shenzong" Chapter, Vol 10) Arrogance was clearly shown in his utterances and manners. Wei Zheng was the first to notice this. In the 11th year of the Zhenguan period, Wei Zheng wrote the famous "10-Point Remonstrance to Emperor Taizong," in which he said sincerely and earnestly: "All rulers who received the heavenly mandate made their names in times of deep sorrows and lost their virtues when they achieved success." "In times of deep sorrows, a ruler always treated his subordinates with all sincerity; but once he achieved his ambitions, he would act as he pleased and would become arrogant." ("Jundao" Chapter, Vol 1) He said these from the viewpoint of summing up historical experience and did not make his point clear in one fell swoop, though he obviously intended to make this a dose of bitter medicine to cure the emperor's arrogance and extravagance. However, Emperor Taizong, who was becoming swell-headed, turned a deaf ear to him. In the 12th year of the Zhenguan period, Wei Zheng was forced to speak bluntly. He first submitted a memorial to Emperor Taizong criticizing him for setting himself aloft so that everyone thinks that the emperor is not to be offended. He then pointed out to the emperor's face: "Thinking that your kingdom is secure, you have become more and more arrogant." ("Najian" Chapter, Vol 2) In the 13th year of the Zhenguan period, Wei Zheng wrote the "Memorial on the 10 Habits Which an Emperor Should Not Include In." In this memorial he summed up Emperor Taizong's arrogant behavior in 10 points. The emphasis of his criticism was: "You have become slightly arrogant and extravagant these years. On account of your great achievements, you speak of the ancient monarchs with contempt. In spite of your noble wisdom, you make light of your contemporaries. This is a sign of your growing arrogance." ("Shenzong" Chapter, Vol 10) However, this far-sighted warning not only failed to touch Emperor Taizong's heart but was time and again drowned out by the chorus of "virtue singing" by the other ministers. Wei Zheng's opinions were shared by very few people. Even a loyal and important official like Fang Xuanling made no effort to correct Emperor Taizong when he was wrong and just remained docile and obedient. Clearly aware of this fact, Wei Zheng said this to Emperor Taizong in front of all ministers: "When a subject first saw his emperor, he invariably wanted to follow his master everywhere and assist him in remedying the evils of the times. Once he acquired riches and honor, he would want to keep his official post at all costs and thus he was unable to fully discharge his duty as a subject." ("Shenzong" Chapter, Vol 10) In the 18th year of the Zhenguan period, a year after Wei Zheng passed away, Emperor Taizong made a half-hearted attempt to let his ministers enumerate his "faults." Many people actually had the nerve to say: "Your majesty's reforming influence has brought about great peace. We see no fault." ("Najian" Chapter, Vol 2) At this point, Emperor Taizong's arrogance and the ministers' sycophancy were already hard to change. It can thus be seen that although the emperor was responsible for his own arrogance, the ministers did not shirk their responsibility in encouraging his arrogance. Some ministers made a fetish of the emperor's achievements, looked upon the emperor's instructions as the truth and refuted everything not said by the emperor as heresy. Some ministers pandered to the wishes of the emperor in order to preserve their official salary and rank. They praised everything said and done by the emperor and said nothing even when they knew something was wrong. These two tendencies abetted the emperor's self-satisfaction and arrogance.

The emperor was arrogant and extravagant; the ministers blindly fawned on him. Accompanying this fact was the historical change from "readily accepting good advice" in the early Zhenguan period to "imperial remarks cannot be contradicted" toward the middle and latter part of this period. If this outcome was a glass of bitter wine, then it was jointly brewed by Emperor Taizong and the ministers. Wei Zheng had on two separate occasions outlined the "trilogy" of this change: "In the early years of the Zhenguan period, you encouraged your ministers to give counsel for fear that they would not speak up on their own." "After 8 or 9 years, you still appeared to be pleased to accept counsel," (though the emperor no longer took the initiative to seek counsel). After 10 years, "you disliked blunt remarks more and more" and, and, although advice was sometimes accepted with reluctance, "you were resentful and showed your displeasure." ("Najian" Chapter, Vol 2; "Chengxin" Chapter, Vol 5) After the middle part of the Zhenguan period, Emperor Taizong roughly adopted three policies toward correct suggestions made by his ministers.

1. To "humbly" accept counsel but stall for time and continue to act as he pleased: when old ministers criticized his mistakes on reasonable grounds and he was not pleased but thought better of publicly refusing counsel, he resorted to this method and pretended to listen. He would always say something polite in return, such as: "It is nice of you to mention this. How shocking of me to have made such a mistake!" "I would correct it with an open mind." However, as soon as he turned his back, he would say: "When my ministers have suggestions to make, they can come to me. But they cannot expect me to do as they say." ("Gongping" Chapter, Vol 5) No wonder Wei Zheng made this pungent criticism in one of his memorials: "You listened far better than any ancient sages, but the way you handled things was no better than a mediocre ruler." "You talked glibly about how you disliked evils, but you loved to hear words that pleased you. You prattled about welcoming outspoken remarks, but you disliked words that were unpleasant to your ears." ("Shenzong" Chapter, Vol 10; "Gongping" Chapter, Vol 5)

2. To quote the classics and gloss over his own faults: Emperor Taizong claimed that "I have been studying constantly since the beginning of the Zhenguan period." He had quite a good knowledge of history. He showed penetrating judgment when he discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the administration of previous monarchs with his ministers in the early Zhenguan period. But later on, his knowledge became his tool when he tried to justify himself and suppress differing opinions. In the 16th year of the Zhenguan period, the minister, Liu Ji wrote in his memorial: even

when your majesty showed a pleasant countenance and humbly accepted suggestions, the ministers were too nervous to make themselves clear. Since your majesty always "used your wit and eloquence in debate justify yourself and quoted the classics to dismiss the suggestions put before you," who would dare speak up again? ("Shenyanyu" Chapter, Vol 6)

3. To condemn people on the slightest provocation and to refute sincere remonstration as "slander" and "libel": in the 8th year of the Zhenguan period, a low-ranking official submitted a memorial, saying that Emperor Taizong "tired the people by making them build the Luoyang Palace and collected too much land rent." Emperor Taizong flew into a rage and said that this official who "suggested that the state should not call on any one of its subjects to serve his country and should not collect land rent" must be punished for "slander." (footnotes in "Najian" Chapter, Vol 2) In the 11th year of the Zhenguan period, Emperor Taizong went on a hunting trip. Someone submitted a memorial to him, saying: "It seems that we are having as much compulsory service labor nowadays as we had during the Sui Dynasty." "Only an extravagant and dissipated ruler would make frequent hunting trips." Emperor Taizong flared up and said: "Such calumniation is close to a curse." ("Tianlie" Chapter, Vol 10) On both occasions, the persons who offered the sincere advice were able to escape punishment only because Wei Zheng strongly argued for them on just grounds.

Under the autocratic system, when a feudal monarch had the power to take away the life and means of his ministers, Emperor Taizong's attitude toward his counselors finally created a situation in which "ten thousand horses were all muted"--"all ministers refrained from discussing the state affairs." ("Qiujian" Chapter, Vol 2) Recalling the past and comparing it with the present, some sober-minded ministers sighed with emotion: "What a blessed thing it would be for the whole country if we could return to the early years of the Zhenguan period."

Emperor Taizong had a famous saying: "Taking a bronzeware as our mirror, we can put our garment and hat on straight; taking the past as our mirror, we can see the vissitudes; taking people as our mirror, we can figure out our strengths and weaknesses." ("Renxian" Chapter, Vol 2) Actually, he himself was a mirror of history. Through this mirror, we should be able to learn a useful lesson.

CSO: 4005

REPORT ON GOVERNMENT LEADERS AT YOUTH RALLY

OW091350 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Report by station reporter: "Carry Forward Revolutionary Tradition and Work Hard for Modernization With One Heart and One Mind"--portions recorded]

[Text] At 1500 on 6 December, more than 6,000 people, including youths and students from universities and colleges in the capital and some of the veteran comrades who took part in the 9 December and 1 December movements, held a grand rally at the Great Hall of the People to solemnly mark the 45th anniversary of the 9 December movement and the 35th anniversary of the 1 December movement. At the rally the youths and students sang aloud revolutionary songs such as "without the communist party, there will be no new China," "unity means strength," and "graduation song." The revolutionary songs echoed in the Great Hall, filling the rally with high spirits and reflecting the determination of the older and younger generation in carrying forward the revolutionary tradition and working hard for modernization with one heart and one mind. [singing in the background]

Attending the rally were Peng Zhen, Wang Renzhong, Song Renqiong, Hu Qiaomu, Yao Yilin and Kang Keqing; Niu Yinguan, Zhu Muzhi, Li Chang and Rong Gaotang, who took part in the 9 December movement; and (Zheng Boke), (Ma Shitu), (Wang Hanbin) and others who took part in the 1 December movement; and the responsible persons of the departments concerned Jia Tingsan, Han Ying and others. The rally was jointly sponsored by the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee and the CYL Central Committee. Lin Hujia, first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, presided over the rally.

[Begin recording] [presumably Lin Hujia): "Now Comrade Jiang Nanxiang, minister of education and one of the leaders in the 9 December movement will speak to us." [end recording]

After reviewing the serious national crisis faced by the Chinese people 45 years ago, Comrade Jiang Nanxiang said in his report:

[Begin recording] At that time, the patriotic students, imbued with profound feelings, feared no sacrifices; defied the dual oppression from the Kuomintang and the reactionaries; braved the threat of facing the guillotine, imprisonment and attacks by broadswords and high-pressure water; launched the 9 December movement, which shook the whole country; shattered the atmosphere of depression throughout the nation; and pushed forward the movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation in China. The 9 December movement was launched under the direct and personal leadership of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The left-deviationist influence of close-doorism was overcome to insure the healthy development of the movement. The 9 December movement aroused an upsurge of a new revolutionary movement and became a milestone between the reactionary period and the revolutionary period in the history of the Chinese Revolution. After the conclusion of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression in 1945, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary government had relied on the support of U.S. imperialism and intensified its preparations to fight a civil war in order to continue its dictatorial rule in China. The communist party called for a struggle to establish an independent and democratic republic. In response to the party's call, the students of the joint Southwest University in Kunming held strikes and waged struggle against dictatorship and for democracy on 1 December 1945.

The Kuomintang reactionaries mobilized special agents and roughnecks to ruthlessly suppress the students. Four martyrs were mercilessly killed. This incident of bloodshed awakened the broad masses. The patriotic student movement that followed the 1 December movement had become the second frontline of the people's struggle for liberation and dealt a telling blow to the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. During the 9 December and 1 December movements, it was absolutely correct for the vast numbers of youth and students to follow the communist party and the revolutionary road. The Communist Party of China had never fallen short of the expectations of the people and youths in the whole country. It had led the Chinese people to wage unremitting and painstaking struggles and won victories in the 8-year war of resistance against Japan and in the 3-year war of liberation. It had helped the people of all nationalities in China to remove the three big mountains on their backs and establish the People's Republic of China on the basis of the people's democratic dictatorship. This is another major historical victory in the history of mankind after the October Revolution. History has proved that the democratic revolution must be led by the communist party. History will also prove that socialist construction also needs the leadership of the communist party. [end recording]

Comrade Jiang Nanxiang again reviewed the militant course taken by the party in leading the people and youths in the whole country both in revolution and construction. He continued:

[Begin recording] The question faced by the youths during the 9 December and 1 December movements was whether the support the dictatorship and national betrayal of the Kuomintang or to support the resistance against Japan in order to save the nation and the democratic national construction advocated by the communist party. The question faced by the youths today is whether or not to uphold the four principles. Take the socialist road and realize the four modernizations under the leadership of the communist party. At present some young people still have not found a clear answer to this question. We hold that it is the choice of history and the people that China take the socialist road and follow the leadership of the communist party. After the opium war, the Chinese nation was subjected to aggression by imperialism, simply because the nation was in a state of disunity and was disorganized at all times. It longed for a strong proletarian political party to form a core of leadership. In today's actual life in China, it is impossible to find a political force more experienced, more capable and more loyal to the people than the communist party in leading China's construction. Our party has summed up the rich experiences, both positive and negative, since the founding of the nation; brought into full play the fine tradition of linking theory with practice as always promoted by Chairman Mao Zedong; and effectively solved many problems that Chairman Mao Zedong did not solve when he was alive. Politically, our party is more mature than ever before. This kind of party is trustworthy. Naturally it does not mean that the party faces no difficulties and that our communist party members have no shortcomings and commit no errors. We must admit that within our party at present, there indeed exist unhealthy trends such as bureaucracy, the practice of seeking special privileges and so on. The masses have complained about such trends. These unhealthy trends are illegal in the communist party. They have always been resisted and criticized. The commission for inspecting discipline of the CCP Central Committee had announced the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" aimed at combating such unhealthy trends. On this issue, the views of our party and the people are identical.

Dear students, to build a modern, powerful socialist country in a large nation like China, which has a population of 1 billion and an economy and culture that are very backward, is an unprecedentedly tortuous cause in the history of mankind that requires several generations of arduous struggle. The unfulfilled cause of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries has to be continued and fulfilled by us successors. We must never shirk our responsibilities and stop halfway. Young people are the hope of the motherland. I hope that the youth and students of today will, as did the youth of the 9 December and 1 December movements, regard the fate of the country as their own responsibility, fulfill the tasks their revolutionary predecessors have been unable to fulfill, win honor for the motherland and make still greater contributions to the people. [applause] [end recording]

During the meeting, the leading comrades of the central authorities presented citations to 276 three-good students and 76 advanced collectives in institutions of higher education and secondary vocational schools in Beijing Municipality.

During the intermission of the meeting, Comrade Peng Zhen and other leading comrades of the central authorities who had acted as leaders of the 9 December movement received 21 three-good students. With sincere words and earnest wishes, Comrade Peng Zhen said: [begin recording] While we are commemorating the 9 December movement, we would like to present citations to some outstanding comrade youths and students [words indistinct] (?to express our respect). [words indistinct] but it was not like this at the time of the 9 December movement. [words indistinct] the areas occupied by

Japan and the areas occupied by Chiang Kai-shek [words indistinct] there were only 10 party members. [words indistinct] But what is the situation today? After the 10 disastrous years of the cultural revolution, tremendous difficulties were created. Since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many problems have been solved. But there are many difficulties at present. [words indistinct] have damaged our moral practice and young people's comradeship mentality. In the past, the comrades in our communist party did not have such a relationship, and they were not like that. The CYL members were not like that either. Whether it was in the party committees, in the CYL organizations, in the people's army, in the working class contingent, or among the peasants, the whole movement (?was permeated with) comradeship and comrades' friendship. [words indistinct] what Comrade Nanxiang spoke about just now [words indistinct]. I agree with his speech. [words indistinct] what will we encounter from (?now on)? Will it be difficult or not? There still will be difficulties. [words indistinct the principle and policy of leadership of the central authorities now are correct. [word indistinct] from now on, we should inherit the revolutionary spirit of the 9 December and 1 December movements to sweep away the (?tiny) things and the gloomy things, and let us all engage in the four modernizations and socialism with one heart and one mind. [words indistinct] especially young people should rally around the leadership of the party Central Committee [words indistinct] to build (?our) socialism and (?our) communism. It is still very difficult now, and we will encounter some difficulties in the future. [words indistinct] [applause] [end recording]

Comrade Peng Zhen's speech greatly inspired the students at the meeting. They were all determined to face up to and correctly treat the difficulties our country now encounters in the four modernization, to inherit and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the 9 December and 1 December movements, rally around the party Central Committee, do a still better job in their study and contribute their strength to the motherland's four modernizations in the future.

CSO: 4005

'GONGREN RIBAO' STRESSES IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK100750 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Commentator's article: "Ideological and Political Work Must Be Strengthened"]

[Text] Strengthening ideological and political work is the current urgent demand of the cadres and masses but some differing views on the subject still exist. Correctly understanding and solving these problems is an important guarantee for bringing every positive factor into play and for doing well in the four modernizations.

Some people have said that the ideological problems are now numerous and that it is difficult to tackle them. How should we look at this issue? If we analyze it from the dialectic materialist viewpoint, although the ideological problems are numerous, there is nothing to fear. As we are at a historical turning point, the ideological problems are now more numerous than they are during ordinary times. For example, in the history of our country, various trends of thought and various schools existed in the period of the warring states. The ideological problems of our party were particularly numerous at the outset of the period from the civil war to the war of resistance against Japan. Today the ideological problems are more numerous because our party has adopted the correct policy, everyone dares to speak out, and our ideology is more active. Is active ideology a good thing or a bad thing? Like anything else, it has a dual nature. First, it is a very good thing because it shows that the masses dare to speak out and express different views. Here we must clarify the problem of whether a pond of stagnant water or a pond of flowing water is good. Some comrades always love peace and tranquility but in fact this runs counter to the law of the development of things. It is impossible that there not be a slight rustle of leaves in the wind in the natural world and in human society. Only a pond of flowing water is full of life. Only by having active ideology and much discussion can we hear the good views and propositions of all people and discover the problems which we have not discovered for a long time. Do we hope to bring all our revolutionary enthusiasm into play? The revolutionary enthusiasm in the ideological and political aspects is the greatest and most valuable enthusiasm. A revolutionary party's greatest skill is to bring into play the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm in ideology and politics and to mobilize all of them to make suggestions and seek new ways of doing things. We are communist party members armed with Marxist-Leninist Thought, and only by relying on the masses and mobilizing their sense of responsibility as masters can we rule the world. Having summed up historical experience in this aspect, our party clearly put forward at the 5th plenary session of the 11th party congress that the general task of the party at the present stage is to build a modernized and superior democratic, civilized and powerful socialist country. This task demands that we achieve not only modernization but also a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization. Democracy is not only our means but also our end, and it is our country's basic system. We must give play to the superiority of the socialist system and really achieve, as Comrade Mao Zedong stated in the 1950's, "the political situation in which there are centralism, democracy, discipline, freedom and unity of wills, and the individuals have peace of mind and are vivid and vigorous." Of course, negative factors may appear in active ideology but this is not to be feared. As long as we strengthen ideological and political work and the work in the other areas, we can turn the negative factors into positive factors. The duty of our communist party members is to transform society and man. Active participation in ideological and political work has been determined by the nature of our party.

What principle then should be adopted in ideological and political work? In the history of our party, we adopted two kinds of principles: one was the erroneous principle of suppression. Speaking out was not allowed. As soon as one spoke, one received an answer. Subsequently, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" developed the so-called "investigation, criticism and struggle" and put forward a reactionary theory which was called "opening a way with mass criticism." They even regarded it as the law of ideological work. In the "Great Cultural Revolution," they implemented this erroneous principle to an absurd extent so that the cadres and masses suffered very much. Another one was the correct principle of guidance. In the course of giving guidance, the free airing of views was encouraged, collective wisdom was drawn on, and all useful ideas were absorbed. Many channels existed for us to air our views, such as speaking our minds freely at the meetings of the party and at the people's congresses. Furthermore, the five large people's organizations such as the federations of trade unions, the CYL, the women's federation, associations of literature and of the sciences; the congresses of staff members and workers; the organs of national self-government; the masses' letters and visits; reception work and so on--all were channels for the free airing of views. We must insure that all kinds of channels are left unobstructed so that we hear all kinds of criticism and suggestions at all times and improve our work. We must be good at using all forms to direct the complicated and manifold ideas and views to the positive and correct side. The present problem is that we have not done well in guiding ideological and political work. Some of our comrades have often said that they are very busy. They have, therefore, relaxed grasping ideological and political work. This is incorrect. We cannot set economic work against ideological work any more than we can separate material reward from moral encouragement. We have criticized "opening a way with mass criticism," and this does not mean that it is unnecessary to put ideology in the lead. Ideological and political work must be grasped everyday. To embark on the four modernizations, it is essential to do well in grasping ideological and political work.

Is it necessary to restore our party's glorious tradition of criticism and self-criticism in ideological and political work? It is surely necessary. There is now a view called "growing more flowers but fewer thorns." Bureaucrats shield one another and live and coexist peacefully. This is incorrect. Both the remnant poison of the left and the rightist tendency really exist in our ideological work. Some localities and units are even afraid to advocate criticism and self-criticism. How can these ways of doing things exist? The masses have a lot of complaints about the unhealthy tendencies, such as seeking personal privileges and getting in by the back door. Can we not criticize and struggle against these repulsive phenomena? Wholeheartedly serving the people without the slightest selfishness is the demand put on all party members by our party and is the oath taker by every member upon joining the party. Strictly speaking, those communist party members who have the unhealthy tendencies of seeking personal privileges and so on run counter to the aim of the party and to their original revolutionary ideal. It is a very inglorious thing. The party has now formulated certain regulations governing inner-party political life. Should they not stand out to openly conduct self-criticism and meanwhile welcome the masses' assistance in washing the dust off from their faces and souls? We must not throw away the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Only by resolutely struggling against the repulsive phenomena, su[illegible] as violating the law and discipline, pursuing bureaucratism, committing corruption and bribery, failing to distinguish public affairs from private affairs, inviting people to dinner, giving presents, indulging in extravagance and waste, letting children and relatives in through the back door and so on, can we check the unhealthy tendencies. If we disregard these tendencies, we will seriously jeopardize the structure of the party and thus cause the party to be seriously divorced from the masses and create evil consequences. We should undoubtedly and resolutely struggle against the unhealthy tendencies.

In ideological and political work, it is also imperative to provide enlightment and guidance with examples of advanced people and ideology in our own localities and units and throughout the country. The strength of examples is inexhaustible. Although there are still some negative factors in our life, the main trend is healthy and positive, inspiring examples among the masses are numerous. By publicizing examples of advances made by the masses, we can stimulate our nation to flourish vigorously and arouse our revolutionary spirit of working hard for the prosperity of our country. The people of our country have had the tradition of plain living and hard work for a long time. Through ideological work, we must heighten the spirit of our nation so as to foster the positive factors and eliminate the negative factors.

In ideological work, we must use more frequently the method self-education of the masses. Through encountering practical problems in our daily lives, we must be good at organizing the masses to learn to analyze, compare and distinguish between what is essential and nonessential, between what is brilliant and what constitutes malpractice, between what is correct and should be advocated and what is incorrect and should be opposed. We must trust the masses' ability to make judgments. Localities which have trusted the masses have achieved better results than those which have simply instructed the masses on what to do. We must be good at discussing problems with the masses on an equal basis. Only by doing so can we mutually strengthen trust and forge ahead hand in hand with the masses.

Bad people, bad phenomena and a bad atmosphere in our country cannot be completely eliminated at once, and they will exist for a fairly long time, compared with the whole society, they are in the minority and are secondary factors. However, if we ignore them and do not struggle against them, they will spread very quickly like an epidemic, seriously threaten the party's life and jeopardize the party's cause. Ideological and political work cannot, therefore, be relaxed at any time. As long as all departments stress strengthening ideological and political work, and the cadres and masses throughout the country spontaneously establish new communist ideology and new morality and customs, our nation will surely vigorously flourish and the great aim of the four modernizations which the people of our country have yearned for day and night will surely be achieved.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' HAILS CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION LOANS

HK100602 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 80 p 2

[Commentator's article: "Actively and Steadily Carry Out New Method for Capital Construction Investment"]

[Text] Recently, the State Council decided that beginning in 1981, a system of loans will be instituted whereby instead of the Ministry of Finance making appropriations for capital construction, all enterprises and units which have independent accounting and which are capable of repaying the loans are to obtain loans from the construction bank. This is an important measures for reforming the system of capital construction investment and management.

A year ago, the State Council's decision on changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans for capital construction was implemented on a trial basis in various localities and departments. At present, more than 20 trades and occupations in 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in the country have conducted experiments in this regard. Since the practice of making appropriations for investment in capital construction was changed to extending loans, and that of using funds without repayment was changed to using funds with repayment, many units requesting loans have been more careful than before in planning construction projects and in using construction funds. Some prominent manifestations are: the shift from fighting for projects to the cancellation of non-essential projects, from bragging about the economic advantages of construction projects to a realistic assessment of the economic results, and from asking for state aid to paying attention to careful planning. By carrying out this system in every detail, the capitalist construction front can thus be shortened, the result of irvestment enhanced and positive effects brought about.

Under existing conditions, units not receiving loans still have certain misgivings. Some comrades are afraid that they will be in trouble. They also fear that they will not be able to repay the loans and will thus be legally responsible for failure to repay them and so forth. This calls for continued efforts by relevant departments to vigorously publicize the significant changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans for capital construction. In the past, the scope of capital construction projects and funds invested in them were determined by the state, with enterprises using appropriated funds without repayment. Under these circumstances, the enterprises were powerless to make arrangements for the construction projects and they were not responsible for repaying the funds invested. The positive or negative economic results of the construction projects were not directly connected with the enterprises. Since the practice of making appropriations has been changed to that of extending loans for capital construction, the units receiving loans should have the power to adjust the details of construction, arrange the work order and choose their own designers and construction enterprises, provided that the productive capacity is not affected, that the total investment amount as approved is not exceeded, that the date of completion of the project is not delayed and that the quality of the work is not lowered. Those enterprises which repay the loans as scheduled and those which complete the projects early and repay the loans ahead of schedule will be rewarded, while those which delay the date of completion of the project and repay the loans after they are due will be punished. In this way, the economic power, economic responsibilities and economic interests will be effectively unified to mobilize the enthusiasm of various quarters. The present overextended capital construction front and poor investment results still constitute a prominent contradiction in the national economy. We should actively carry out the new measure of hanging from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans for capital construction so that the latter can operate effectively with improvements in investment and management.

Changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans for capital construction constitutes a major shift in the system of capital construction investment and management away from depending mainly on administrative organizations and administrative measures to relying on economic organizations, economic methods and legal measures. Since enterprises applying for loans and construction banks extending loans should bear economic and legal responsibilities, it follows that banks should conduct serious investigations of the units receiving the loans so that through such loans, capital construction projects can be adjusted more economically, more rationally and as practicably as possible. If it is assumed that once construction projects are included in the construction plans and investment is approved, the construction bank should extend loans, or if the construction bank extends loans without looking into the actual conditions, then this will bring greater losses to the national economy and make planning work passive. This is because once the construction of a project is in progress or after it is completed, everything, from production processes to the supply of raw and processed materials, fuel and power, must be in order. Many examples in this respect can be cited. Whether or not an enterprise participating in a construction project is capable of repaying loans is an important criterion for testing the feasibility of such a project and for determining whether or not it should be constructed at all. As to those completed construction projects which keep losing money, they should be closely examined and strictly controlled. In sum, regarding capital construction projects using appropriated funds, we should make sure that objective economic laws are respected. We should also pay attention to giving play to the role of economic organizations and economic measures and attach considerable importance to the study of the feasibility of construction projects and stress their economic results. In short, we should take a positive attitude and firm steps. From now on, various localities, departments and construction banks at all levels should conduct investigations and studies, complete all necessary preparations and carry out reform at different phases and in different groups according to the actual conditions of those units and use bank loans instead of appropriated funds.

As the national economy operates as an entity, economic reforms should be coordinated. The task of changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans or capital construction involves management systems relating to planning, finance, taxes, commodity prices, material supplies, as well as labor, construction and so forth. Before these aspects are reformed, changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans may encounter real difficulties. Relevant quarters should actively coordinate their efforts in order to create conditions for carrying out on a comprehensive scale the system of changing from the practice of making appropriations to that of extending loans.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

JIANG QING TRIED ON CHARGE OF PERSECUTING ARTISTS

OW100819 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1504 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 9 Dec (XINHUA)--Investigation by the First Tribunal of the special court this morning proved that defendant Jiang Qing collaborated with Ye Qun, Wu Faxian and Jiang Tengjiao in plotting to search the homes of five well-known personages in the Shanghai literary and art circles and in persecuting them in order to cover up her ugly past. Two of them were persecuted to death.

The victims of this home-search incident were Zheng Junli, Zhao Dan, Gu Eryi, Chen Liting and Tong Zhiling, all well-known personages of the film and theatrical circles in the 1930's. After their homes had been searched, they continued to suffer persecution. Some of them were falsely charged as "enemy agents," "renegades" and "counterrevolutionaries" and were put in jail, suffering mentally and physically. Zheng Junli and Gu Eryi died from such persecution.

Presiding Judge Zeng Hanzhou held today's court session. Judges Gan Ying (female), Huang Liangchen and Liu Liying (female) conducted the court investigation. Gan Ying asked defendant Jiang Qing: In the summer of 1966 did you ask Zhang Chunqiao to contact Zheng Junli and to have the latter hand out your letters and pictures of the 1930's? Do you know that Ye Qun directed Jiang Tengjiao to search the homes of Zheng Junli, Zhao Dan, Gu Eryi and others? Were the pictures, letters and other materials concerning you, which had been found in the search, destroyed in your presence? At first, defendant Jiang Qing said: "I do not know." But later she said: "I know this only after I read the indictment." As to whether she asked Zhang Chunqiao to contact Zheng Junli for the letters and pictures, she said at the beginning: "I did not ask Zhang Chunqiao to do that." But later she admitted: "I entrusted this matter to Zhang Chunqiao." In quibbling over this, Jiang Qing went as far as to mention her trip to Chongqing for dental treatment at the time of the war of resistance against Japan and to describe how she first knew Zhao Dan, Gu Eryi and the others. She tried to avoid answering the essential questions and said that keeping pictures was "normal" and "did not warrant a search of the home."

The court immediately showed and read a letter in Zheng Junli's own handwriting addressed to Jiang Qing. The letter indicates that Zhang Chunqiao had a talk with him, and that he handed over Jiang Qing's old pictures in his possession to Zhang Chunqiao for disposal by Jiang Qing. Despite what Zheng Junli did, he could not avert the fate of home search and persecution.

Then the court summoned Jiang Tengjiao and Liu Shiying, codefendants in the home-search case, to appear before the court to testify. They admitted that they persecuted the five personages of the Shanghai literary and art circles under the instructions of Jiang Qing and Ye Qun. As admitted by Jiang Tengjiao, in early October 1966 he received a phone call from Wu Faxian, saying that Ye Qun wanted him to go to Beijing immediately and secretly to receive the assignment of an urgent "political task." After he arrived in Beijing, Ye Qun told him that a letter written by Jiang Qing was in the hands of Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi or the others. Ye Qun wanted him to have some people pretend to be Red Guards and search their homes so as to dig out all notebooks, diaries, pictures and written materials. He was told to keep the matter in "strict secrecy." After Jiang Tengjiao returned to Shanghai, he selected Zhang Biao, Liu Shiying and other "reliable persons" to lead the home-search task. Some PLA fighters and children of cadres were hoodwinked into disguising themselves as Red Guards, and the homes of Zheng Junli and the other four were searched in the early morning of 9 October. From the several bags of stuff obtained through the search, Jiang Tengjiao and others sorted out the materials concerning Jiang Qing, took them personally to Beijing and reported the matter to Wu Faxian. In the presence of Wu Faxian, the materials were handed over to Ye Qun. Later Ye Qun told Jiang Tengjiao that the job was well done to the satisfaction of the "high authority." Both Jiang Tengjiao and Wu Faxian knew that the "high authority" meant Jiang Qing.

Liu Shiying, who personally led the group to search Zheng Junli's home and who took part in sorting and transporting the materials obtained in the search, stated how the home search was actually carried out. In addition, he revealed that in planning for the home search Jiang Tengjiao said that this was "a very important and glorious task assigned us by the proletarian headquarters," and that Jiang told him that, as the "central leader" once said, the home search "must be kept in strict secrecy, and nobody would be allowed to tell this to anyone even if his life were threatened."

Zheng Junli's widow, Huang Chen, appeared before the court today to testify. Pointing to Jiang Qing, she said with indignation: "Do you not know me? You are Lan Ping, and I am Huang Chen. I am clear about what you did in the 1930's." She said that in June 1966 Zhang Chunqiao made the first contact with Zheng Junli and used threats to have him hand out all of Jiang Qing's pictures and stage photos and all related written materials. But after Zheng Chunqiao talked with him for the second time, Zheng Junli dared not tell her the details of the conversation, and this caused severe mental pressure on her. In addition, Huang Chen said that in October 1966 a group of people came to search their home and took away every piece of paper. She added that Zheng Junli was secretly taken away in 1967 and died in jail 2 years later. At this point, Jiang Qing turned to Huang Chen and said:

"Ah, Huang, I have not the slightest knowledge about this." Huang Chen said angrily in rebuttal: "I do not want to talk with you. You have no right to talk to me." Huang Chen said that after the death of Zheng Junli they did not even let her small son pass, and that even she, herself, was almost persecuted to death. She scolded Jiang Qing, saying: "Lan [illegible]ug, what a vicious person you are!"

The court showed and read a statement that Zhao Dan had made together with his wife Huang Zongying before he died, testifying to the home search and persecution they suffered.

Judge Huang Liangchen asked defendant Jiang Qing: "Was it true that in January 1967 you and Xie Fuzhi went to Ye Qun's house and burned the materials obtained in the home search?" Jiang Qing replied: "I do not know." Immediately the court read testimony by Wei Qiu (former section chief of the party committee office of the air force headquarters). Then Zhao Gensheng, one-time clerical secretary in Lin Biao's office and a witness on the occasion when the materials were burned by Jiang Qing, appeared before the court to testify. He stated in detail how Jiang Qing, Ye Qun and Xie Fuxhi burned the materials at the small kitchen in the backyard of Lin Biao's house in Maojiawan. He said that Ye Qun and Xie Fuzhi threw the materials, one at a time, into the stove, while Jiang Qing was walking slowly back and forth nearby and supervising the destruction of the materials.

Public prosecutor Wang Yaoqing (female) said in court: In answering questions, the defendant Jiang Qing said that she did not know about the facts concerning her crimes in persecuting personages in Shanghai's literary and art circles. But the testimony given by witnesses and the material evidence show that Jiang Qing does know the facts. The investigation made in court has proved that Jiang Qing instigated people to illegally search the homes of personages in Shanghai's literary and art circles and to persecute them for ulterior motives, thus causing extremely grave consequences. After their homes were searched and ransacked, five such personages were subjected to far more serious persecution--Zheng Junli and Gu Eryi were persecuted to death, Zhao Dan was falsely imprisoned for 5 years and Chen Liting was imprisoned under the false accusation of being an "enemy agent."

The public prosecutor said: It is a crime that Jiang Qing collaborated with Ye Qun, Zhang Chunqiao, Wu Faxian and Jiang Tengjiao in subjecting Zheng Junli and four others to bodily persecution. Their committing this criminal offense is also clear proof that Lin Biao and Jiang Qing colluded with each other in cruelly harming people.

Wu Faxian, one of the principal defendants in the same case, also appeared in court today to testify. In addition to admitting that he had joined Jiang Qing and Ye Qun in plotting to search the homes of these personages, he also confessed that Jiang Qing instructed him to commit four criminal offenses, which are as follows:

1. On instructions from Jiang Qing, he personally went to Shanghai in 1968 to bring back to Beijing the materials connected with Jiang Qing from the Shanghai Public Security Bureau and to have the public security cadres involved in this matter arrested.

2. On instructions from Jiang Qing, he went to Shanghai in 1968 to lure writer Sun Junqing to Beijing, and then Jiang Qing ordered him "taken into protection."

3. On instructions from Jiang Qing, he sent personnel to Shanghai in 1968 to lure Qin Guizhen, a maid who had looked after Jiang Qing in the 1930's, to Beijing, where Jiang Qing had her arrested.

4. In 1967, through instigation by Jiang Qing and Ye Qun, he supported the conspiracy to seize the power of JIEFANGJUN BAO.

Wu Faxian confessed that Jiang Qing was the chief culprit and he was an accomplice in the above criminal offenses.

CSO: 4005

JIANG QING TRIED TO DESTROY OWN BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

OW091546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 9 (XINHUA)--How and why the homes of five artists in Shanghai were searched 14 years ago has transpired at special court sessions investigating the charge that Jiang Qing was behind the search.

The event was listed in the indictment of the special procuratorate as one of the charges against the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques." The special court has completed the investigation on the charge and evidence produced in court shows that the event was instigated by the two cliques jointly. Following is a brief account of the event based on the evidence presented in court:

In early October, 1966, Lin Biao's wife, Ye Qun, asked Wu Faxian, the commander of the air force of the People's Liberation Army at the time, to summon Jiang Tengjiao, former political commissar of the air force unit in Nanjing, to Beijing to accept an assignment.

Jiang Tengjiao came to Beijing the next day. On the same evening, Ye Qun said to him: "One of Comrade Jiang Qing's letters has fallen into the hands of Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi and company. It's not clear who has the letter now, but you can organize some people to search the homes of five persons--Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi, Zhao Dan, Tong Zhiling and Chen Liting. Bring here all the letters, diaries, notebooks and such like you can lay your hands on." She also asked him to "keep this absolutely secret."

The letter and other things Ye Qun asked him to search for had something to do with Jiang Qing's past.

Jiang Qing was afraid that her inglorious record in Shanghai in the 1930's might be exposed because this would throw stumbling blocks in her way to supreme power. So she wanted all the written and printed material about her in the 30's be destroyed.

In June 1966, when the "Cultural Revolution" had just started, Jiang Qing asked Zhang Chunqiao to have a talk with Zheng Junli, a film director, who knew something about Jiang Qing's life in the 30's, and urged him to hand over all the relevant material in his hands. Zhang Chunqiao said to Zheng: "Jiang Qing's position is different now. Some of her letters and other such things are kept in your home and this is not proper. You'd better give them back to her." Zheng Junli checked up his belongings and wrote a letter to Jiang Qing saying that he had not kept those letters but had found a few old pictures of the 30's. "It's up to you to dispose of them," he said in the letter.

But Jiang Qing was still not at ease. She asked Ye Qun for help and Ye Qun got Jiang Tengjiao to search the homes.

The targets of the search were all people who had had some contacts with Jiang Qing in the 30's and knew what she was like during that period.

After returning to Shanghai, Jiang Tengjiao first got the addresses of the five artists involved and, after repeated study, worked out a plan for action. On the pretext that "the air force had lost a confidential document" and that it was necessary to "defend the proletarian headquarters," he got some young people and soldiers who were ignorant of the truth to disguise themselves as "Red Guards" and search the homes of the five artists in the small hours of October 9. They grabbed diaries, notebooks, letters, photos and pictorials published in pre-liberation days. Two sacks filled with such materials were taken away from Zhao Dan's home alone.

The following day, Jiang Tengjiao flew to Beijing with some of the loot which he regarded as the most important. He was received by Wu Faxian and Ye Qun, who heard his report in person and took away the material. The day after, Ye Qun telephoned Jiang Tengjiao and said, "They have been submitted to the boss (referring to Jiang Qing), who is very satisfied."

Shortly after Jiang Tengjiao went back to Shanghai, Ye Qun asked him to send to Beijing the rest of the materials he had obtained. When the materials arrived, Ye Qun had them kept in her own bedroom. Later Jiang Qing ordered that these materials be put in "the safest place." On the instructions of Ye Qun and Wu Faxian, the materials were moved to the confidential room of the air force headquarters.

However, Jiang Qing was still ill at ease, no matter where the materials were kept. In January 1967, she asked Ye Qun to transfer the materials to Lin Biao's office. Under Jiang Qing's personal supervision, Xie Fuzhi, Ye Qun and a secretary in Lin Biao's office burned all the materials obtained in the search.

CSO: 4005

JIANG QING PERPETRATED SHANGHAI HOUSE SEARCHES

HK101138 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Hu Sisheng [5170 1835 0581]: "The Case of the House Searching 14 Years Ago"]

[Text] There used to be a problem which bothered Jiang Qing all the time. Her problem was she wanted to take advantage of the "Cultural Revolution" to climb to the appex of power, but her past history during the 1930's was very disgraceful and could hinder her ambition.

Thus, Jiang Qing was very sensitive about any written record, letter or picture related to her history during the 1930's.

In fall 1966, Jiang Qing suffered a serious attack of the "allergy of her history during the 1930's. During that attack of her sickness, five personages in the Shanghai literary and art circles who knew about the background of Lan Ping were victimized.

The Night at Diaoyutai

One evening in early October 1966, Ye Qun was waiting for a secret visitor--Jiang Tengjiao--at one of the buildings in Diaoyutai. Jiang Tengjiao, the then political commissar of the Nanjing Air Force Units and concurrently, first political commissar of the No 7341 Military Unit, came to Beijing alone under a secret order issued by Wu Faxian the day before.

As soon as she saw him, Ye Qun told Jiang Tengjian: "I want you to carry out a top secret mission. Comrade Jiang Qing has a letter in the possession of Zheng Junli and other people of the Shanghai literary and art circles. Now, she wants the letter back but she does not know exactly where the letter is. She wants you to take advantage of the chaotic situation to organize some Red Guards to search the houses of Zheng Junli, Gu Eryi, Zhao Dan, Chen Liting and Tong Zhiling. Seize letters, diaries, notebooks and other written materials that you can find."

Ye Qun was indeed an expert in conspiratorial activities. She personally assigned a code number to each victim of the house searching: Zheng Junli--No 1, Zhao Dan--No 2, Chen Liting--No 3, Tong Zhiling--No 4 and Gu Eryi--No 5. Jiang Tengjiao jotted them down one by one in his notebook and promised to do what he could to accomplish the mission.

'Di Ke' Fired the First Shot

In June 1966, the "Cultural Revolution" had just begun. Jiang Qing was very impatient when telling Zhang Chunqiao to meet Zheng Junli in Shanghai.

Zhang Chunqiao told Zheng Junli: "Jiang Qing's position is now quite different. In the past, she had some letters and other things in your possession. This is not good. It is better to give these things to her and let her do whatever she wants to do with them!" Then, he threatened: You had close contacts with the black line during the 1930's. You must "behave properly and make a clear break with them." How true! Both Jiang Qing and Zheng Junli came from the Shanghai motion picture circles during the 1930's. One wanted to reach the sky, while the other was to be condemned to hell; one was at the peak of her career while the other was already being designated as a member of a "black gang."

Zheng knew clearly the implications of these remarks and the seriousness of this matter. Thus, after going home to sort out things, he wrote a letter to Jiang Qing saying that he "had not kept" any of the letters and "here are some of the old pictures from the 1930's that I have sorted out. You can do whatever you want with them." He also said that "after the campaign is over, we will move to the countryside to settle and engage in the work of the cultural centers." Zheng Junli had a premonition that something bad was about to happen. What he said was actually an attempt to tell Jiang Qing that he intended to retire and live in seclusion.

However, Jiang Qing's mind could not be set at ease. Thus, she asked Ye Qun to order a thorough search for all written materials and pictures on Lan Ping in the 1930's.

Secret Planning

Jiang Tengjiao flew back to Shanghai, taking with him Ye Qun's instructions. Immediately he summoned five of his assistants including Zhang Biao and Xi Zhuxian to a meeting at the Julu Road guesthouse. He glanced at the walls from time to time, saying: "Dame it. Is this room bugged?" He bade his assistants time and again: "This is top secret. You should not tell anyone, including your wives, otherwise you may lose your lives."

This plan was decided: Zhang Biao was responsible for making clear everything about the surroundings of the five houses to be searched, and the routes by which the searchers should follow in order to break into these houses. Xi Zhuxian was to organize the Red Guards by picking more than 20 sons and daughters of army cadres and more than 20 members of the PLA guards platoon and disguising them as Red Guards.

It was late in the night on 3 October. Zhang Biao and Xi Zhuxian called the sham Red Guards to Xinhua No 1 village and assigned them their tasks in the house searches. He fabricated a lie: "The air force has lost a highly confidential document, which is in the hands of some sinister gangsters including Zheng Junli and Zhao Dan. We must find it. This is an important political task assigned by the proletarian headquarters."

From Zero to 0400 Hours

At zero hours on 9 October 1966, under cover of darkness of the night, a few trucks carrying the sham Red Guards steered out of Xinhua No 1 village and drove off in different directions. In each truck, the leader had a gun strapped to his hip and a sack in his hand (for holding things seized during the search). The trucks belonged to the air force. The number plates were covered up to prevent other people from noticing the names of the air force units to which these trucks belonged.

Zhao Dan and Huang Zongying lived on the third floor of No 8 Human Road, Shanghai. It was shortly after midnight when Xi Zhuxian together with more than 10 young men wearing Red Guards armbands and large masks stormed into their bedroom and searched Zhao Dan and Huang Zongying.

Huang Zongying cried out: "Help!" The searchers immediately took the couple to the sitting room and kept an eye on them. They emptied all drawers and threw all letters, photographs and pictorials into the sack. They broke up a piano, picture frames and desks. They even loosened the thread-bound Chinese books to see if there were things hidden between the book leaves. They searched even the chimney beside the balcony and the sugar and salt jars in the kitchen. Only one book was not taken away It was an autobiography written by Zhao Dan.

When the searchers had left, Zhao Dan told Huang Zongying: "Surely they are secret police. They acted like fascist secret agents as Sheng Shicai of Xinjiang did. They left my autobiography behind, hinting to me that in the political movement to come I should talk only about myself and no one else."

Gu Eryi was a film director in the Shanghai movie studio. His house was searched 17 times during the "Cultural Revolution." This time produced the funniest scene. As soon as the searchers entered the house, they stood guard at each of the doors and windows and lowered the curtains. They let Gu Eryi and his wife stand barefoot and in thin undergarments. They specially looked for letters, notes, diaries and notebooks. They took away even the account books and the children's exercise books.

The same also happened to Chen Liting's house. All written data and materials, including those on the film "Story of Lu Xun," were taken away.

When they searched Zheng Junli's house, they carefully looked over every page in each photo album, even the film negatives. When they left, they said threateningly: "Do not tell other people about this search. Otherwise, you may lose your life."

When Tong Zhiling's house was searched, all her written data and materials, together with almost 20 rolls of tapes of recordings of her singing, were taken away.

From zero to 0400 hours, the searchers obtained four whole sacks and one paper bag of "war trophies."

A False Alarm

When Jiang Qing and Ye Qun made arrangements for Jiang Tengjiao to search people's houses, they did not notify the authorities concerned in Shanghai. Li Wenjing, Zhang Chunqiao's wife, had assumed personal command of the liaison center in an office of Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee. On hearing that Jiang Qing's materials were being searched for, she was scared. That evening, Li Wenjing quickly wrote a letter to report this strange case to Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan who were then in Nanjing. Later, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan sent her verbal message: You do not have to bother about this case. The confiscated materials have already been sent to Jiang Qing in Beijing.

Concealing and Disposing Materials Concerning the Disgraceful Past History

Jiang Tengjiao quickly flew back to Beijing carrying the confiscated materials. There, he stayed at an air force hostel on Dongjiaomin alley. That evening, Wu Faxian came. A moment later, all street lights outside the hostel went out. Ye Qun and Lin Liguo arrived in the darkness. After reading the materials and selecting some of them, Ye Qun personally put them in a suitcase and carried it away.

How did they deal with the confiscated materials?

Ye Qun suggested that they be kept at Lin Biao's residence in Maojiawan. Jiang Qing disagreed. She told Ye Qun: The present situation is chaotic. Maojiawan is not even safe. Ye Qun understood what Jiang Qing was afraid of. She issued an order to keep these materials at a secret place belonging to the air force.

In January 1967, the last scene of the house searching farce occurred. After Jiang Qing, Ye Qun and Xie Fuzhi had held a secret talk, they decided to "get it done once and for all." Ye Qun issued another order to transfer the materials from the air force to Lin Biao's residence in Maojiawan. Ye Qun, Jiang Qing and Die Fuzhi also went there. In a small kitchen at the backyard of Maojiawan, the secretary of Lin Biao's office opened the stove and started a fire. Soon the fire was blazing. Xie Fuzhi personally opened the sealed bags. Together with Ye Qun, she put one piece of material after another into the stove. In the midst of the glow of the fire, Jiang Qing paced to and fro near the stove, casting sidelong glances at the other two persons.

Concocting a 'Family History'

After the house searches in Shanghai, Jiang Qing thought she could present herself as an "outstanding" persons who had always followed the correct line.

One day in 1969, Jiang Qing called seven members of the Political Bureau to a meeting at No 10 building of Diaoyutai. These seven members were: Ye Qun, Xie Fuzhi, Yao Wenyuan, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo.

As soon as the meeting began, Jiang Qing said: "We will have an informal talk today. Do not write any minutes."

She then introduced herself: "I was brought up in a peasant family. I attended a school in Jinan as an observer and then joined the revolution. In the 1930's, I was engaged in literary and art work in Shanghai, standing on the side of Lu Xun..."

People could not but ask: If she "stood on the side of" Lu Xun, why did she make such a fuss and drag in so many people in the 1960's to completely destroy the records concerning her history in the 1930's?

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RADIO' DISCUSSES PARTY BUILDING

OW090153 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Article by (Ye Shunkui) of the organization department of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee: "Strengthening Party Building Should Start With the Provincial Party Committee"]

[Excerpts] There were many problems among party members in our province who suffered serious "internal injuries" as a result of the damage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 catastrophic years. Therefore, the provincial party committee has taken a series of effective measures to strengthen party building and has achieved notable results in resuming regular party activities, upholding and improving party leadership and increasing the party's fighting capacity.

We hold that the party must take care of its own affairs. This must be started by the provincial party committee. In view of a situation in which the party does not take care of its own affairs, the party is not separated from the government and party building is ignored. The second enlarged plenary session of the provincial party committee discussed the question of how to strengthen party leadership over efforts to achieve the four modernizations. At the session Li Lian, secretary of the provincial party committee, delivered a speech on strengthening party building. Since the session Yang Yichen, first secretary, and Li Lian, secretary of the provincial party committee, have personally grasped the work of party building. They have gone to lower level units to investigate the status of party building, to hear briefings and to discuss matters with comrades at concerned departments in connection with the central task. This has greatly promoted the development of work in party committees at various levels.

Education has been carried out among party members in the province in the past several years. The 10 catastrophic years brought serious damage to the party. Half of the party members are now ones. They did not receive rigorous training, lacked basic knowledge of the party and could not meet the requirements of the four modernizations. Since the 11th CCP National Congress, we have carried out education among party members throughout the province on the general task for the new period, the four fundamental principles and the principle of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth and on party rules and regulations.

Following the 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the 3d enlarged plenary session of the provincial party committee decided to carry out education throughout the province on how to be a qualified communist party member. Since 1978 we have devoted a period of time every year to giving party members intensive training. About 80 percent of the party members in the province have already taken such training this year. This has greatly improved party members' political qualities and has enabled them to play their leading and exemplary role in the efforts to achieve the four modernizations.

Since the Cultural Revolution, party activities had been very irregular. It was impossible to carry out criticism and self-criticism. The practice of engaging in empty and big talk was very serious. Some leading cadres who willfully remained "special party members" did not participate in regular party activities for a long time. Therefore, the provincial party committee made the decision that no one is allowed to use the time for regular party activities for any other purposes. The Standing Committee members of the provincial party committee have been organized into party branches or groups of various departments, commissions and offices where they have conscientiously participated in regular party activities. This has a tremendous impact on party organizations at various levels, especially on leading cadres. Most leading cadres now conscientiously participate in regular party activities on time as ordinary party members.

CSO: 4005

PEASANTS, WORKERS PARTY HOLDS CONFERENCE

OW010837 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1553 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--The Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party recently held a national work meeting in Beijing to study the united front policy during the new era and to exchange experience in serving the four modernizations. The meeting also saw a wide-ranging exchange of ideas on how the party's members can render even better service to the four modernizations in 1981.

Responsible persons of 15 provincial, municipal and autonomous chapters and 3 directly subordinate chapters briefed the meeting on their considerable efforts in the medical and public health field in various localities. Some local organizations of this party have set up sparetime medical or pharmacy schools of various forms, organized medical forums and run study classes on foreign medical languages, asking experts, professors and veteran Chinese traditional medical doctors from among the party members to systematically lecture on basic theories of Western and traditional Chinese medicine, clinical experience, foreign medical languages and the new conditions and experiences in combined Western and traditional Chinese medical treatment. Others have made contributions to training middle-aged and young medical workers. Party members working in the cultural and educational field have offered their opinions on educational reform based on their practical work over the past many years.

The meeting also exchanged views on and formulated measures for strengthening ideological-political work, assisting the [communist] party and government in implementing the policy on intellectuals and recruiting new members for the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party.

Ji Fang, chairman of the party, attended the meeting. Shen Qizhen and Xu Binru, vice chairmen of the party, respectively, spoke at the opening and closing ceremonies.

CSO: 4005

KUOMINTANG REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING

OW272111 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1238 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--The revolutionary committee of the Chinese Kuomintang held a national work meeting from 17 to 26 December to sum up its work, exchange its experiences in serving the four modernizations and discuss the major tasks for its work in 1981.

After reviewing the work of the committee in the past year and more, the meeting pointed out that the organizations of the revolutionary committee of the Chinese Kuomintang in various localities have done a great deal of work, scored remarkable achievements and accumulated vast experience. They have also attained gratifying results in serving the four modernization program. They have attained fairly good results in organizing their members to bring into full play their expertise in running schools and factories and setting up service centers, translation teams, and publishing houses for painting and calligraphy.

During the meeting, an exhibition for the work of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and another exhibition on the work of the committee members in serving the four modernization program were held separately.

At the meeting, deputies from Hubei, Jiangsu, Guangdong, Beijing and Shanghai made a proposal, calling for efforts to carry out activities in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. They suggested that the committee's organs in various localities carry out activities to compile historic relics with regard to Mr Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 revolution, to study Mr Sun Yat-sen's thinking and the history of the 1911 revolution, and to sponsor a nationwide exhibition of painting and calligraphy in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. This proposal was unanimously endorsed at the meeting.

Zhu Yunshan, chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang attended the meeting and delivered a closing speech.

CSO: 4005

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON JIANG QING 12 DEC EXPULSION

HK291248 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 80 p 3

[Report by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Ma Yunong [7456 7183 6593]: "'Empress' During the 10-Year Catastrophe, A Rascal Now in the Dock--Sidelights of the Investigation of Jiang Qing at the First Tribunal of the Special Court"]

[Text] The door curtain rustled and was then held to one side. Looking bright and brave, two women bailiffs escorted Jiang Qing, the principal counterrevolutionary culprit, into the courtroom.

Bulbs flashed and camera shutters clicked again and again. Maintaining their positions on both sides of the corridor leading to the dock, cameramen quickly took pictures of this scene.

This took place when the First Tribunal of the special court opened its session at 0900 hours yesterday.

This was the fifth time Jiang Qing was brought in for investigation. Yesterday, she wore a black cardigan. She purposely walked slowly into the courtroom and glanced right and left, as if she did not wish to see that she had come to the end of her criminal path.

The head of the 10 evils, she behaved badly when she was investigated the last few times. Sometimes, she pretended to be muddleheaded, played the fool and refused to answer questions. At other times, she flew into a rage from shame, acted in a rascally manner and argued pointlessly. Even when exhibits were brought before her, she racked her brain to find excuses to defend herself and shift the blame to others. She was particularly vehement against the prosecutor's charge that she was the head of the counterrevolutionary clique. When she was investigated in court on 3 December, she defended herself slyly, saying that she acted "according to instructions" and was "an assistant" in the special case group. During the 5 December court investigation, she became infuriated when the prosecutor charged that she, working in collusion with Kang Sheng and Chen Boda, decided without authorization that Liu Shaoqi should be repudiated and struggled against. She unreasonably interrupted when the prosecutor was making a statement. She asked: What is meant by collusion? Kang Sheng and Chen Boda worked under my leadership. You must not say that

I worked in collusion with them.... She did not miss an opportunity to act shamelessly when exhibits were produced in the court to show that she did bad things in collusion with Kang Sheng and others. Pointing to the exhibits, she said: "The words 'I agree' were written by Kang Sheng and I just circled them." What a clumsy confession! Reportedly, Jiang Qing once grumbled before some bailiffs outside the courtroom: Lin Biao was killed in a crash. Then, am I the chief? She meant that she was "sorry" that she had been treated as the chief culprit.

During the trial yesterday, the court first investigated the crimes of Jiang Qing in colluding with Kang Sheng to frame and persecute a large group of members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee and demonstrated once again by means of the exhibits that Jiang Qing was the leader of this counterrevolutionary clique which did evil to the nation and the people.

Judge Qu Yucai questioned Jiang Qing: On 21 July 1968, Kang Sheng gave you a strictly confidential letter which he wrote at your request. Attached to the letter was a namelist of members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee to be framed and persecuted. Is that right?

She had no alternative but to answer: "You know everything, don't you?"

She could not deny the facts but was unwilling to admit her guilt. Then, she resorted to sophistry, saying that what she did was normal and legal because she wanted to know the situation before she started preparing for the 12th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee.

Judge Gan Ying questioned her sternly: Jiang Qing, you were not a member of the CCP Central Committee. How can you say what you did was justifiable and legal? The prosecutor cited facts and pointed out that after secretly compiling this sinister namelist, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company openly framed a large number of members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee on various occasions. Facts showed that this strictly confidential letter which was marked "important document to be forwarded immediately" served as ironclad proof of the planned and premeditated activities of Jiang Qing and company to usurp party and state power.

The letter written by Kang Sheng to Jiang Qing was read and the namelist of members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee who were framed by Kang Sheng as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries" was produced as evidence in the court. On this sinister list drawn up by Kang Sheng in his own writing were names of 194 members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee. With the exception of 31 who were ill or dead, 89 were falsely charged as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries" and 7 others were classified as having been temporarily "removed from their posts but not yet included in the special cases," totaling 96 or accounting for 58.9 percent of the total number of names on the list.

All these people who had been falsely charged by Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng were brutally persecuted during the 10 years of upheaval. This strictly confidential namelist and the wrong verdicts all over the country showed most clearly the serious crimes of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company in intentionally framing and persecuting a large group of leading cadres of the party and the state.

An interesting point is that this "strictly confidential" letter also clearly revealed the relationship of master and servant between Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng. Please look: Kang Sheng immediately drew up a namelist when Jiang Qing wanted it. When he sent this sinister material to Jiang Qing, he did not forget to respectfully write on the envelope the word "forward" although he always carried himself as an "elder." He occupied a high position at that time. Yet, he adopted this pose before Jiang Qing. Did this not tell of the unusual relationship between them in this counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique? In fact, whatever their open capacities might be, Jiang Qing had long been the chief of this conspiratorial clique. A great deal of facts which have been verified in the court investigations show the reality which Jiang Qing is now unwilling to admit but cannot deny. She was the chief of this group of rebels. Please look:

Jiang Qing was the chief culprit who directly controlled and commanded the special case group which fabricated charges and forged evidence to frame and persecute Liu Shaoqi, chairman of the People's Republic of China. The instructions which Xie Fuzhi wrote years ago on a report dramatically became strong evidence which was produced in the court today: "Comrade Jiang Qing personally directs the important work on the case of Liu Shoaqi. In the future, all reports on important matters should be forwarded to and instructions sought from Comrade Jiang Qing directly." This was true. All matters, large or small, about holding meetings to criticize and struggle against Liu Shaoqi, making the decision to search his house, illegally arresting the people involved in the case, extorting confession by torture and conducting trial by shock tactics, had to be approved by Jiang Qing and subsequent reports made to her. Jiang Qing did not decline to shoulder this responsibility. She did not permit others to be neglectful of her. She flew into a rage and wrote a letter to denounce the special case group when it did not forward the originals of documents to her. This act showed her to be a completely despotic and domineering boss. It was this Jiang Qing who shouted herself hoarse while punishing Liu Shaoqi by "cutting him to pieces." So, the chairman of the People's Republic of China was brutally persecuted and died uncleared of his false charge, and the biggest frame-up was written in the history of new China.

Jiang Qing was also the behind-the-scene boss in directing the frame-up and persecution of Zhu De, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. One day near the end of 1966, Jiang Qing summoned Qi Benyu to her residence in Diaoyutai and told him with a hidden intent: "Formerly there was rumor about Zhu De wanting to put his name before that of Chairman Mao. This was not true. But now it is true that Zhu De wante to rebel against Chairman Mao. Zhe Du is a big careerist." She also instigated Qi Benyu to go to the office of the

CCP Central Committee to ferret out and struggle against Comrade Kang Keqing. At a reception for some people from the China People's University, Qi Benyu immediately told them what Jiang Qing had said and incited them to struggle against Zhu De. Presently, big-character posters and large-size slogans which read "Down with Zhu De" were put up everywhere in Beijing.

It was Jiang Qing who engineered the "criticism of Lin Biao, Confucius and the Duke of Zhou," the criticism of the "big Confucian of our time" and the criticism of the "chief minister," in an attempt to frame and persecute Zhou Enlai, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council. She also masterminded the plot to make a false and insinuating report on Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping to Chairman Mao Zedong who was in Changsha, so as to seize power to form a cabinet. People could see that Wang Hongwen who was then vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee in charge of the routine of the CCP Central Committee, Zhang Chunqiao, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, and Yao Wenyuan, also a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, were docile and obedient to her. When Jiang Qing launched an attack, the three of them echoed in unison. When Jiang Qing called them, they immediately gathered together to hatch a plot. When Jiang Qing made a decision, Wang Hongwen immediately carried it out. They were her docile tools, coming and going at her orders.

It was also this Jiang Qing who willfully framed and persecuted other party and state leaders and brutally persecuted large numbers of cadres. At yesterday's session, the court also investigated Jiang Qing's crimes in framing Lu Dingyi, Hu Qiaomu and Zhou Yang and also her crimes in falsely charging that Xu Xiangqian's wife Huang Jie was a "renegade," Nie Rangzhen's wife, Zhang Ruihua, was an "enemy agent," Qi Yanming was an "active counterrevolutionary," Wang Kunlun, Qian Junrui and Liao Mosha were "very serious enemy agents" and Xiao Wangdong was a "historical counterrevolutionary."

The tape recordings of Jiang Qing speeches falsely charging the innocent years ago were played in the court. However, cunning as she was, she could not deny that this was her own voice. The court announced that, after reinvestigation, these cases were found to be frame-ups and the abovementioned comrades were rehabilitated.

During the years when she ran wild, Jiang Qing, a persecuting maniac, completely showed her hatred against all revolutionaries. The number of people, including state leaders and the masses, persecuted by her defy counting. An observer in court said with deep feeling: "The trial of Jiang Qing would take a whole year if all cases of frame-ups and persecution perpetrated by her were to be listed and investigated."

In fact, Jiang Qing committed countless crimes. Many of the offenses listed in the bill of indictment were linked to her evil name.

It was Jiang Qing who colluded with Lin Biao, Ye Qun and company in instigating some people to illegally search the houses of some artists and writers in Shanghai for ulterior motives.

It was Jiang Qing who publicly instigated some people to "fix the army" and "kindle a prairie fire," so as to create confusion in the army and seize military power.

It was also Jiang Qing who called a meeting of secretaries of 12 provinces and municipalities without authorization and fanned the evil wind to criticize Deng Xiaoping.

During the years of catastrophe, Jiang Qing set up a faction and recruited henchmen to wreak havoc. This counterrevolutionary clique headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing was the root cause of the disaster which jeopardized and harmed our country and our nation. The 900 million Chinese people can now see the features of Jiang Qing as the chief culprit. Her gangsters have admitted this fact in court. Her accomplices, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, have made this confession: "Jiang Qing was the mastermind" in their conspiratorial activities. Wu Faxian said even more clearly: "I committed many counterrevolutionary crimes for Jiang Qing. She was the principal and I was an accessory to those crimes." Jiang Qing also exposed her own features by her words and deeds during the decade of catastrophe. She said openly: "I am leader of the left wing." Of course, the "left wing" here meant their counterrevolutionary clique. By saying that she was the leader, she admitted that she was the principal culprit of this counterrevolutionary clique.

However, this careerist, who often "likened herself to Empress Wu Zetian" and never failed to put herself in a prominent position, assumed the posture of a rascal in court yesterday. She willfully made trouble and argued vehemently in an attempt to deny her crimes. She deliberately complicated the issue by digressing from the subject. She interrupted and shouted time and again when hearing was going on in court. In particular, when evidence was placed before her and Liao Mosha, a witness, was giving testimony in court, she wantonly put on a show of bad temper, not only interrupting the witness and disrupting the order of the court repeatedly, but also publicly framing and shouting at the witness and making a personal attack and slanderous speeches. Despite the chief judge's warning, she did not restrain herself.

The observers were infuriated at witnessing Jiang Qing's rascal behavior. Some of them were so annoyed that they clenched their fists and banged on the armrests of their chairs. Jiang Qing's contempt of court was intolerable. To maintain the solemnity of law, the chief judge announced at once: Jiang Qing makes trouble and disrupts the order of the court. She is hereby ordered to step out of the court. Three bailiffs, two women and one man, immediately carried out the order. This was followed by a thunderous applause. Jiang Qing, a rascal on the dock, was escorted dejectedly out of the courtroom.

Jiang Qing's misbehavior in the court only showed that she had come to her doomsday. She could only play tricks to evade her guilt. This betrayed her feeble nature of a counterrevolutionary. In the face of ironclad evidence, she could neither deny her crimes nor escape the net of justice. Like a diehard reactionary which she is, Jiang Qing put up an ugly performance yesterday, just to add a last page to her criminal history.

CSO: 4005

COURT DEBATE ON HUANG YONGSHENG CHARGES ENDS

OW201656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1641 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 20 (XINHUA)--The court debate on the charges against Huang Yongsheng, one of the chief defendants in the case of the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques," ended here this afternoon after three sessions since December 18.

Huang Yongsheng spoke for some three hours in his own defence, denying he was a "principal culprit in the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique" and insisting that he was only "an ordinary member."

Prosecutors Zhang Zhongru and Zhu Zongzheng refuted Huang Yongsheng's arguments.

Enumerating facts to show Huang Yongsheng's important position in the Lin Biao clique, Zhang Zhongru said that the defendant had played a major role in framing and persecuting party and state leaders, engineering the overthrow of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and impelling Lin Biao to make up his mind to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup and assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong.

Quoting Articles 92 and 98 of the criminal law of the People's Republic of China, Zhang Zhongru said that Huang Yongsheng was guilty of plotting to subvert the government and split the country and of organizing and directing a counter-revolutionary clique. He asked the special court to punish the accused according to law.

Defending himself, Huang Yongsheng denied having anything to do with Lin Biao's plot to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong in September 1971. He said he had never been aware of it, still less participated in plotting or carrying out the project. So, he said, he was only an ordinary member of Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique and not a principal culprit.

Huang Yongsheng said that, on the report which led to the framing and persecution of Peng Dehuai, he only wrote a notation to the effect that the report should be submitted to the higher authorities and that therefore he bore "no responsibility for that."

Prosecutor Zhu Zongzheng pointed out that, as a matter of fact, what the defendant had written on the report was "approval" and not "submitted to the higher authorities," and therefore it was impossible for him to shirk his responsibility.

Refuting Huang Yongsheng's other arguments, prosecutor Zhu Zongzheng said that in September, 1970, when the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique had failed in its plot to usurp party and state power through a "peaceful take-over," Huang Yongsheng had done everything in his power to cover up Lin Biao's crimes.

The prosecutor said: Several days before Lin Biao defected on September 13, 1971, he wrote a confidential letter to Huang Yongsheng, telling him that "if you have any problems, consult Comrade Wang Fei directly." Lin Biao and Ye Qun thus put Wang Fei, who was responsible for the action in Beijing of the armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat plotted by the Lin Biao clique, under Huang Yongsheng's direct command in carrying out the coup.

On September 6, 1971, Huang Yongsheng secretly reported to Lin Biao and Ye Qun about Chairman Mao Zedong's talks directed against them during his inspection tour of southern China, thus impelling Lin Biao to make up his mind to assassinate Chairman Mao.

"In view of the above-mentioned," the prosecutor said, "it runs counter to fact for Huang Yongsheng to claim that he 'was not aware of it' and had not 'joined them in conspiring' in Lin Biao's criminal activities of plotting to stage the coup."

Zhu Zongzheng pointed out that Huang Yongsheng had framed and persecuted party and state leaders including Ye Jianying, Nei Rongzhen, Peng Dehuai and Luo Ruiqing, senior military officers, and party and government leaders in Guangdong Province. All these acts were deliberate counter-revolutionary offences, the prosecutor said.

Quoting Article 23 of the criminal law, prosecutor Zhu Zongzheng said that in the joint offences committed by the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique, Huang Yongsheng played a major role as an organizer and leader and therefore was a principal culprit in the clique.

Pinpointing Huang Yongsheng's denial of facts and his refusal to admit his guilt in spite of conclusive evidence, prosecutor Zhang Zhongru asked the court to take this into consideration in meting out punishment.

Finally, the presiding judge, Wu Xiuquan, announced the conclusion of the debate and told the defendant to wait for judgment to be passed by the court.

CSO: 4020

ZHANG CHUNQIAO REMAINS SILENT IN FACE OF CHARGES

OW201224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 20 (XINHUA)—The state prosecutor in the trial of the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques" told the special court in Beijing today that Zhang Chunqiao, one of the "gang of four," had shown a "defiant attitude" throughout the trial and had refused to acknowledge his crimes in the face of overwhelming evidence.

Zhang Chunqiao has maintained silence throughout the month-long proceedings and refused to accept the indictment which lists a number of charges, including plotting to overthrow the government and inciting armed rebellion. He has refused legal representation.

The prosecutor, Ma Chunyi, called on the court to mete out "severe punishment" to Zhang.

He said the state had produced ample evidence to prove Zhang's guilt. "The facts are clear," he said.

Zhang Chunqiao is charged with plotting to overthrow the government, inciting armed rebellion, libel, homicide, causing personal injury and making counter-revolutionary propaganda, in violation of articles 92, 93, 101, 102 and 138 of the Chinese criminal code.

Prosecutor Ma said, in his statement, that Zhang Chunqiao had said in Shanghai early in 1967 that "our aim in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has always been to seize power, from the grass roots to the central organizations, including powers of the party, the government, as well as in the financial, cultural and other fields."

Ma Chunyi also quoted Zhang as saying "We must seize power everywhere" and added that on a number of other occasions Zhang had said the cultural revolution meant "a change of dynasty."

Zhang regarded veteran cadres as serious obstacles to the "gang of four's" usurpation of communist party and state power, the prosecutor said. Zhang had said "All of them are bad" and "none shall be spared."

The prosecutor said that Zhang's words had become the program of action for the "gang of four." During the Cultural Revolution they had falsely accused and persecuted party and state leaders and suppressed the cadres.

Ma Chunyi said, those who were framed and persecuted included Liu Shaoqi (late head of state), Zhu De (late chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress), Chen Yi (late vice-premier), Ye Jianying (now chairman of the NPC Standing Committee), and then vice-premiers Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun and Tan Zhenlin.

The prosecutor told the court that in October, 1974, Zhang Chunqiao, together with the other members of the "gang of four," Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, falsely charged Deng Xiaoping, now vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, with usurping power.

On April 5, 1976, (shortly after the then vice-premier had resumed office), the prosecutor said, Zhang Chunqiao falsely accused him of being China's "nagy," using the April protest demonstrations in Tiananmen Square as the basis of the accusation. Prosecutor Ma said this accusation was the signal for overthrowing Deng Xiaoping a second time.

Ma Chunyi said that at the instigation of Zhang Chunqiao and other members of the "gang of four," the mayor and vice-mayor of Shanghai, Cao Diqiu and Jin Zhonghua, were persecuted to death.

During the period 1967-1968, Zhang Chunqiao organized and directly controlled a special espionage group (code-named 244), the prosecutor said. The group undertook tailing, kidnapping, ransacking people's homes, taking people into custody and secretly interrogating and torturing them and gathering intelligence.

The prosecutor said that on December 28, 1966, Zhang Chunqiao instructed Wang Hongwen and others to create an armed clash in Shanghai, causing 91 casualties. Zhang and Yao Wenyuan, on May 7, 1967, instigated another armed clash in Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong, prosecutor Ma said. A total of 388 people were arrested.

Ma Chunyi said: "Defendant Zhang Chunqiao fully understood the importance of the gun-barrel in realizing his ambition to usurp party and state power. He collaborated with Wang Hongwen to establish an armed force under their control in the early part of the Cultural Revolution. Eventually he instigated the Shanghai armed rebellion in October, 1976."

After Ma Chunyi's statement, Judge Zeng Hanzhou twice asked Zhang Chunqiao: "Have you nothing to say in your defence?" Zhang did not answer. After waiting for two minutes, the judge said: "The defendant did not make any statement and this will be recorded."

Judge Zeng, in closing the debate, again told Zhang Chunqiao that he could make a final statement. When Zhang again refused to answer, the judge told him to await the verdict of the court.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

OFFICIAL LEADERS REPORTEDLY ASSESSING CULTURAL REVOLUTION

OW221052 Paris AFP in English 1042 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Hong Kong, Dec. 22 (AFP)--The Chinese Communist Party leadership was today reported to be assessing the Cultural Revolution, with the implication that this included the merits and demerits of the late Chairman Mao Zedong and present Chairman Hua Guofeng.

The China News Service (CNS), which parallels the better-known New China News Agency (NCNA) and publishes features for overseas, said the assessment had been reported by the semi-monthly FORUM magazine published in Beijing.

The magazine, the agency reported, was answering a query as to why a certain problem was omitted from "crimes" with which the ten defendants--including the "gang of four"--are charged in their current Beijing trial.

The leadership was, in fact, compiling a summary of all the experiences and lessons of the Cultural Revolution, including leadership errors, the magazine said.

The indictment against the ten defendants here alleged only 48 "offences" against a former total of 60. Missing were "offences" related to the suppression of and attacks on participants in 1976 Tiananmen Square riots here.

On why these "offences" were not in the indictment, the FORUM editors said: "In this incident, the counter-revolutionary crimes of the former (heir-to-Mao) Lin Biao and (gang of four leader) Jiang Qing cliques, and the errors of the leadership, are so intertwined as to make it difficult to separate them.

"It is a task for the Chinese Communist Party and not the court to sum up the experience and lessons of the Cultural Revolution and assess the mistakes, merits and demerits of the leadership during that period."

CSO: 4020

REPORT ON TELEVISION COVERAGE OF YAO WENYUAN 10 DEC HEARING

OW111444 Hong Kong AFP in English 1428 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, Dec 11 (AFP)--A purely political confrontation between Yao Wenyuan, one of the disgraced radicals on trial in Beijing and his judges was seen by millions of Chinese television viewers today.

The television showed film of yesterday's court appearance by Yao Wenyuan, the polemicist who triggered off the Cultural Revolution for Mao Zedong in 1965 and then went on to become one of the members of the "gang of four," headed by Mao's widow Jiang Qing.

Explaining his stand against "supporters of capitalism" in 1976--who now form the current leadership of the regime headed by Communist Party Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping--Yao said he had attacked writers of big character posters because from the ideological point of view they opposed the Central Committee and so represented the bourgeoisie."

The Communist Party Central Committee was at that time dominated by the now disgraced "leftists."

The prosecutor responded fiercely to these statements from Yao, saying that it was "intolerable to allow the accused to make use of these specious arguments."

The state prosecutor strongly reproached Yao for presenting his "counterrevolutionary crimes" as merely "mistakes, or at the most, serious mistakes."

When Yao Wenyuan said he had believed at the time of the Tiananmen riots in April 1976 that "counterrevolutionary masses were opposing the 'gang of four'" the prosecutor replied "every revolutionary action and movement the masses managed to launch the accused has described as "counterrevolutionary." [quotation marks as received]

Jiang Qing has already defended her role in the Cultural Revolution before the special court as "revolutionary."

CSO: 4020

JUDICIARY REVEALS XIE FUZHI'S CRIMES

OW231632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1603 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 23 (XINHUA)--It was Xie Fuzhi, the former minister of public security, who first called for "thoroughly smashing the old apparatus" of the security, procuratorial and judicial organs during the turbulent decade of the "Cultural Revolution," XINHUA learned from the judiciary.

Xie Fuzhi was for many years the vice-premier in charge of security and judicial work.

The indictment of the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate has named Xie Fuzhi as one of the "principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques." But no criminal liability would be pursued against him since he died in 1972. Even so, a host of facts pointing to his crimes has been brought to light at the trial of the other principal defendants in the case. The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee had earlier expelled him from the party posthumously and rescinded the memorial speech written for him.

Xie Fuzhi sounded his call for smashing the old apparatus on August 7, 1967, at a meeting in the Public Security Ministry. Then he instructed that his speech be printed and circulated round the country.

This touched off a series of grave incidents such as breaking into and smashing security and law-enforcing organs, seizing archives and case files, torturing personnel of these organs, and even breaking into prisons and loosing prisoners, the judiciary said.

Working hand in glove with Kang Sheng, formerly vice-chairman of the party Central Committee and another principal member of the cliques, Xie Fuzhi hurled false charges at his predecessor, Luo Ruiqing, alleging that he had headed a so-called "underground sinister ministry of public security."

Xie Fuzhi also labelled 226 cadres and workers in the ministry as "renegades," "enemy agents," "counter-revolutionaries," or "capitalist-roaders." Forty-seven of them were arrested and imprisoned. With the exception of Xie Fuzhi himself and one vice-minister who held other posts concurrently, all the vice-ministers of the then Ministry of Public Security were arrested and thrown into jail.

In Beijing, Xie Fuzhi trumped up the case of a "counter-revolutionary clique" in the municipal public security bureau. As a result, 1,600 people were persecuted, 72 of whom were put into prison.

A rough count made by the ministry shows that 34,400 security officers and policemen in various parts of China were framed and persecuted during the "Cultural Revolution," of whom 1,200 were hounded to death and 3,600 others wounded or crippled.

Xie Fuzhi smeared the procuratorate in China as "copied from the Soviet revisionists" and the people's courts as "taken over from the Kuomintang," and incited people to "go all out to destroy them." Large numbers of procuratorial and judicial workers, including Zhang Dingcheng, the then chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and Yang Xiufeng, the president of the Supreme People's Court, were thus framed and persecuted. The nation's security, procuratorial and judicial organs and their functions were practically paralyzed at the time.

Xie Fuzhi also bore serious responsibility for the disruption of public order in those years, the judiciary said. In the summer of 1966, when cases of "beating, smashing and looting" began to emerge shortly after the start of the "Cultural Revolution," Xie Fuzhi not only did nothing to stop them but, on the contrary, showed his approval. He told security personnel that "things cannot be handled according to conventions," that those guilty of beating people up should not be arrested, and that "we should keep our hands off even when people are beaten to death."

At the instigation of Xie Fuzhi and others, beating, smashing and looting became a common practice throughout the country, and public order was totally upset, the judiciary said. In Beijing, during the 40 days from late August to the end of September of 1966, 1,700 people were beaten to death, 33,600 households were searched and ransacked, and 85,000 people were driven out of the capital.

Using the power in his hands, according to the judiciary, Xie Fuzhi created a large number of false cases in collusion with Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng during the "Cultural Revolution." He arrested people at will, extorted confessions by torture, and persecuted innumerable innocent cadres and ordinary people.

Under his instructions, many people imprisoned on false charges were maltreated. An investigation shows that in one Beijing prison alone, 500 senior cadres at central and local levels were jailed during the four years from 1967 to 1971. Of these 34 were tortured to death, 20 were disabled, and 60 others contracted mental disorder as a result of torment.

During the ten years of catastrophe, the judiciary said, Xie Fuzhi took an active part in, and hence bore direct responsibility for, trumping up many cases including the framing of Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei as "renegades" and "enemy agents," and the fabrication of a "61-member group of renegades" including Bo Yibo.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING TO SET UP LEGAL ADVISORY OFFICES

OW260820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0807 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 26 (XINHUA)—Beijing's municipal government has decided to open legal advisory offices in 14 of the 15 suburban districts and counties in the Chinese capital and to strengthen the two existing legal advisory offices in urban districts.

The aim at this, according to Wu Xiuyun, a spokeswoman for the Beijing Municipal Lawyers' Association, is to strengthen local judicial work, uphold the dignity of Chinese law and ensure better implementation of the criminal law and the law on criminal procedure.

"We are facing a sharp shortage of lawyers," said the spokeswoman. Only 56 lawyers are practising in Beijing with a population of eight million. The new offices will be enrolling some people who have received some education in political science and law, in addition to recalling former lawyers transferred to other jobs in the past.

Wu Xiuyun said that the number of lawyers in the capital is expected to reach some 1,000 in 1985, so that there will be one lawyer for every 10,000 citizens.

More recruits into the legal system are coming from a variety of sources. Public notice of an examination recruiting legal personnel to work in Beijing's courts and law offices was published in the BEIJING DAILY earlier this month. The city's first evening law college was opened recently by the municipal government with the assistance of the Jiushan Society, a democratic party. A cadre school of political science and law will be opened as soon as school buildings are available.

In the 1950s, Beijing has three lawyers' advisory offices. But most of the lawyers were criticized for "speaking for bad persons" in the 1957 "anti-rightist" movement. All law offices were closed down and the advisory service did not resume until the summer of 1979, when the Municipal Lawyers' Association was revived.

Wan Min, now in charge of the new No. 2 legal advisory office, said that most of the cases now are civil and criminal, but "with the development of socialist construction, the number of cases in the economic fields is expected to increase."

"People used to resort to administrative measures or appeal to higher leadership in solving such problems," he went on, "but at present, more and more people are getting used to handling economic cases according to economic laws. This offers opportunities for lawyers to provide legal guidance in economics, management, relations with foreign countries and other fields."

The office where Wan Min works, set up in August this year, already has helped solve an economic dispute between the Beijing Glassware Factory and a quarry. Wan said many more "invitations" seeking legal advice about economic affairs are flowing in. The biggest problem is, he said, we don't have enough people to meet their demands."

In addition to more legal advisory offices, Beijing also plans to set up judicial bureaus in all the urban and suburban districts and counties of the city, and preparations are underway for establishing notary public offices in two districts and one county on a trial basis.

CSO: 4020

'AFP' CITES BEIJING PAPER ON JIANG QING'S AMBITIONS

OW280951 Paris AFP in English 0940 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, Dec. 28 (AFP)--The late Mao Zedong accused his wife Jiang Qing in 1974 of wanting to take over his post as chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, the Beijing daily newspaper BEIJING RIBAO reported here today.

"Jiang Qing is ambitious," Chairman Mao was quoted as saying. "She wants to be party leader. She has formed her cabinet so that she can be the boss in the wings."

The publication of Chairman Mao's alleged comment was apparently intended as a reply to Jiang Qing's repeated assertions (?at) her trial here that her actions throughout the Cultural Revolution were "legal."

She is accused of having maneuvered to prevent Deng Xiaoping, China's strongman and deputy party chairman, from becoming the top-ranking deputy premier in 1974.

"It (her action) was proper and legal," she told her judges, according to the newspapers' account of the proceedings.

Jiang Qing was also accused of having sent Wang Hongwen, a member of the so-called "gang of four" and one of her closest collaborators, to denounce Mr Deng to Chairman Mao. At that time, Mr. Wang was in charge of daily transactions of the Central Committee.

"It was perfectly legal for members of the Politburo to delegate Wang Hongwen to report their views to the chairman," the newspaper said Jiang Qing told the court.

The newspaper said, however, that Mr. Wang did not have "any mandate from the Politburo," which was proved by the fact that he went to see Chairman Mao "secretly."

Although the 1974 incident had a strongly political character, it is being presented at the trial of Jiang Qing and nine other former leaders of the Cultural Revolution as a "counter-revolutionary crime."

CSO: 4020

CCP READY TO ENDORSE DECISIONS ON MAO, HUA

OW231203 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Commentary by Francis Deron]

[Text] Beijing, Dec. 23 (AFP)--The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee is now ready to endorse major decisions concerning the assessment of the current regime of Mao Zedong's role and the political future of party Chairman Hua Guofeng.

A reliable source said today that the Central Committee--the party's "parliament"--began a week ago preparations for its plenum scheduled for early next month.

The source added preparations started with a meeting of the party Politburo December 16 at the Central Committee headquarters here.

Participants then held "urgent sessions" with their subordinates to brief them on the "agreement" reached at the high-level meeting.

The agreement concerns the formulation of a qualified judgment on Mao's role, drawing a distinction between his positive contributions, mainly before the foundation of the regime, and his "mistakes" after 1949.

The late "great helmsman," who died in 1976, will be blamed for "mistakes" from the foundation of the communist regime in 1949 until the 1957 purge of "rightists" who have now been rehabilitated.

The source indicated that for the period going from 1957 to his death, Mao will be held responsible for "serious mistakes," mainly the disastrous "great leap forward" and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76).

Mao has just been personally criticized for having "personally" launched and directed the Cultural Revolution, whose main surviving leaders, including Mao's widow Jiang Qing, are now on trial here for "counter-revolutionary crimes."

Exactly what has been decided concerning Hua Guofeng's political future is not known but a reliable source indicated that Hua had agreed to step down as party chairman, a post he assumed when Mao died.

The source named the man tipped to replace Hua at the head of the party as its secretary-general Hu Yaobang, a protege of post-Mao China's de facto ruler, party Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping.

Hua was today the target of a fresh implicit attack from the official PEOPLE'S DAILY which attacked the launching in 1978 of a "new great leap forward."

This formula had been used by Hua to announce the launching of a highly ambitious economic development plan, scrapped last year.

The paper said this "new great leap forward" aborted right from the start due to "ultra-leftist mistakes."

Meanwhile, the source indicated that it was decided at the high-level meeting last week to rename the Mao mauseleum, erected in 1977 on Tiananmen Square here, "memorial of the revolutionary heroes."

Inside the memorial, funeral urns containing the ashes of the regime's highest deceased dignitaries will be exposed alongside the embalmed body of the "great helsman."

Among the urns will be that containing the ashes of former President Liu Shaoqi, Moa's greatest rival who was purged during the Cultural Revolution and who was rehabilitated earlier this year.

CSO: 4020

'JIEFANG RIBAO' REJECTS 'CAPITALIST' COURSE CHARGES

OW101230 Hong Kong AFP in English 1209 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, Dec. 10 (AFP)—A polemist writing in the Shanghai LIBERATION DAILY has dismissed as "groundless" charges from sectors of the regime that the current leadership was steering China on a "capitalistic" course.

Li Wen, in an article published by the Shanghai daily, in an edition received here today, said: "Some comrades say that now China is no longer saved by socialism but is (instead) being helped by capitalism."

"This is the result of a poor understanding of the differences between socialism and capitalism," he added.

According to Li, critics of the government's alleged "capitalistic" course point to the freedom enjoyed by some rural families to fix themselves farm production quotas, the thriving private small commerce and service sectors in cities and the financial autonomy granted to firms in some fields to back up their arguments.

The polemist denied that these measures, recently adopted by Chinese authorities, were "capitalistic" in nature.

Li Wen stressed that these measures were essential to revive the Chinese economy after the upheavals of the now discredited Cultural Revolution.

Quoting Lenin, he insisted that these economic moves were compatible with a centralized and planned economy.

He urged critics of the government's new economic orientations to realize that socialism as it was advocated by the now disgraced "gang of four"—currently being tried by a special court—in Mao Zedong's days was in fact nothing but a "false socialism."

Li's article, observers said, reflected the discontent within some sectors of the regime over the pragmatic policies pushed by post-Mao China's de facto leader Deng Xiaoping and his ruling associates. These policies are meeting stubborn resistance from diehard Maoists.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

CCPCC WORKING SESSION PROPOSES PARTY RESHUFFLE

OW310627 Hong Kong AFP in English 0611 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Hong Kong, Dec 31 (AFP)--An important working session of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee has assessed Chairman Mao's merits as of primary importance and his demerits, only secondary, said a report from Beijing.

The session which ended on Christmas Day has also made a decision on the party's leadership system with a view to improving the leadership, said a Beijing correspondent of the Hong Kong leftwing daily, WEN WEI PO.

The report, quoting "several well-informed sources" in Beijing, said the session has also proposed a reshuffle in the personnel of the party Central Committee.

It did not specify the names of those involved in the reshuffle but observers believed Chairman Hua Guofeng who has come under veiled criticisms in the Beijing press recently may be one of them.

Mr Hua is reportedly willing to resign from his party chairmanship in favor of party secretary general Hu Yaobang, a protege of powerful Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping.

Another important subject discussed at the session is a firm program of economic readjustment to bring the country out of the red next year.

The country's economy has been overburdened by over-ambitious, precipitous construction projects in the past few years and by over-commitment to costly imports of technology and equipment beyond the limits of the country's foreign exchange resources.

All these political and economic proposals will be submitted for discussions at the sixth plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee to be held in February, the report said.

But the resolutions on party leadership reshuffle will have to be approved by the 12th party congress to be held in mid-1981, the report added.

CSO: 4020

FURTHER REPORT ON PRC SPOKESMAN, JIANG QING

OW241003 Hong Kong AFP in English 0956 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, Dec 24 (AFP)--Informed Chinese sources said today's hearing should, in principle, end the hearings involving Jiang Qing.

But it cannot be ruled out that Jiang Qing's belligerent attitude might have led to last minute changes in the special court's agenda.

This theory would seem to find some support in the fact that according to a Chinese television spokesman, today's scheduled screening of Jiang Qing's court appearance has been cancelled.

The decision had been made because the hearings had not ended, the television spokesman explained.

Jiang Qing's court appearances have been extremely stormy and she is the only one of the accused whose case is still being examined by the court.

The 67-year-old widow of Mao Zedong and former Shanghai starlet of the 30s, who came to spearhead the Cultural Revolution at the head of the "gang of four," has defied her accusers all through the trial, which began on November 20.

She justified her role during the Cultural Revolution by sheltering behind Mao's authority, thus going against the present post Maoist regime's position that while Mao committed "errors" he was not involved in his widow's "counter-revolutionary crimes."

One of Jiang Qing's court appearances came to an abrupt end when she was thrown out of the court room after calling the judges "revisionists" and the witnesses "traitors."

During another court appearance she called the members of [words indistinct].

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

GUANGXI WORK FORUM--The Guangxi Regional CCP Committee Organizational Department held a work forum concerning old cadres from 26 November to 2 December. Members of the forum seriously studied the State Council's instruction on retirement of cadres and the Central CCP Committee and the State Council's instruction on employing advisers. The forum also discussed and adopted draft regulations concerning the settlement of retired cadres. Looking back over the years since the third plenary session, the province has been doing well with retired cadres, looking after their livelihood and health. The forum held: It is important and necessary to look after the [word indistinct] work for retired old cadres. We must employ them as advisers to guide the younger generation. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 6 Dec 80 HK]

ANHUI SPECIALIZED PERSONNEL--Hefei, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--In recent county and municipal elections, some specialized persons or persons with knowledge of science and technology have been elected deputy county magistrates or deputy mayors of the 10 counties and 1 municipality in Fuyang Prefecture, Anhui. They include Jin Chongbing, deputy magistrate of Guoyang County and a water conservancy expert; Wu Youxing, deputy magistrate of Linquan County and a chemical engineer; Cao Guoyuan, deputy magistrate of Boxian County and a water conservancy engineer; Wei Jiangong, deputy magistrate of Boxian County and a soybean expert; and Su Xun, deputy magistrate of Boxian County and director of a microorganism research institute. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0155 GMT 12 Dec 80 OW]

JIANG QING TRIAL--Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin at 1130 GMT on 23 December in its "special reports on the trial of the case against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques" shows the final session of the investigation of the case against Jiang Qing in the First Tribunal on 23 December under the title "Trial of Jiang Qing Continues on the Morning of 23 December." The first segment of the film shows the court playing recordings of Jiang Qing's speeches accusing former Beijing People's University Vice President Sun Yang of being an "enemy agent," singer Wang Kun of "having illicit relations with foreign countries," writer Liu Baiyu of being a "special agent" and film critic Chen Huangmei of being a "traitor." When a woman procurator sums up the findings and concludes that Jiang Qing did try to frame Chen Huangmei, Jiang Qing shouts at her three times. Once Jiang Qing says, "That is your logic," but on the other occasions her voice is drowned by the procurator's. Apart from this explosion, Jiang Qing remains quiet and composed throughout the session. Other parts of the film contain shots of the following witnesses testifying: Shi Chunli, son of model worker Shi Chuanxiang, on how Jiang Qing framed his father and persecuted him to death; playwright Ah Jia on how Jiang Qing persecuted him because he was the author of the Beijing opera "Red Lantern," and Yang Ke on how Jiang Qing framed Zhang Linzhi, former minister of coal mining. Also shown in court are photographs of a session at which Zhang Linzhi was struggled against and of his body after he was tortured to death in 1967. The report lasts 43 minutes. [Editorial Report] [HK241110]

CHEN BODA FEARS DEATH--In replying to the charges against him at the First Tribunal this morning, Chen Boda admitted the heinous crimes he had committed. He said that whatever sentences the court might pass he would not consider them excessively severe, but he beseeched the court to spare his life. [Words indistinct] the court opened this morning, the procurator summed up the crimes which has been proved by the facts revealed by the court's investigation. He sternly reprimanded Chen Boda. The latter's two defense counsels spoke one after another, pointing out that although Chen Boda had committed heinous crimes, he did relatively well in pleading guilty. They asked the court to deal with him leniently. The court has concluded its investigation and debate with respect to Chen Boda. The special court ordered that the defendant be remanded pending the decision on the sentence. [Text] [HK181452 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 18 Dec 80 p 1]

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER DIES --Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Comrade Huang Wanxia, member of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee and member of solidarity committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee's Central Committee, died of illness in Beining on 24 November 1980 at the age of 69. On 11 December, a memorial service for her was held at the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0735 GMT 13 Dec 80 OW]

PHYSICAL CULTURE SOCIETY MEETING--The Chinese Physical Culture Science Society was founded in Beijing on 16 December. Vice Premier Yang Jingren; Wang Meng and Rong Gaotang, responsible persons of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission; and nearly 300 representatives from over 120 departments and units in 26 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country attended the founding meeting. The society is an academic mass body of China's physical culture technical workers and is a component of the China Association for Science and Technology. The society will certainly play an active role in further uniting the vast number of physical culture technical workers, bringing their wisdom and talents into full play, carrying out academic exchange, popularizing scientific knowledge of physical culture and promoting and improving physical culture science and sports skills. [Text] [OW170530 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 16 Dec 80]

TIANJIN LAWYER TRAINING--Beijing, December 9 (XINHUA)--Nankai University has opened a special course to train lawyers for the judicial bureau of Tianjin Municipality according to a contract signed between the two sides. Nearly 150 factory and office workers and teachers have been engaged as part-time lawyers in Heilongjiang Province, northeast China. A woman middle school teacher in Shandong Province who offered her services as a lawyer has been officially approved. These are some of the ways taken by the judicial departments at provincial and county levels to train or employ lawyers to meet the increasing demand, in addition to sending a great number of people to be trained in the central school of political science and law or in lawyer-training classes run by the local authorities. Most of the lawyers are now working in law advisory offices at and above the county level. In Heilongjiang Province, northeast China, 75 such offices have been set up in the counties except those in remote, mountainous areas. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 9 Dec 80 OW]

JIANGSU ELECTION REGULATIONS--The Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee on 24 November published the detailed rules and regulations on the election of the local people's congresses in the provinces. Endorsed in principle at the sixth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress on 20 November, the detailed rules and regulations were published in full in the 27 November XINHUA RIBAO. [OW271135 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Nov 80]

TRAINING JUDICIAL CADRES--According to a ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO [CHINESE JUSTICE JOURNAL] report, in a note on transmitting the report by the Ministry of Justice on a national forum on judicial administrative work, the State Council required governments at all levels to pay particular attention to training judicial cadres and doing a good job in running institutions of political science and law well so that judicial administrative work can play a proper role of strengthening the socialist legal system. [Text] [OW251804 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 25 Dec 80]

XINJIANG GROUP IN SHANGHAI--Responsible persons of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, the municipal CPPCC committee and the municipal CCP committee's united front work department met with the visiting group from the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region on 28 December. Zhang Chengzong, vice chairman of the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, Song Richang, vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC committee, and other municipal leaders had a cordial conversation with the representatives of 12 national minorities from Xinjiang. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Dec 80 OW]

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION INSTRUCTION--According to ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO [CHINA LEGAL SYSTEM NEWS], the State Council recently issued an instruction while transmitting a report on a national forum on judicial administration called by the Ministry of Justice. The State Council called on governments at all levels to strengthen their leadership over the reconstruction of judicial administration work, give priority to the training of cadres for the court, the procuratorate, the judicial administration and legal affairs, and do a still better job in running the schools of political science and law, so that judicial administration can play an effective role in strengthening the socialist legal system. The State Council also pointed out in the instruction: with the exception of the remote border areas, which have extreme difficulties in transport facilities, the law of criminal procedure must be completely put into effect in all parts of the country beginning 1 January 1981. The implementation of the law of criminal procedure is a matter of great importance, for it has a direct bearing on the dignity of law and the reputation of our party and country. Full preparations should be made earnestly by the public security departments at all levels to ensure the smooth implementation of the law of criminal procedure. [Text] [OW280327 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 26 Dec 80]

TAIWAN ELECTION CRITICIZED--According to a news dispatch from Taibei, the so-called "supplementary central parliamentary election" will be held by Taiwan authorities on 6 December. The number of parliamentarians to be elected has been increased from 122 to 204, with 403 candidates participating in the election. Among them are 253 KMT members and 142 nonparty members. The Taiwan press has pointed out that the Taiwan authorities are attempting to make use of this coming election to create a so-called new image of not taking the course of suppression by the army because the Taiwan authorities' suppression in the "Gaoxiong incident" had caused strong opposition from among the people. Taiwan papers also point out that under the current election system, the poor can only "bemoan their inadequacy in the face of a great task," for a candidate will have to spend at least 5 million dollars in new Taiwan currency. Thus, the election has become an election by money. [Text] [OW041812 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 1500 GMT 4 Dec 80]

SHANGHAI ZHI GONG DANG--The Shanghai branch committee of the China Zhi Gong Dang was set up on 4 December. (Kuang Ming), secretary general of the Central Committee of this democratic party came from Beijing to Shanghai to preside over the founding meeting, at which (Dong Yinchu) was elected chairman and (Ye Hongbao) vice chairman of the Shanghai branch committee. The new branch committee will establish close connection with overseas Chinese and encourage them to contribute to the modernization program and the early return of Taiwan to the motherland. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

SICHUAN CADRE SYSTEM--Sichuan provincial party organizations have attached importance to the role of advisers and have promoted old cadres to advisory posts. These organizations have allowed advisers to take part in discussions on important issues and have provided the advisers with appropriate conditions so as to facilitate further studies and investigations. The advisers have also been allowed to pass their experiences and traditions on to the younger generation in report meetings and training classes. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Nov 80 HK]

FUJIAN CADRES PUNISHED--(Wei Jianxin), assistant manager of Agricultural Materials Company of the Fujian Provincial Supply and Marketing Cooperative and communist party member, and (Chen Qing-song), deputy director of the Agricultural Materials Department and probationary party member, took the opportunity of going to Hong Kong on official business to carry out smuggling activities while returning home. On 29 October, they were discovered by the Xiamen Customs House, and all their smuggled goods were seized. (Wei Jianxin) was fined and sent to jail according to the law. [HK120640 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 27 Nov 80 HK]

FUJIAN CRIME-FIGHTING ACTIVITIES--Procuratorial organs at all levels in Fujian Province have set up law and discipline inspection organs one after another to inspect and struggle against violation of the law and discipline in state organs. Since the beginning of this year, they have directly accepted and investigated 495 cases of this kind. Of them, 472 have been completed. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 27 Nov 80 HK]

JIANGXI VERDICTS REVERSED--The Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee recently decided to reverse incorrect verdicts on two teachers who were executed for openly criticizing the Cultural Revolution at its initial stage. Although neither of them were CCP members, they devoted their lives to the revolution and to righteousness. The provincial CCP committee held that the two teachers, (Chen Yiuting) and (Xie Jizhang), were heroes who were bold enough to criticize the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, the CCP committee decided to reverse the incorrect verdicts on them and suggested that the provincial people's government give them the title of revolutionary martyrs and look after their dependents. The CCP committee also decided to conduct a meeting to redress the case and rehabilitate the teachers asking the masses, CCP members and cadres to learn from their example. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Nov 80 HK]

JIANGSU OVERSEAS CHINESE FORUM--The forum on overseas Chinese affairs sponsored by the Jiangsu provincial office for overseas Chinese affairs ended on 14 December. The participants called for implementing the policy on overseas Chinese affairs as well as strengthening the political-ideological work among overseas Chinese returnees and dependents of overseas Chinese. Returning the houses which were built by them but occupied during the Cultural Revolution is a pressing task in current overseas Chinese affairs. [OW180523 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Dec 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG PLACE NAMES--A meeting was recently held in Shaoxing to discuss how to launch a general survey of all place names in Zhejiang Province. A proposition was submitted to the meeting that the general survey should be completed by 1981 and that place names throughout the province should be standardized by 1982. Some 130 representatives attending the meeting pointed out that place names must be standardized on the basis of the historical background and exact meaning of the name of each locality. The new place names will be officially announced by the people's governments at municipal and county levels, and new road signs and house numbers will also be formulated accordingly. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

GUANGXI COUNTY CELEBRATION--People of Duan Autonomous County of Yao Nationality in Guangxi Region celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the county on 15 December. (Guo Cheng), vice chairman of the regional people's government, attended the celebration rally and spoke. He affirmed the achievements of Duan Autonomous County of Yao Nationality in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and encouraged them to work harder and contribute their efforts to the building of the four modernizations. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Dec 80 HK]

HAINAN MEETING--According to a HAINAN RIBAO report, the Hainan commissioner's office held a meeting from 9 to 12 December on resettling retired cadres and servicemen. Zhao Guangju, deputy secretary of the regional CCP committee and vice chairman of the regional commissioner's office, spoke at the meeting. He said: There are now about 100,000 retired cadres and servicemen throughout the province and they play a very important role in militia building. The meeting demanded: all departments in the province must strengthen work and do a good job of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to army dependents. They must also grasp firmly resettlement work of retired army cadres and retired servicemen. The meeting also demanded: all areas must popularize education in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to army dependents. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 14 Dec 80 HK]

QINGHAI WORK CONFERENCE--According to our sources, the provincial propaganda work conference urged that political and ideological work should be included into the important agenda of party work. The conference concluded 26 December following a 10-day session. Participants at the conference emphatically studied the various documents of the political and ideological work forum sponsored by the party Central Committee's propaganda department and ethusiastically and comprehensively discussed ways to strengthen our province's political and ideological work in the new period. It was pointed out at the conference: If we want to achieve the socialist four modernizations, we should unite the understanding of all cadres and masses in accordance with the party's guiding ideology--Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought--and the party's lines, principles and policies and use them to guide our actions. The four modernizations began amid a complicated international and domestic environment. Our country has not eliminated all class struggles, feudalism, capitalism and the habitual force of small producers. Therefore, we must pay special attention to political and ideological work. It was pointed out at the conference: some localities and units ignore political and ideological work to varying degrees. This must be corrected. The participants also devised major tasks for next year's political and ideological work. Comrade Li Xingwang, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, delivered a speech on 26 December. [Excerpts] [SK280804 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 27 Dec 80]

JILIN OVERSEAS CHINESE CONGRESS--The first Jilin provincial congress of returned overseas Chinese opened on 23 December in Changchun. The congress is expected to formulate and approve regulations governing the provincial federation of returned overseas Chinese. Some 134 deputies of returned overseas Chinese attended the congress. Responsible comrades of the provincial CCP committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee including Li Diping, Song Renyuan, Zhao Tianye, Yang Zhantao and Xiao Danfeng attended the congress. [SK250143 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Dec 80 SK]

GANSU RETIRED CADRES, SOLDIERS--The Gansu Provincial People's Government held a meeting on placement of retired PLA cadres and soldiers on 8-11 December. The meeting pointed out that houses for retired cadres should be built and a special organization to handle the affairs concerning retired cadres should be established and staffed with full-time personnel. It noted that retired soldiers should be sent back to where they come from and urged efforts to strengthen ideological and political work among retired soldiers in rural areas and solve their difficulties, to arrange jobs for the retired soldiers who come from urban areas according to their specialities and to establish leading groups in districts and counties to handle the placement of retired soldiers. [SK240348 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 23 Dec 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG LEGAL SOCIETY--The Heilongjiang Provincial Legal Society was officially inaugurated on 24 December in Harbin Municipality. The inaugural meeting opened 23 December and concluded the next day. The meeting discussed and approved the society's regulations and mapped out plans for 1981 activities. Zhao Yuanpeng was elected chairman of the society. [SK250732 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Dec 80 SK]

SHAANXI MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS--The Fifth Tongchuan Municipal CCP Congress was held recently. The congress elected the Fifth Municipal CCP Committee, with (Su Zhi) as secretary. [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Dec 80 HK]

GANSU OVERSEAS CHINESE--The Gansu Provincial Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese recently held a meeting. The federation's constitution was adopted at the meeting. (Li Xueqi) was elected chairman of the first committee of the federation, and (Wang Hanlie), (Chen Yian) and (Chen Zhong) were elected vice chairmen. [SK120859 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 7 Dec 80 SK]

JIANGSU WOMEN'S FEDERATION MEETING--Women's federations and their cadres at all levels must focus work on protecting women's interests and be bold in speaking up on behalf of women. This is the call made by the enlarged meeting of the third executive committee of the Fifth Jiangsu Provincial Women's Federation Committee which ended on 30 November. The meeting noted that in today's society there are still many instances of preference for men and maltreatment and discrimination against women. In some places women do not enjoy equal pay for equal work and labor protection for women remains less than adequate. All these have affected women's enthusiasm for the modernization drive. The meeting called on all women's federations to act independently and responsibly under the leadership of the party committee to protect women's rights. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 80 OW]

SHANGHAI'S TAIWAN DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE--During the past year since resumption of activities, the Shanghai branch of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League has absorbed 24 new members from among the Taiwan-born compatriots residing in Shanghai. [OW091050 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Dec 80 OW]

GANSU URBAN ADMINISTRATION MEETING--The Lanzhou Municipal CCP Committee and people's government held a meeting 13 December on strengthening administration and improving the appearance of Lanzhou Municipality, Gansu Province. (Wu Xiuliang), mayor of Lanzhou Municipality, spoke at the meeting on the many problems existing in Lanzhou Municipality's public order, traffic system, market management and environmental sanitation which interfere with industrial and agricultural production and disturb the people's lives. Wang Bingxiang, deputy governor of Gansu Province, also spoke. [SK151404 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 13 Dec 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG'S HEIHE MUNICIPALITY--With the approval of the State Council, Heilongjiang Province has established Heihe Municipality. The administrative area of the new municipality covers Heihe township, in Aihui County, and several mining areas. The new municipality is under the jurisdiction of Heihe Prefecture. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Dec 80 SK]

SHANGHAI COMBATS EVIL TRENDS--According to a WEN HUI BAO report, the Shanghai Municipal Agricultural Commission party group recently made plans for the work in the suburban areas during this winter-spring period. It urged rural party organizations at all levels to comprehensively review the study and implementation of the "guiding principles" during the past year, further straighten out party work styles and discipline and resolutely check the three evil trends most hated by the masses--the evil trend of abusing power to arrange factory jobs for one's own children and relatives; the evil trend of embezzling collective funds and construction materials in building one's private residence; and the evil trend of using public funds for excessive feasts, sightseeing tours and other extravagant and wasteful activities. The municipal agricultural commission party group urged party discipline inspection departments at all levels in the suburban areas to grasp typical cases during this winter-spring period, deal with them severely and criticize them in public notices. At the same time, it is necessary to work out and publicize regulations for combating special privileges so cadres will have rules to abide by and so the masses can supervise them on just grounds. [Text] [OW201146 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Dec 80]

HUBEI ELECTION WORK CONFERENCE--On the evening of 25 November, the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee held a phone conference on direct county-level election work. Provincial CCP committee secretary Huang Zhizheo spoke at the conference, which was presided over by provincial people's congress Standing Committee vice chairman Xia Shihou. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 80 HK]

HUNAN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MEETING--In order to further perfect the socialist legal system, Hunan Province has been working hard to set up various justice department organs. The Hunan Provincial Justice Department recently held a meeting on setting up various organs and future tasks. The meeting held: it is necessary to set up justice department organs to insure the implementation of the state laws, maintain social stability and unity and speed up socialist modernization. The meeting demanded that all areas set up various justice organs and conduct training classes for cadres. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 2 Dec 80 HK]

HUBEI JUSTICE CONFERENCE--The first Hubei provincial conference of directors of justice bureaus concluded in Wuchang on 29 November. The meeting conveyed the spirit of the national justice administration work forum and studied and made arrangements for current work in the province. The conference called for speeding up the establishment of justice administration organs, doing a good job of next year's training of judiciary cadres, speeding up the organizational building of the force of lawyers, and strengthening leadership over civil mediation work. Provincial CCP committee secretary Huang Zhizhen spoke at the conference. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 80 HK]

HEILONGJIANG PREFECTURAL LEADERS--The discipline inspection commission of the Suihua Prefectural CCP Committee, Heilongjiang, recently ordered leading persons of the Machinery and Metallurgical Industry Bureau under the prefectural administration office who abused power to buy electronic calculators with public funds to make public self-examination at bureau rallies. [SK160630 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG CPPCC INSPECTION TEAMS--The Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee organized five teams composed of CPPCC members at provincial organizations to leave for Harbin, Qiqihar and Mudanjiang municipalities today to inspect the work there. The inspection teams will investigate how industry and agriculture are readjusted, how the price policy is implemented and how cultural, educational and public health undertakings are carried out. The inspection activities are to be completed before the third session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee convenes. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 80 SK]

JILIN CADRE TRAINING--In the past 2 years, Changchun Municipality, Jilin Province, has sponsored 91 cadre rotational training classes and restored and established 56 cadre vocational schools to raise their political ideology and vocational level. Some 70,000 cadres have been trained, accounting for 78 percent of all cadres in the municipality. Among them, 520 are leading cadres at or above county level. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Dec 80 SK]

QINGHAI WOMEN'S FEDERATION--The second enlarged meeting of the Fifth Qinghai Provincial Women's Federation, which concluded 22 December, outlined the federation's tasks for 1981. It emphasized that it is necessary to focus on ideological and political work, resolutely enact reforms and stress practical results to meet the requirements of the new period. (Xing Bingcai), chairman of the provincial women's federation, delivered a summation. She called on women's organizations at all levels to mobilize and give full play to the enthusiasm of women, protect women's legitimate rights and interests, work to successfully conduct ideological education among youngsters and publicize the new marriage law. [SK250735 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 24 Dec 80 SK]

GANSU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--The Presidium of the third session of the Fifth Gansu Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting on 28 December. Wang Shitai, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, presided. Feng Jixin, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, explained the provincial CCP committee's proposal on personnel arrangements. [SK291050 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 28 Dec 80 SK]

DEATH PENALTY DEMANDED--Beijing, 24 Dec (KYODO)--Prosecutors demanded the death penalty for Jiang Qing, widow of Chairman Mao Zedong, at a special court hearing Wednesday, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The spokesman said that the prosecutors applied Article 103 of the penal code concerning grave cases of antirevolutionary crimes. This was the first time that prosecutors have specifically demanded the death sentence during the current special trial of the purged "gang of four" and the late Marshal Lin Biao's leading followers. A total of 10 defendants, including Jiang Qing, are under the special trial in two tribunal groups. [Text] [OW240913 Tokyo KYODO in English 0904 GMT 24 Dec 80]

JIANG QING FINAL HEARING--Beijing, Dec 24 (AFP)--Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's widow, appeared before a special court here today for her seventh hearing in the Beijing trial, an official Chinese spokesman said. According to well informed Chinese sources, the hearing was the last for Jiang Qing, former leader of the disgraced "gang of four." The spokesman, however, declined to confirm this, but indicated that the hearing was to deal with defence and prosecution in the case of Mao's widow. The hearing today was to complete cross examination and prosecution proceedings for all 10 defendants in the trial. The special court will subsequently have to hand down sentences at an unspecified date. [Text] [OW240248 Hong Kong AFP in English 0236 GMT 24 Dec 80]

QIU HUIZHOU SENTENCING--Beijing, Dec. 20 (AFP)--General Qiu Huizuo, one of the 10 co-defendants in the Jiang Qing trial, will next appear before China's special court only to hear his sentence, Chinese television announced today. This also (?applies) to eight of the "Beijing 10" who all face a possible death penalty. The special (?court) however did not complete (?their) questioning of Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Qing, who once her case is finally heard, should normally present her own defense. She has refused to be assisted by lawyers. Li Zuopeng, another military defendant, has not presented his defense either. [Text] [OW201320 Hong Kong AFP in English 1230 GMT 20 Dec 80]

MARRIAGE LAW--Beijing, December 17 (XINHUA)--The State Council has issued a circular ordering strict implementation of the new marriage law, which will come into effect on January 1, 1981. The circular asks for support and coordination from all administrative authorities throughout the country as well as from women's, youth and trade union federations. All the details of the new marriage law should be popularized among the masses. Violations will be punished, the circular says. The new marriage law stresses protection of the rights and interests of women, children and the aged, raises the marriage age from 18 to 20 for women and 20 to 22 for men, has a more definite paragraph on divorce and clarifies inheritance rights. Both husband and wife, parents and children now have the right to inherit family property. [Text] [OW171344 Beijing XINHUA in English 1308 GMT 17 Dec 80]

CULTURAL REVOLUTION, NAZISM--Beijing, Dec. 11 (AFP)--The Chinese Cultural Revolution was worse than Nazism and the inquisition, the YANGCHENG EVENING NEWS said in its latest issue available here today. The article came to this conclusion after setting out the parallels between the Cultural Revolution on the one hand and Hitler's regime and the inquisition on the other. The newspaper said that the "persecutions" inflicted on people during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) throughout China were "unprecedented in world history" and that they would "probably remain unmatched." Citing historic examples of "persecutions" the YANGCHENG EVENING NEWS recalled the firing of the Reichstag by Hitler in 1933 in a bid to get rid of the communists and the inquisition during the middle ages in which many scholars and intellectuals perished at the stake. "With the exception of periods of war, I have never heard tell of such a large scale catastrophe throughout history," the article said, in a reference to the Cultural Revolution. The official press now refers to the 1966-76 period as "10 years of disaster." [Text] [OW111119 Hong Kong AFP in English 1104 GMT 11 Dec 80]

QIU HUIZUO HEARING--Beijing, Dec 11 (AFP)--The special court now sitting in Beijing to try 10 Cultural Revolution leaders has ended its examination of the five generals in the dock. Chinese television reported today that the special court has finished hearing evidence agaisnt one of the generals, Qiu Huizuo. Now only three members of the "gang of four" including its leader, Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Qing are still to appear in court to give evidence of their activities during the Cultural Revolution. The court has already led [as received] evidence against the four other generals on trial, Mao's former political secretary Chen Boda, and "gang of four" member Yao Wenyuan. Evidence still has be led [as received] against Mao's widow Jiang Qing and two other gang members Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao. According to recent reports published by a Hong Kong-based communist newspaper WEN WEI PO, the hearings which started exactly three weeks ago are scheduled to end on December 20. The 10 defendants all face the death sentence. Observers said the special court constituted by the post-Mao regime might not necessarily pass sentence [on] them once the hearings have ended, and do so only at a final closing session at a later stage. [Text] [OW111308 Hong Kong AFP in English 1234 GMT 11 Dec 80]

CSO: 4020

'BA YI RADIO' RECOUNTS DENG'S SUPPORT FOR LIN BIAO

OW190602 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] The main charges against our army's former principal leaders being tried at the Second Tribunal, the some 100 army cadres in custody for the trial and the some 14,000 cadres who will soon be interrogated can be summarized as follows: They closely followed and listened only to the orders of Lin Biao.

However, we could not help but ask this question to those who are interrogating our army's former leaders and those who are directing the trial from behind the scene: Are you really [word indistinct]? Did you ever miss any opportunity to shout "long live Chairman Mao" and "may deputy commander in chief Lin be forever healthy?" Why are our army's cadres put on trial apart from the historical context? Why do you avoid talking about the situation and other conditions in the country at that time? Lin Biao was the only successor and deputy commander in chief personally decided by Mao Zedong, a decision which was written in the party's principal document. Even Premier Zhou said at that time: Disobeying deputy commander in chief Lin means to disobey the party and Chairman Mao. Obeying Lin Biao's instruction was not only a requirement of military discipline but also a bounden duty for army leaders at all levels at that time. If Huang Yongsheng and the some 14,000 cadres awaiting interrogation, who merely obeyed and carried out the instructions from upper levels, are accused of committing towering crimes and subjected to the most severe punishment by the military court, how about those high-ranking party and government leaders who are not armymen and were not directly subordinate to Lin Biao? They did not dare to resist the erroneous line and (?other mistakes), as Peng Dehuai, He Long, Liu Shaoqi and Zhang Zhixin did, while unabashedly flattering Lin Biao. What crimes should they be accused of?

It should be pointed out that during the decade of chaos, a large number of cadres and people in the country, particularly young people, blindly cultivated the personality cult of Chairman Mao Zedong and army cadres obeyed ridiculous instructions from the party Central Committee's military commission and Lin Biao. This situation was created solely by the principal leaders among the central authorities. As the saying goes, "those below follow the bad example of those above," or "those below do whatever is liked by those above." On all occasions they carried the little red book with

Lin Biao's inscription and waved the little red book in front of the chairman and Lin Biao to show their boundless loyalty, respect and trust for the chairman and Lin Biao. Take Comrade Deng Xiaoping for example: In self-criticism offered at a party Central Committee work meeting on 23 October 1966, he said: I am not a good student of Chairman Mao and not competent to assume a leading post. The error I have committed in line proves that I am a petty bourgeois intellectual who has not properly transformed myself. My bourgeois outlook on the world has not been fundamentally transformed.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's self-criticism could have stopped at this point, but he took the opportunity to fawn on Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He went on to say: It was imperative that the 11th plenary session of the 8th Party Central Committee designated Comrade Lin Biao as the assistant and successor of the chairman and promoted Jiang Qing and other comrades, who are holding high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, to the leading posts in the Central Committee. These important measures are of great significance for our country, as well as the world. I heartily support the idea that Comrade Lin Biao is a model for us to learn from. It is he who holds high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought. It is Comrade Lin Biao who holds the bammer most high, studies most diligently and uses most creatively Mao Zedong Thought. He reports important questions to Chairman Mao in good time and asks Chairman Mao's instructions on them. He most understands the chairman's thinking and intent. Comrade Lin Biao has a high ideological and leadership level and thus has become Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms. The liberation army under his leadership is a model for the people of the whole country to learn from. A person like myself who has made mistakes should earnestly learn from Comrade Lin Biao. Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution.

While our army's cadres are standing trial and interrogated for closely following and ("carrying out the order of) Lin Biao, you should be considerate enough to think about what you said and did at that time.

CSO: 4005

CCP MILITARY COMMISSION CONFERS HONOR ON PLATOON LEADER

OW261048 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1227 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--The military commission of the CCP Central Committee recently issued an order to confer the honor "model in cherishing armymen" on Dang Fanshen, platoon leader of a certain unit under the Lanzhou PLA units and communist party member, for his bravery in rescuing a PLA fighter.

During grenade training on the afternoon of 24 April this year, fighter Li Liping nervously threw a grenade that landed less than 1 meter behind him. At this critical moment, Dang Fanshen dashed forward disregarding his safety, shoved Li Liping to the ground, made a swift turn and picked up the grenade. The grenade exploded and seriously injured Dang Fanshen, but Li Liping was unhurt.

The General Military Commission called on all comrades of the army, particularly the broad masses of the grassroot cadres, to learn from Comrade Dang Fanshen in showing deep proletarian affection for the PLA fighters. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, the party's lines, principles and policies must be firmly carried out, the four principles upheld and the fine tradition of "unity between officers and men" and "respecting cadres and cherishing armymen" must be continued. The political and ideological work must be strengthened and concerted efforts must be vigorously made to build a modern revolutionary army, the commission urged.

CSO: 4005

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' URGES DISPLAYING SPIRIT

OW290238 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Today's JIEFANGJUN BAO carries three reports in the column "Man Should Show Spirit." The first report states that a regiment of the Beijing PLA units changed from an intermediate state to an advanced regiment in 1 year by developing enthusiasm. The second report says that eight key leading cadres of a division of the Chengdu PLA units and its headquarters, political and logistics departments [word indistinct] on-the-job training and made outstanding scores. The last one is the story of 100 fighters of a regiment under the Kunming PLA units who did not fear hardship and arduous struggle and volunteered to be transferred to a certain frontier outpost.

The editor's note added by JIEFANGJUN BAO to these reports states: Comrade Mao Zedong once said that man should show spirit. In the long years of the revolutionary war and construction, our people's army has pursued the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly and has made significant contributions to wiping out reactionaries and to building and safeguarding new China by carrying forward the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death; the spirit of diligence, frugality and hard struggle; the spirit of strict discipline and self-sacrifice; the spirit of being unselfish and thinking of others first, the spirit of conquering all enemies and overcoming all difficulties; and the spirit of revolutionary optimism in surmounting every hardship to win victory. Today, in the new long march toward the four modernizations and in strengthening the construction of a modern army, we should continue to preserve and advance these spirits so that we can make still greater contributions to our motherland and people.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA UNITS HOLD MEETING TO PROMOTE UNITY

OW240448 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Leading organs of the Nanjing PLA units recently called a meeting of mass work to study measures for further strengthening the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people. The meeting held that although the relations between the army and government and between the army and the people are affected by many factors, as soldiers of the people, PLA units should strictly observe discipline and law, conduct self-criticism in work and take initiatives in promoting unity. Furthermore, in working together with the local government, the PLA units should also take the initiative to report work progress readily, to solve contradictions and disputes and to help the local people in distress.

The meeting called on all PLA units to strengthen education on state policies, laws and decrees and on the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention among cadres and fighters so that commanders and fighters will set a good example in abiding law and discipline and cherish the state, collective and mass interests and they will see to it that all their words and actions are beneficial to promoting unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

The meeting asked all PLA units to launch activities to support the government and cherish the people during the new year and the spring festival and strengthen unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people in a down-to-earth way.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEI MONGGOL SOLVES LINHE COUNTY WEAPONS THEFT CASE

SK161344 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] According to BAYAN NUIR BAO, after 3 months of investigation by public security departments, the theft case of the Linhe County armed department's armory on 9 August 1980 has finally been cracked. The chief criminal, (Liang Dazhong), resisted arrest and was shot to death by public security personnel. Principal criminals (Wang Xingguo) and (Bai Yongsheng) and six others guilty of giving shelter to the criminals were arrested according to the law. The stolen weapons and ammunition were recaptured.

The criminal gang headed by (Liang Dazhong) planned this July to steal weapons and ammunition to arm themselves for further robberies. On the night of 9 August 1980, (Liang Dazhong) and (Wang Xingguo), carrying crowbars and lethal weapons, climbed over the walls surrounding the Linhe County armed department's armory, pried open two locks on the armory door and stole 17 pistols, 41 rounds of ammunition for semi-automatic rifle, 30 rounds of ammunition for 54-type pistol, 1 detonator and 3 holsters.

Next, (Liang Dazhong), (Wang Xingguo) and (Bai Yongsheng), carrying the weapons and ammunition, escaped to Tianjin with the help of (Liu Jianzhi) and others. They were discovered by public security personnel at Tianjin railway station on 16 August. The chief criminal (Liang Dazhong) resisted arrest and was shot to death. (Wang Xingguo) was wounded and arrested while he tried to escape. (Bai Yongsheng) was arrested on the spot.

Following the theft, public security departments immediately assigned cadres and policemen to investigate this case. They ferreted out six accomplices of (Liang), (Wang) and (Bai) who are guilty of helping and giving shelter to them. They are (Liu Jianzhi), temporary worker of the Linhe County Environmental Protection Bureau, (Shao Tiejun), (Hou Zhiyuan), (Liu Wenzhong) and (Qi Baohe), workers of the Linhe County Chemical Fertilizer Plant; and (Wang Jianguo), temporary worker of the plant. They not only concealed what they knew about the case but provided shelter to the criminals, wrote letters of introduction and used other illegal means to help them pursue criminal activities.

The Bayan Nuir Public Security Department has recently referred this case to the league's procuratorate for examination and for instituting public proceedings.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE MINES UNEARTHED--The headquarters of Yunnan Military District recently issued a notice commending the armed militia company of (Nadeng) Brigade of (Babu) Commune in Malipo County who bravely dug up in 8 days 279 mines sown in Chinese territory by the Vietnamese army. (Nadeng) Brigade is in the frontline on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Since November, the Vietnamese army has stepped up its provocations in this area and constantly sneaked across the border to sow mines and nail bombs. Thus, they have seriously threatened the lives and safety of the army and people on our border. On 30 November, when militiamen (Luo Shunchang) and (Zhu Zhongxiang) went up the mountain to cut grass, they discovered that the enemy has sowed many mines on our side of the international boundary. The two of them dug up one of these mines and took it back with them. The militia company organized three mine-detector teams, studied the construction and capabilities of the Vietnamese mines, looked into mine detection methods and worked out plans. From 1 to 9 December, they dug up 209 mines along a 700-meter strip of the international boundary. They also removed 49 nail bombs planted by the Vietnamese army. On 6 and 8 December alone, the militiamen of (Yicheng) production team removed 70 mines and 11 nail bombs. The notice of Yunnan Military District called on the militiamen and border defense units to learn from the militiamen of (Nadeng) brigade and make still greater contributions in defending the border and the modernization drive. [Text] [HK280634 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Dec 80]

BEIJING PLA PLANNED PARENTHOOD--Since the beginning of 1979, over 72,000 couples of childbearing age in the PLA Beijing military region have determined to have only one child each for all their lives. This represents a rate of over 99 percent of couples of this category. [OW091044 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

COMBATTING NATURAL CALAMITIES--Beijing, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--According to XINHUA reporters, our country suffered frequent floods, droughts and windstorms in 1980, with waterlogging occurring primarily in southern China and droughts occurring primarily in northern China. The broad masses of PLA commanders and fighters bravely took part in fighting natural calamities and rushing to deal with emergencies. As a result, they made tremendous contributions to protecting state property and people's lives and security. The masses in the disaster areas highly praised the armymen as most reliable friends in times of crises. According to statistics by the departments concerned, the whole army mobilized commanders and fighters a total of 543,000 times to fight calamities and engage in rescue work in 1980. The whole army also mobilized 1,882 sorties of planes and ships, some 21,000 vehicles, rescued some 31,300 people from danger and transported some 620,000 dun of various supplies. [Excerpt] [OW020827 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0323 GMT 31 Dec 80]

WUHAN CLEANUP CAMPAIGN--Wuhan PLA units commander Zhang Caiqian, political commissar Yan Zheng and other leading comrades led over 600 cadres and fighters of the organs and subordinate detachments to clean up Zhongnan and Minzhu roads in Wuchang on the morning of 27 December. On the same morning, some 300 cadres and fighters of the organs and subordinate detachments of the air force of the Wuhan PLA units also carried out street cleaning in Wuchang at the junction of Hongqi Boulevard and Zhongnan Road, led by their commander Li Yongtai. [Excerpts] [HK290222 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Dec 80]

ZHEJIANG RETIRED, DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS--The recently convened provincial work conference on the placement of the army's retired cadres and demobilized soldiers ended on 3 December. Called by the provincial people's government, the conference noted that the province this year faces a heavy task in placement work while time is running out. It called on all local governments and departments to step up preparations for housing construction for retired army cadres and establish or perfect the organs managing their affairs and leading organs in charge of placement work. Demobilized soldiers should go back to the rural areas if that is where they first joined the army. The departments concerned in the urban areas are responsible for job placements of their respective demobilized soldiers without delay on any pretext. The conference also stressed political and ideological work among retired soldiers to help them realize the limited resources of the state and consciously follow the state's arrangements by taking the interest of the whole into consideration. Comrades Chen Zhuolin, Guan Junting and (Li Chaorong), responsible comrades of the provincial CCP committee and military district, came to the conference to deliver speeches. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 80 OW]

ZHELIANG SOLDIER ENLISTMENT--The 1980 winter plan for enlisting new soldiers has now been completed in Zhejiang. The number of those who applied to join the PLA was 10 times more than the present quota. Most of the enlisted men are party and CYL members, and 99 percent have an educational background of middle school or higher. [OW091055 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 80 OW]

HEILONGJIANG MILITARY DISTRICT--A mass work conference sponsored by the Heilongjiang Provincial Military District concluded on 23 December. In connection with support-the-government and cherish-the-people activities, the conference decided to launch a rectification drive on discipline and workstyle at affiliated units during the month between the new year and spring festival. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Dec 80 SK]

HENAN CONFERENCE--The Henan Provincial People's Government held a conference from 20 to 23 November in Zhengzhou on the resettlement of retired army cadres and demobilized armymen. Dai Suli, secretary of provincial CCP committee and provincial vice governor, and Xu Qian, deputy commander of provincial military district, attended the conference. Dai Suli gave the summation speech at the closing session of the conference. The conference held: governments at all levels must attach importance to the resettlement of retired army cadres and demobilized armymen. On the whole, the province has been doing well in resettling retired personnel, and most of the armymen who retired in 1980 have been resettled. However, work has been progressing at a relatively low pace. All local areas should popularize education on supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to their dependents. The conference stressed that resettlement of retired army cadres is a political task and must be done well. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 80 HK]

SHENYANG PLA UNIT MEETING--A 5-day meeting of the Shenyang PLA units, which have distinguished themselves in carrying out the campaign on supporting the government and cherishing the people, was concluded on 15 December. Participants studied the state directive and the guidelines of the forum held by the military commission of the CCP Central Committee on strengthening unity between armymen and civilians and drew up plans for future work. Twelve advanced units gave their experiences in this regard. Attending the meeting were Liao Hansheng, first political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units, Li Huamin and (Fu Zhenhua), deputy commanders, and Zou Yan, Zhang Wu and Fu Kuiqing, deputy political commissars. Liao Hansheng, Zou Yan and Fu Kuiqing spoke at the meeting where 55 advanced collectives and 5 advanced individuals were commended. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Dec 80 SK]

XINJIANG BURGLARY GANGS--A local police station under the Urumqi Municipal Public Security Bureau recently arrested 17 criminals belonging to 2 burglary gangs, recovering some 9,000 yuan worth of loot. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 19 Dec 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

SYMPOSIUM URGES IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL WORK

OW231331 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0742 GMT 21 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The central task of educational work at present is to do a good job in readjusting, improving and strengthening the school leading groups, replenishing and raising the standard of the contingent of teachers, improving conditions for running schools and conscientiously raising the standard of education.

These remarks were made at a national symposium on educational work held by the Ministry of Education in Tianjin 1-13 December. Up to 1985, educational work must focus its attention on earnestly implementing the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving educational work, with particular emphasis on readjustment.

How can the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement be implemented in educational work? The meeting held that education is a weak link in the overall national economy. Due to the lack of proper attention given to education for a long time and the havoc wrought by the "Great Cultural Revolution," educational work at present fails to meet the requirements of the four modernizations. By readjustment we mean strengthening educational work in order to enable education to develop proportionately with economic construction. At present we need to firmly promote universal primary education, reform the middle school education structure and develop vocational and technical education.

The meeting held: Since primary education is the foundation of education, efforts to improve the quality of education and raise the nation's scientific and cultural level must begin with primary education.

The meeting also proposed that at present it is essential to strengthen ideological and political work in all types of schools and at all levels. Party work, CYL work and political teaching in schools must be further improved and strengthened, not weakened. To this end, the contingents of ideological and political work must be improved and perfected. The position and role of the contingents of political work in school education must be fully recognized and matters concerning their pay must be rationally resolved.

Attending the symposium were vice governors, vice mayors and vice chairmen [of people's congresses] of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in charge of educational work. Also present were responsible comrades of cultural and educational (science education) [brackets as received] departments, cultural and educational (public health education) [brackets as received] offices, as well as bureau directors and department heads of various educational departments and institutes of higher education; responsible comrades in charge of educational work of concerned departments under the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the PLA; and responsible comrades of institutes of higher learning directly under the Ministry of Education. Altogether some 300 people attended the symposium.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON NATURE OF YIHETUAN GROUP

HK170545 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Qi Qizhang [2058 0366 4545]: "Different Views on the Appraisal of the Yihetuan"]

[Text] At the recent symposium on the history of the Yihetuan movement held in Jinan, over 200 Chinese and foreign scholars discussed problems related to the Yihetuan. Given below is a brief introduction to the main subjects discussed.

1. The Nature of the Yihetuan Movement

It was generally admitted that the Yihetuan movement was of a patriotic anti-imperialist nature. But views on whether or not the Yihetuan opposed feudalism greatly differed.

One view was that the Yihetuan movement opposed only imperialism and not feudalism, because no slogan or program for opposing feudal ownership of land was ever put forward by it. Nor was there any demand for reforming the feudal landlord class regime. The Yihetuan movement was a product of the intensification of national contradictions; the main objective of its struggle was "getting rid of foreign things." The Yihetuan's "support for the Qing government" was aimed at maintaining the Qing Dynasty and its "getting rid of foreign things" was prompted by "support for the Qing government." This explained why the Qing government could deceive and use the Yihetuan. The Yihetuan rose against the Qing regime only under unavoidable circumstances. This was entirely an act of self-defense. Until then, the Yihetuan had not shown any inclination to attack it.

Another view was that the Yihetuan movement was not only of a patriotic anti-imperialist nature but of an antifeudalist nature. The Yihetuan movement was a mass struggle, with the peasants as its mainstay, and fell into the category of old-style peasant warfare. Opposition to feudalism meant that the peasants spontaneously opposed feudal economic exploitation and political oppression. The Yihetuan's "getting rid of foreign things" chiefly took the form of "harassing the missionaries to obtain grain." It not only opposed the feudal way of economic exploitation and political oppression practiced by the missionaries, but also attacked the "well-off families attached to missionaries" and typical rich landlords. A concrete analysis must also be made of the Yihetuan's slogan of "support for the Qing government": 1) Only some, not all, members at the Yihetuan turned the slogan of "support for the Qing government" into practical action; and 2) Apart from the slogan of "support for the Qing government," the Yihetuan also put forward such slogans as "arrest foreign missionaries for the sake of China's prosperity"; "the collapse of the Qing regime will bring prosperity to China"; "distribute grain equally to help the poor" and so forth. We cannot make a sweeping statement based on just one aspect. The claim that the Yihetuan was only passive in its resistance against the Qing regime without ever making an attack on its own initiative also contradicts history. The fact was that after June 1900, the Yihetuan took the initiative to launch many attacks against the Qing army.

Those comrades who held the latter view can be divided into two differing schools of thought, as far as concrete matters are concerned. The first believed that the Yihetuan's antifeudalist efforts were on an equal basis and that such efforts permeated through the Yihetuan movement from beginning to end. The second held that in the early and last stages of the development of the Yihetuan movement, its spontaneous antifeudalist tendencies were relatively noticeable and that at its height, its antifeudalist nature disappeared.

2. The Problem of "Getting Rid of Foreign Things" as Related to the Yihetuan

There were chiefly three views on the Yihetuan's slogan of "getting rid of foreign things."

The first held that the Yihetuan's "getting rid of foreign things" meant an exclusion of everything foreign, or the "extermination" of all foreigners and opposition against everything "foreign." As far as moral principles were concerned, the Yihetuan's sweeping exclusion of foreign things and foreigners had its just side. From the angle of historical development, this sweeping exclusion of everything foreign was an indication of both ignorance and backwardness and was "not in line with the fundamental interests of the Chinese people."

Another view held that the core or essence of the Yihetuan's "getting rid of foreign things" was anti-imperialist and showed a tendency toward the sweeping exclusion of foreign things and foreigners, only in regard to form and methods. This was a manifestation of backwardness. But we can never take this as a basis for the argument that the Yihetuan's sweeping exclusion of foreign things and foreigners was "not in line with the fundamental interests of the Chinese people." Fundamentally speaking, the Yihetuan's sweeping exclusion of everything foreign was just resistance precipitated by the intensification of contradictions between imperialism and the Chinese nation.

3. The Historical Role of the Yihetuan Movement

The Yihetuan movement had a smashing impact on the feudal rule of the Qing regime. It helped to expose the extreme decadence and impotence of the

Qing ruling group. There was unanimous agreement on this. But views differed on the problem of the Yihetuan movement's connection with the prevention of imperialism from dividing China.

One school of thought believed that the Yihetuan movement impinged on imperialist attempts at dividing up China but not with sufficient force to "smash" or "prevent" imperialism from doing so. The main reason that China had still not been divided up then was that the contradictions and struggle among imperialist powers had forced them to follow a policy of maintaining the status quo to avoid the intensification of contradictions among them and the outbreak of war.

Another view was that of the two factors helpful in preventing imperialism from dividing up China, the primary one was the Yihetuan's struggle and the secondary one was the contradictions and struggle among imperialist powers. This can be proved by the statements from the power-holders and other people of many imperialist countries. Proof is also provided by the ebb and flow of the Yihetuan's sustained struggle.

4. The Origin of the Yihetuan

The Yihetuan can be traced far back in history. Its origin is a complicated issue in the study of the Yihetuan. There have traditionally been many arguments about its origin. No final conclusion has been reached on this matter. There are generally three views which are summed up as follows:

One view is that the Yihetuan was closely linked with the "eight diagrams" branch of the "White Lily" sect. It started out as a ramification of the "eight diagrams" branch but ended up as a combination of such divinatory symbols or groups as represented by the Chinese characters "Qian," "Kan," "Dui," "Xun" and so forth. It also combined many boxing societies which became collectively known as "Yihe Boxing."

Another view is that the Yihe Boxing, the Dadao Society and the Meihua Boxing provided the main foundation for the Yihetuan established in Shandong in the year of the Guangxu emperor. But the Yihetuan was not clearly related to the Yihetuan and the Ligua sect prevailing in the year of Jiaqing. As far as religious rites and the object of struggle are concerned, it greatly differed from the White Lily sect. to avoid the strong pressure of the Qing government, many followers of the White Lily sect later became converts to Christianity. Such a peculiar situation arose in the welter of complicated class struggle and national struggle. Therefore, there were potential grounds for the Yihetuan's opposition to the White Lily sect. Thus, as an organization, the White Lily sect could not have directly produced the Yihetuan.

Still another view is that the Yihetuan or Yimin Society had the Xiangtuan as its origin. The claim that the Yihetuan originated from the White Lily sect dating from the Southern Song Dynasty, or from a branch of the White Lily sect, is hardly credible. It is also not based on evidence. If the Yihetuan has any origin, it is traceable to boxers who practiced the art of attack and defense with fists and clubs in defense of their group.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL FORUM ON TEACHING SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

HK270649 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] A national forum on teaching scientific socialism in party schools was held in Guangzhou from 10 to 22 December. During the forum the representatives unanimously pointed out: Like Engels, we must regard socialism as a science and study it with an extremely serious attitude. It is now over 100 years since Marx and Engels proposed their theory of scientific socialism. Socialism has won very great victories throughout the world. China, too, has gained 31 years of practice in socialism.

During the 10-year catastrophe, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" preached sham socialism and exercised feudal, fascist dictatorship on a large scale. The image of socialism thus became distorted in some people's minds. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, sham socialism has continued to hamper in politics, economics and ideology, the onward advance of the party and people, because the pernicious influence of its theory has not been eliminated well. As a result some people harbor unnecessary suspicions about the party's current [word indistinct], principles and policies, and have even lost confidence in socialism. Hence, summing up China's experiences and lessons in socialist revolution and construction and seriously probing the theory of scientific socialism have become an extremely urgent task for the whole party, and especially for comrades carrying out the party's ideological and political work and the party schools at all levels.

To treat socialism as a science, we must clearly understand what are the superior features of socialism and the socialist system, and how to bring socialist democracy into play and strengthen the socialist legal system, and have a clear idea of the topics and system for study in scientific socialism.

During the forum, experts and representatives from all 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions emancipated their minds, brought democracy into play, and freely aired their views on these questions. Over 130 theses and materials were submitted to the forum.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS COMMEMORATE MOVEMENTS

OW100216 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1216 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 9 Dec (XINHUA)--Teachers and students at institutes of higher learning in Beijing, including Qinghua and Beijing universities, carried out a range of activities to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the "9 December" movement and the 35th anniversary of the "1 December" movement. Glass-front billboards, painted corridors and news bulletins on the campuses of various universities all featured special commemorative columns on these two patriotic movements. Commemorative meetings, report meetings and small-scale forums were also held at many schools. On 30 November afternoon, more than 1,600 teachers and students of Qinghua University held a commemorative meeting at which an entertainment program was jointly presented by old comrades who participated in the "1 December" movement. Teachers and students in the packed auditorium gave uninterrupted applause to the 150 old comrades who sang songs of the past that had inspired the youths to take the revolutionary road at that time. The songs included "Let's Sing Together," "Pick Ourselves Up From Where We fell," and "Ode to Brightness." A warm atmosphere of unity and militancy to move ahead persistently prevailed.

Beijing University sponsored a soiree on 5 December at which the students' art troupe staged a drama entitled "Destiny" depicting the "9 December" movement. Beijing University also featured a pictorial exhibition in its library on the "1 December" movement. The exhibition displayed 150 historical pictures showing the entire course of the "1 December" movement and how, under the leadership of the party, students of the Southwest Associated University waged a struggle against the Kuomintang reactionary rule at that time.

On 9 December, Qinghua University and Beijing Teachers University invited old comrades who participated in the "9 December" and "1 December" movements and some students to a forum. The students unanimously pledged to emulate the young students in the past and to unite around the party to get on with the four modernizations programs with one heart and one mind.

Braving the cold winds, students of the Beijing Iron and Steel Institute also held a meeting at the sports ground today. They staged a "torch relay race" in commemoration of the 45th anniversary of "9 December" and pledged to carry on the torch and advance courageously in the new long march.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGZHOU RALLY ON IMPROVING CITY APPEARANCE, CONDITIONS

HK240157 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The Guangdong Provincial People's Government and the Guangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee held a mobilization rally in the Zhongshan Memorial Hall on 22 December to launch the cadres and masses to rapidly take action to straighten out prices, do well in supplying the markets for the festivals, tidying up the appearance and sanitation of the city, beautifying the environment, tidying up traffic order and doing a good job of maintaining law and order in society, to enable the masses to spend the festivals in ease of mind amid a clean environment. Present at the rally were Liu Tianfu, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and vice governor; Qu Mengjue, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Wang Chun, director of the political department of Guangzhou Military Region, Lu Deyao, adviser to Guangdong Military District; Vice Governor Huang Jingbo, and a number of responsible comrades of the party, government and army in the province and municipality. Liang Lingguang, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, first secretary of the municipal CCP committee and chairman of the municipal revolutionary committee, delivered a mobilization report.

Liang Lingguang said: stabilizing prices, doing well in supplying the markets for the festivals, improving the city's appearance and sanitation and straightening out traffic and public order constitute the major guarantee for the masses to spend a Happy New Year and spring festivals. These are issues that currently cause the masses great concern. If we handle these matters well, we will give the masses tangible benefits during the festivals under present conditions.

CSO: 4005

XIZANG TIGHTENS CONTROL OVER CULTURAL RELICS

OW100839 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0015 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Text] According to a XIZANG RIBAO report, the Xizang Regional People's Government recently approved and circulated a report by the departments concerned on strengthening market control and banning cultural relic smuggling, speculation and profiteering. The report asked departments concerned to strengthen protection and management of cultural relics and to take effective measures to stop all illegal activities harmful to the preservation of cultural relics. It asked them to stop the outflow of cultural relics and to deal resolute blows to cultural relic smuggling, speculation and profiteering.

Xizang is noted both at home and abroad for its rich cultural relics. Recently it has been found that a small number of [words indistinct] and pilgrims from various localities illegally sell various cultural relics, gold, silver and other treasures, as well as local handicrafts and valuable medicinal herbs, to foreign tourists and visitors. This has not only disrupted social order and led to market disorder but also damaged our country's honor and its valuable cultural heritage. Such activities, which violate state law and government decrees on cultural relic protection, cannot be condoned and must be stopped. Those who commit serious offenses shall be punished by law and discipline. Units and individuals that have helped protect important and valuable cultural relics shall be properly rewarded.

The regional people's government asked local governments and foreign trade, commerce and cultural departments to coordinate with each other in purchasing cultural relics and valuable articles. The department in charge of cultural relics shall purchase at a certain price all cultural relics that are still privately kept. The Foreign Trade Department shall purchase gold, jade and other treasures. The Commercial Department shall purchase local handicrafts. Banks shall be responsible for purchasing gold and silver. No historical relics shall be traded in black markets. Selling of cultural relics, smuggling, speculation and profiteering by individuals or organizations are strictly forbidden. Private selling of cultural relics to tourists is prohibited. People who possess family heirlooms may sell them only to the State Cultural Relics Department.

The regional people's government also asked foreign affairs departments to brief foreign tourists on China's law and policy on cultural relics protection. Together with the customs office, cultural relics departments improve their work in identifying and appraising cultural relics in order to protect them from being removed.

CSO: 4005

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HK190200 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 80 p 4

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BRIEFS

MAN NATIONALITY ACADEMIC CONFERENCE--Shenyang, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--The 1980 annual academic conference on the history of China's Man Nationality literature was held recently in Shenyang, Liaoning, attended by more than 70 professors and specialists. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the work of exploring and collating the Man Nationality culture and art has been speeded up. A committee for compiling the history of the Man Nationality literature has been established in Liaoning Province, where half of the nation's Man people live. At the annual academic conference, 39 theses were exchanged, which separately expounded the historical origin, current situation, culture and art, politico-economy, customs and habits and religious belief of the Man Nationality. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1241 GMT 13 Dec 80 OW]

CHINA RHETORIC SOCIETY--Wuhan, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--China Rhetoric Society was inaugurated in Wuhan, Hubei, recently. Professor Zhang Gong, a linguist, was appointed honorary chairman of the society. Guo Shaoyu, Sun Changxu, Zhu Xing, Yang Ping, Zhou Zhenfu, Hu Yushu, Huang Borong and Zhang Gonggui were appointed advisers. Linguist Zhang Zhigong was elected chairman of the society. [Text] [OW210431 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1244 GMT 13 Dec 80 OW]

NEW LAW SCHOOL--Zhengzhou, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--With approval from the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, the Second Central Institute of Political Science and Law was founded in Jiyuan County, Henan. The institute has admitted over 300 cadres of political science and law at and above the county level. On 1 December the responsible comrades of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, the Supreme People's Court and the Henan Provincial CCP Committee attended its opening ceremony. Li Yunchang, first vice minister of justice, addressed the ceremony. He said that the founding of the institute is to strengthen construction of the legal system and train a strong, high-standard contingent for administration of justice. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1302 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

CIRCULAR ON MAGAZINES--Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--The State Bureau of Commodity Prices and the State Publication Administration Bureau issued a joint circular recently asking all departments and localities to strengthen control over magazine prices. The circular notes that many readers have sent letters complaining about price rises of a number of magazines. The circular pointed out that the price of specialized science and technology periodicals and periodicals in minority languages should not be made too high despite their relatively small circulation. The circular asked all departments and localities to conduct a general checkup on the prices of magazines and to readjust their prices reasonably. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1400 GMT 2 Dec 80 OW]

XINJIANG ON MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE—A plan for trial use of the Mongolian language phonetics in selected areas was published on (?29) November in the Mongolain lanauge page of the XINJIANG RIBAO by the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional Committee for the work of spoken and written languages of nationalities with the approval of the regional people's government. The committee will vigorously popularize the standard pronunciations and phonetic symbols of the Mongolian language among the Mongolian people in the region. The standard pronunciations and phonetic symbols were adopted in a special meeting on the Mongolian language attended by the representatives of eight provinces and autonomous regions. This popularization will have a great significance in unifying the spoken and written Mongolian language and raising the science and culture level of the Mongolian people for the cause of the four modernizations. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 1 Dec 80 OW]

GUANGXI PASSENGER BOAT CAPSIZE--The passenger boat "Guilin 302" sank in a thunder squall on the evening of 26 November. Responsible persons of the regional CCP committee and people's government rushed to the spot on hearing the news to organize rescue and relief work. The boat had sailed from Wuzhou that morning in calm weather. The accident occurred in Pingnan County, when the boat rapidly filled with water and sank 2 to 3 minutes after being hit by sudden violent winds--estimated at force 11--and high waves. Next day Xiao Han, deputy secretary of the regional CCP committee and vice chairman of the regional people's government, and (Zhang Xiulan), deputy secretary-general of the regional people's government, and other local leaders went to the spot. A salvage vessel dispatched by the Wuzhou navigation branch company reached the place on the evening of 27 November. According to investigations, the majority of the boat's passengers survived the disaster, and 162 of them have been sent back to their units by vehicle and boat. [HK040822 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Nov 80 HK]

SHANGHAI YMCA, YWCA ACTIVITIES--The national committees of both the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association and the Chinese Young Women's Christian Association as well as the Shanghai YMCA AND YWCA officially resumed activities today. The YMCA and the YWCA were established in 1901. After liberation, these two associations, under the party's leadership, had engaged in uniting people from various circles that had made certain contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. During the Cultural Revolution, the YMCA and YWCA were labeled as "time-bombs of imperialism" and their activities were suspended. After resuming their activities, these two associations will launch various activities to unite youths from religious and other circles to make contributions to the four modernizations. This afternoon, the four organizations jointly held a tea party to celebrate the resumption of their activities. [Text] [OW061703 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 6 Dec 80]

COMMUNICATIONS PUBLICATIONS CONFERENCE--The national conference on publication of books and journals about sciences of communications was held in Shanghai from 25 to 27 December. The conference decided to publish a journal of modern communications [XIAN DAI TONG XUN ZA ZHI 3807 0108 6639 6061 7177 6125] next year, improve the quality of books about sciences of communications and expand their publication so as to promote China's modernization in communications. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Dec 80 OW]

WRITING RESEARCH SOCIETY--Wuhan, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--The China Writing Research Society was inaugurated and held its first annual meeting from 24 to 27 December at Wuhan, Hubei. Taking part were 130 representatives from 96 colleges and universities in 15 provinces and municipalities. They are all college instructors and researchers in Chinese composition. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1715 GMT 27 Dec 80 OW]

OVERSEAS CHINESE ARTS PERFORMANCE--In order to greet the New Year, artists among the returned overseas Chinese and their dependents in Beijing staged arts performances in the capital on 27 and 28 December. Liao Chengzhi, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and chairman of the State Council's committee on overseas Chinese affairs, attended the performance. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 28 Dec 80 OW]

FOREIGN LITERATURE SOCIETY--Beijing, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The Foreign Literature Society of China recently held its first annual meeting in Chengdu, Sichuan. The conference participants pointed out: it is imperative to objectively study and appraise foreign literature and eliminate the "left" influence of negating and belittling foreign literature. Since its inauguration in 1978, over 400 foreign literary works have been translated and published and over 400 periodicals on foreign literature have come into being. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0321 GMT 28 Dec 80 OW]

FOREIGN LITERATURE PUBLISHED--Shanghai, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--"Selections of Modern Foreign Literary Works" are being successively published in Shanghai. They introduce the representative works of the 10 major schools of modern literature having an international impact since World War II. This is the first time that modern Western literature has been introduced in China. The editor says in the preface that ideologically and artistically, modern Western literature's nature is twofold. In selectively introducing the representative works of modern literature, we intend to understand and recognize them in the first place and then scientifically analyze and appropriately criticize them, pointing out where they are harmful while keeping what is useful for reference. [Text] [OW210635 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0345 GMT 16 Dec 80 OW]

FOREIGN LITERATURE TRANSLATIONS--Chengdu, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--China translated and published about 300 foreign literary works in 1980. They included those by Balzac, Dumas, Stendhal, Dickens, Homer and Shakespeare. Some of them were translated by famous translator-writers such as Ba Jin, Bing Xin, Feng Zhi and Zhu Guangqian. [OW180557 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0221 GMT 11 Dec 80 OW]

GUANGZHOU ZHOU ENLAI'S WORK--The Guangdong XINHUA Printing House and the Guangzhou Municipal HONGQI Printing House have fulfilled the tasks of printing the first edition of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" in recent months. These two houses received these tasks in early November this year. They were told to print 150,000 copies of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" and have now fulfilled the tasks on time. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 25 Dec 80 HK]

JIANGSU STUDENT MOVEMENT COMMEMORATION--The Jiangsu Provincial CYL Committee and the provincial students association held a discussion meeting on the afternoon of 8 December to mark the 45th anniversary of the "9 December" movement. Responsible persons of CYL committees and students associations of the 22 schools of higher learning in the Nanjing area attended the meeting. (Hua Chengyi), vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee and chairman of the provincial scientific and technological commission, and (Wu Wei). secretary of the party committee of Huadong Water Conservancy College, took part in the "9 December" student movement in 1935. [OW111115 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Dec 80 OW]

JIANGSU RURAL CULTURAL MEETING--The Jiangsu provincial rural mass cultural work meeting was held from 4 to 10 December in Nanjing. As of now the province has built about 100 rural cultural centers. Zhou Weizhi, vice minister of culture, was present and spoke at the meeting. The meeting was attended by over 200 responsible comrades from cultural departments throughout the province and representatives of some advanced cultural stations. The meeting summed up and exchanged rural mass cultural work experience and studied and discussed new problems facing rural mass cultural work during the new period. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 80 OW]

SHANGHAI YOUTH PHYSIQUE--Physique of Shanghai youngsters has generally declined. A survey of college and primary and middle school students among 16 provinces and municipalities shows that the physique of Shanghai youngsters falls far behind other fraternal provinces and cities. The Municipal Physical Culture and Sports Committee, the Health Bureau, the Higher-Learning Education Bureau and the Education Bureau this morning called a meeting to discuss questions of how to improve the health of Shanghai youngsters. The meeting pointed out that Shanghai youngsters are too thin and not strong enough. The meeting urged schools and parents to understand the importance of keeping youngsters in good health and take effective methods to reduce the unnecessary burdens of students in school and provide them with sufficient physical exercise. [OW180339 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Dec 80 OW]

SHANGHAI UNIVERSITIES--This year Jiaotong University in Shanghai has sent some 300 faculty members to work in other institutions of higher learning and in various factories and research units. In the meantime, it has received teachers and technicians transferred from other units. To meet the needs of teaching and research, many institutions of higher learning in Shanghai have made cooperative arrangements, including the exchange of faculty members. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

JIANGSU WINTER TRAINING--The experiments of the winter training program have basically come to an end at 28 selected communes in 26 counties. Recently, the propaganda department of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee held a meeting in Nanjing on exchanging experience of experimental winter training. The meeting stressed the importance of education in dialectic materialism and the discussion on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth. It called on the cadres and party members to pay particular attention to studying the documents issued by the CCP Central Committee on perfecting the system of personal responsibility in agricultural production. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Dec 80 OW]

JIANGSU PROTESTANT REPRESENTATIVES' MEETING--The third provincial meeting of representatives of protestants was held in Nanjing from 4 to 11 December. Ninety-eight representatives from all prefectures and municipalities in Jiangsu attended the meeting. Ding Guangxun, chairman of the three self-patriotic movement committee of protestant churches of China and president of the Chinese Protestants' Association, attended and spoke at the closing ceremony. The meeting established the Jiangsu Provincial Protestants' Association and approved the constitution of the association. The meeting also elected the third three self-patriotic movement committee of protestant churches in Jiangsu and the First Jiangsu Provincial Protestants' Association Committee. The meeting noted: The future task of the three self-patriotic movements includes organizing religious personnel, clergymen and protestants to combat infiltration by anti-China forces in churches abroad. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Dec 80 OW]

GANSU LITERACY CLASSES--The Gansu Provincial People's Government issued a circular on 18 November urging leaders at all levels to educate peasants and herdsmen by running literacy and technical classes during this winter and next spring. Emphasis should be placed on general knowledge courses, primary school education and technical skills. Part-time teachers should be quickly trained and properly paid. [SK141238 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 10 Dec 80 SK]

HUBEI YOUTH FORUM--The Hubei Provincial CYL Committee held a forum from 2 to 6 December in Wuchang on the application of scientific methods to youth ideological work. The forum exchanged experiences in youth work and analyzed the present ideological situation of youths. The forum held: more people have now attached importance to the application of scientific methods to youth ideological work. The provincial CYL committee has made an effort to study psychology and sociology in order to approach the youths more easily. The forum proposed promoting ideological education for youths by means of: 1) launching profound education on the party's line, principles and policies; 2) grasping education in communist morality; and 3) launching general education in being a well qualified CYL member. Jiao Dexiu, a member of the provincial CCP committee Standing Committee and director of the provincial propaganda department, attended the forum and spoke. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 80 HK]

HEILONGJIANG PEASANT EDUCATION WORK--The provincial conference on peasant education work concluded on 15 December. The conference called for efforts to eliminate illiteracy and to organize part-time primary school education courses so that the basic education level of peasants will be at primary school level. It also called for running technical courses for peasants. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Dec 80 SK]

JILIN NEW COLLEGES--The Jilin Provincial Government on 4 December approved the establishment of 4 peasant universities and 10 peasant secondary vocational schools. All these schools were originally county-run "7 May" universities. [SK100307 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Dec 80 SK]

SHANGHAI POPULATION ASSOCIATION--The Shanghai Municipal Population Association held an inauguration meeting on 2 December. The first board of directors was elected at the meeting. (Wu Beidan) was elected chairman and (Gu Li), (Yang Jufu), (Wang Jianming) and (Zhang Kaiming) were elected chairmen of the board. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 2 Dec 80 OW]

LIAONING LIBRARIES--Liaoning Province has established some 70 commune or small-town cultural centers, and 25,000 brigade and production team cultural rooms this year. In addition, libraries in rural areas have increased to 6,000. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Dec 80 SK]

TELEVISION SCANNING SYSTEM--The Shenyang Automation Research Institute and the Beijing television equipment plant succeeded in developing a television scanning and survey system to detect flying objects. The system is of national advanced standard. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Dec 80 SK]

BROADCAST TIME READJUSTED--Listeners of radio stations at various localities: the third transmission times of the Kazak-language and Mongolian programs of the Xinjiang People's Broadcasting Station will begin and end 30 minutes earlier beginning Monday, 15 December. Namely, they will begin at 1930 and end at 0050. Some programs in the Mongolian broadcast will accordingly begin 30 minutes earlier. The transmission time of some programs in the third Kazak-language broadcast will also be readjusted. Please pay attention to this station's program previews. [Text] [OW140952 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 13 Dec 80]

GUANGDONG NEW PERIODICALS--Recently, the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee Propaganda Department Publications Bureau authorized the Hainan Federation of Art and Literary Workers, the Hainan People's Art Gallery, and the Hainan Li-Miao Nationality Cultural Bureau to run two periodicals. These two periodicals are literary publications which are expected to raise the people's cultural standard. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 9 Dec 80 HK]

GUANGDONG SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' MEETING--The meeting of Guangdong provincial key middle school principals closed in Guangzhou on 11 December. The meeting proposed that it is necessary to do things according to the regulations on education, improve the quality of education in an all-round way and train more qualified people more quickly for the four modernizations. This meeting was held by the provincial education department and attended by the principals of provincial, prefectural and county key middle schools and education bureau directors of all prefectures and some counties and municipalities, some 160 people altogether. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 11 Dec 80 HK]

'XINHUA' BOOK NEWS--Beijing, January 3 (XINHUA)--The People's Publishing House is to publish two more volumes this year of the "History of the 1911 Revolution." The first volume was published in 1980. The revolution of 1911, led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Qing dynasty. The work covers the development and characteristics of capitalism in China and records the struggles waged by the Chinese people, the sufferings of the minority nationalities and the contributions to the revolution by overseas Chinese. A dictionary of Chinese calligraphy is to be published jointly by the China Guanghua Publishing House and the Hong Kong C. and W. Publishing Company. The dictionary, comprising 47,000 characters collected from 430 volumes of rubbings from stone tablets throughout China, contains the handwriting of 360 noted calligraphers from past dynasties. Apart from explanations of the characters, the dictionary will give the source and date of the characters and the names of calligraphers. About 100 popular science titles have been published in Inner Mongolia in the past two years, of which 40 were in the Mongolian language. These included some works by Mongolian authors. The best-selling books in this field were those on Mongolian medicine. [Text] [OW031208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 3 Jan 81]

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 157

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YEAREND ROUNDUP OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

OW231800 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0716 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Yearend Roundup by XINHUA reporter: "1980--A Year of Changing Events (I)"]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--The Poland Incident Captures World Attention

The Poland incident, which started in early July, has lasted for more than 5 months. With the danger of Soviet intervention, the incident has captured the attention of the whole world and has become a major event in international politics.

On 1 July, the Polish Government announced the expansion of sales of meat and meat products at negotiated prices, which triggered a workers' strike. More than 30 big and small cities and more than 4,000 plants were affected by the strike, which lasted for over 2 months and was joined by more than 600,000 people. This was the largest and longest strike with the greatest number of strikers since the founding of Poland. The striking workers had the support of peasant, intellectual and religious circles.

The striking workers did not take to the streets, parade nor resort to violent actions. They raised 21 political and economic demands, the most important of which was the establishment of an "independent and self-governing trade union."

The Polish authorities were very discreet and restrained in handling the strike. It was officially declared that the strike was "a large-scale protest by the workers. It does not oppose socialism, but opposes the disruption of socialist principles." It was stressed that "there is no way to settle the conflict other than by political solution."

This strike led to a major reshuffle in the Polish party and government. Gierek, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, and Premier Piotr of the government were forced to step down and were replaced by Kania and Pinkowski. In late August and early September, the Polish authorities made an important concession and reached an agreement with the workers to basically satisfy the workers' demands, especially the demand for establishing an independent and self-governing trade union.

This incident showed that the errors in economic construction principles and policies in the past 10 years since Gierek took power had resulted in serious economic difficulties and that the various malpractices in the political and economic systems in the past--lack of democracy, overconcentration of power, bureaucratism and cadres' special privileges--had led to serious political, economic and social crises of the nation. The people demanded that this situation change.

The new Polish party leadership headed by Kania has, since it took over power in September this year, gradually settled scores with the previous leaders for their errors, summed up experiences and lessons over the past 10 years and initially presented a line for reformation, the main substance of which is, reforming the economic system, expanding social democracy, consolidating the party organization, formulating new party rules and restoring the people's faith in the party.

The previous Polish trade union--the Central Council of Trade Unions--has decided to stop its activities. The newly established independent and self-governing "Solidarity" trade union now boasts a membership of 10 million. (Poland has 12 million workers.) To shake off the crises and safeguard social stability, "Solidarity" has repeatedly asked workers not to go on striking and has stressed that "it is time for the people to compromise and be reconciled."

Recently, atmosphere in Poland has relaxed somewhat. No strikes have been reported. However, Poland still faces many difficulties, a pileload of social problems and a serious economic situation. The turmoil in recent months has resulted in new economic losses. Poland cannot effectively and thoroughly extricate itself from the crises within a short period. It will have to make arduous efforts. For some time, however, the dark clouds of foreign intervention have loomed in the sky above Poland. There even exists the threat of an armed intrusion. The Soviet Union has massed large quantities of troops around Poland, blocked the borders, carried out military exercises and made frequent military movements. Meanwhile, it has mobilized its propaganda machine to concentrate its attack on the "antisocialist forces" in Poland. Arbitrarily referred to the process of trade union reform in Poland as "having an antisocialist trend" and quoted by other remarks to threaten that it would not "remain indifferent to the fate of people's Poland."

In the face of the threat of armed intervention, the Polish people have taken a stand of "uniting to safeguard their national sovereignty and survival." The political parties, the government, the church and the "Solidarity" trade union in Poland have appealed one after another for maintaining the stability of the country and for "being responsible to the fate and future of the nation." They have explicitly stated their stand that Poland "has the right to solve its own problems by itself" and opposes any foreign interference. "This is because we are Poles first"--this remark has become the common voice of the Polish authorities, trade unions, church and people of all walks of life. All countries in the world have shown great concern for the situation in Poland, and many of them have warned against interference in Poland and have stated that Polish affairs should be handled by the Polish people themselves.

The Flames of War in the Gulf

In the Middle East 180 was a turbulent year. The Arab-Israeli dispute has continued, and the flames of war have been kindled in a Gulf region that abounds in petroleum. The Soviet Union has seized this opportunity to infiltrate into this strategic area step by step, and the United States has been doing its best to mediate the Arab-Israeli dispute in an effort to secure its position in the Middle East. New contradictions have cropped up among the countries in the Middle East. They have complicated the crisis-ridden situation even more.

A war broke out between Iraq and Iran 3 months ago, and the flames of war have not been extinguished yet. The Iraqi-Iranian war is not accidental, for there are longstanding antagonisms between them. Iraq announced the abrogation of the Iraqi-Iranian boundary agreement on 17 September 1980 and launched an air attack on Iran's 10 airfields and air force bases at the same time on 22 September, thus starting the military clash between the two countries. In this war the focus of which is on the control of the Shatt al-'Arab, both sides have used ground, naval and air forces and various types of modern weapons to concentrate their attacks on each other's military bases, industrial cities and major oil-producing areas. The war has not only caused enormous economic losses to both sides but has provided an opportunity for the two superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, to meddle in this region. This has caused great concern among the Gulf countries, as well as in the whole world.

Since it invaded Afghanistan at the end of last year, the Soviet Union has been pressing on toward the oilfields along the Gulf. Moreover, the crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations resulting from the problem of the American hostages in Iran and the Soviet attempt to exploit this crisis have made the Gulf countries and the Western countries, whose interests are related to those of the Gulf countries, increasingly feel a threat to the security of the oilfields. This has forced them to take a series of measures to safeguard their own interests by stabilizing the situation in the Gulf. The United States has increased its military presence in the Middle East, and Western Europe has strengthened its relations with various Gulf countries. Despite all this, the Soviet Union has been pressing on step by step toward the Gulf oilfields and the United States has continued to suffer setbacks in this region. There is no indication that the Iraqi-Iranian war will end soon.

U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian negotiations on the issue of Palestinian self-government first reached an impasse and then were suspended. In the past year Israel has brazenly announced its annexation of Jerusalem, has strengthened its occupation of Arab territories and has launched one large-scale attack after another on southern Lebanon, thus wrecking the peace talks. U.S. President Carter is partial to Israel. President-elect Reagan has announced a policy which is yet more partial to Israel--this has cast a shadow over a solution to the Middle East issue, especially the Palestine question. The initiative of West European countries in seeking a solution to the Middle East issue is restrained by the United States, and new contradictions have cropped up among some Arab countries in finding new ways to solve this issue. One example is that Syria which had just signed a "Friendship and Cooperation Treaty" with the Soviet Union massed troops along the Jordanian border, causing tension between the two countries for a time.

The 11th Arab Conference of heads of state was held in Amman in November, but the members of the "Rejection Front" as well as Lebanon and five other countries refused to attend. This has reflected new divisions and new associations in the Arab world. In the situation in which the two superpowers have been intensifying their rivalry with each passing day, the question of unity among the Arab states has become an increasingly serious one. The turbulent year of 1980 will soon be over. Looking forward to the next year, the Middle East will be still full of intranquility. The rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States in this region will be more intensified. The struggle by the people in the Middle East, including the Palestinians, will not cease.

Unyielding Afghanistan

Soviet troops have invaded and occupied Afghanistan for 1 full year. The Soviet aggression has brought a catastrophe to the Afghan nation. In the country with a population of only 16 million, tens of thousands of people have been killed in cold blood, and more than 1 million people have become destitute and homeless and have fled abroad as refugees.

With a glorious tradition of resistance against aggression, the Afghan people who cherish freedom and independence have waged a heroic and tenacious struggle against the Soviet occupation troops. The Soviet Union has used 100,000 troops, aircraft, artillery, tanks and even gas to brutally suppress the Afghan people, but it still cannot wipe out the latter's resistance. When Soviet troops equipped with heavy weapons failed to prevail, they have changed their tactics by bringing in troops trained in antiguerrilla warfare, light weapons and equipment and more light tanks and armed helicopters. They have divided Afghanistan into eight war zones. In each a certain number of "commandos" is deployed.

In addition, the Soviet Union has also instructed the Karmal regime to organize a "security force" and send secret agents into the guerrillas to carry out sabotage activities. In the face of people's war, however, the Soviet Union has fared worse and worse for all its scheming and has not been able to change the situation on the battlefield. On the contrary, the Afghan resistance forces have become stronger and stronger through fighting and their scale of fighting and the range of their operations have continued to expand. Up to now, the Soviet troops have only controlled some cities, bases and the main lines of communication. Even those heavily guarded localities have often been attacked or harassed by guerrillas, not to mention the vast rural and mountainous areas where the guerrillas are very active.

The Afghan guerrillas have been organized on the basis of their religion and tribes. The guerrillas, with a broad mass base, have resistance against Soviet aggression as their common objective. Afghanistan is multinational Muslim country, and each nationality consists of a number of tribes. Almost every tribesman has a gun with which he or she defends himself or herself and goes hunting. A tribe is virtually an armed group. Since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, those tribes have risen in resistance against Soviet aggression. Officers and men of the Karmal regime have also defected to the guerrillas one after another. The activities of the guerrillas have extended to nearly all the 28 provinces of the country. They have coordinated with one another and have fought side by side, gradually strengthening their unity in the struggle.

In the past year Afghan Muslim guerrillas, taking advantage of favorable terrains and adopting flexible tactics, have frustrated Soviet troops' attacks and mopping-up operations one after another, have continuously raided their airfields and bases and have destroyed highways and bridges, thus wiping out a part of the enemy's strength and capturing large quantities of enemy weapons and supplies. According to statistics, Soviet troops have suffered more than 10,000 casualties.

the Karmal regime, even with the backing of Soviet bayonets, is very weak. All the departments of the regime are under the direct control of "Soviet advisers," and even Karmal himself is guarded by Soviet troops. There are numerous contradictions within the regime. The Parcham faction headed by Karmal excludes and hits at the Khalq party of former Prime Minister Taraki and Amin, which used to have greater strength in the government and the armed forces. The struggle between the two factions has often turned into bloody clashes. In their war against the guerrillas, Soviet troops have forced the government army to fight in the van. Unwilling to die for the Soviet Union or to slaughter their own compatriots, officers and men of the government army have revolted and crossed over or have deserted one after another. As a result, the government army has declined to 30,000 or 40,000.

By occupying Afghanistan and supporting the tottering puppet regime, the Soviet Union must spend several million U.S. dollars a day. The Soviet Union is bogged down in a protracted war of attrition in Afghanistan. The struggle by the Afghan people has thrown the Soviet Union's strategic plan into confusion. Thus, the Soviet Union has suffered setbacks in its attempt to advance south toward the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region, and the Afghan people have made contributions to the international struggle against hegemonism.

The Afghan people's struggle has won wide sympathy and support in the world. The United States and some Western countries have taken economic and trade sanctions against the Soviet Union. They also boycotted the summer olympic games in Moscow. The meetings by foreign ministers held in January and May of this year by the 43-member Organization of Islamic Countries' Conference adopted two resolutions supporting the Afghan people's struggle and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This year's UN General Assembly, with the majority of 111 votes, once again adopted a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is now isolated diplomatically.

The Soviet Union has fallen into the mire in Afghanistan, but it still has no intention of giving up. During his recent visit to India, Brezhnev once again said that the Soviet Union was not planning to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The Afghan people will certainly continue to wage their struggle against aggression ever more tenaciously in the coming year. With the support of the people of various countries, they are bound to win the final victory of the struggle against aggression.

A Year During Which Vietnam Has Been Beset With Difficulties Both at Home and Abroad

In 1980 the Kampuchean people made important progress in their persistent struggle against Vietnamese aggression. The Lao people have also taken up arms to resist the Vietnamese aggressors. As a result of its aggression and expansion, Vietnam has been beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and has found the going tougher and tougher. At the beginning of the 1979-1980 dry season, a large number of Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea were massed to launch large-scale "mopping-up" operations in an attempt to wipe out Democratic Kampuchea's resistance forces at one stroke. At that time, some people in the world worried lest Democratic Kampuchea's armed forces would not be able to withstand the Vietnamese offensive and to hold on. The facts over the past year have proved that the Kampuchean national army and guerrillas have gone through another rigorous test and that they have not only withheld the Vietnamese offensives but have grown in strength.

While leading the guerrilla war against Vietnamese aggression, the government of Democratic Kampuchea has also taken a series of measures to correct its past erroneous policies, has set forth the political program of the patriotic and democratic front of the great national union and has reorganized the government. These measures have received support from people of all walks of life and strengthened national unity with the objective of making concerted efforts to resist Vietnamese aggression. These measures have also received international support.

What Vietnam now faces in Kampuchea is increasingly strong resistance forces. The main force of the Kampuchean national army and guerrillas has expanded to 50,000 to 60,000, whose fighting capacity has continually increased. They have not only wiped out platoons and companies of Vietnamese troops on the march, but attacked and occupied one stronghold after another guarded by platoons or companies of Vietnamese troops since the beginning of the 1980-1981 dry season. Guerrilla activities have now spread throughout Kampuchea, and guerrillas in the southwestern, northwestern, northern, central and northeastern areas have gradually linked up. Guerrillas have also launched surprise attacks on enemy troops in Phnom Penh, Kompong Chan and other cities.

By invading Kampuchea and occupying Laos, Vietnam has set up the "Indochina Federation" without hanging out its shingle in an attempt to dominate Southeast Asia. However, prospects for its hegemonistic cause are not so bright. It has already bogged down in a protracted war in Kampuchea, and its 200,000-odd aggressor troops have fallen into a mire. Even Laos, which is occupied by 50,000 Vietnamese troops, is not a paradise where the Vietnamese hegemonists can do as they please. Since early this year, the Lao people's struggle against Vietnamese occupation and the Lao authorities, which have further thrown themselves into the laps of the Soviet Union and Vietnam, has made tremendous progress. Guerrillas fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors are very active in various areas from upper to lower Laos. The anti-Vietnamese armed forces of various groups are gradually strengthening their unity. This is an inevitable trend in which the Lao people are safeguarding their national independence and opposing colonial rule.

As a result of its wantonly carrying out military aggression and expansion, the Vietnamese authorities have been beset by unprecedented difficulties both at home and abroad. In its war of aggression, Vietnam has been expending large amounts of its limited manpower, material and financial resources. As a result, the Vietnamese economy, which had already been riddled with gaping wounds, has been facing a yet worse crisis. Vietnam's military spending for 1979 accounted for 47 percent of its total expenditure. The 5-year plan for post-war economic recovery has failed. Vietnam originally planned to have its grain output reach 20 million tons. But in recent years, it has remained at 12 or 13 million tons a year. Its industrial production has remained stagnant or even dropped. In Vietnam, all business has languished, commodities are in very short supply, the market is slack and prices are soaring. The broad masses of people are suffering tremendously. Cases in which people rise to oppose the war of aggression abroad and the oppression and exploitation of the people at home have occurred frequently.

Vietnam's policy of aggression and war has not only aggravated its political and economic crises at home but has made itself notorious and extremely isolated in the world. This year the UN General Assembly, with the overwhelming majority of 97 to 23, once again adopted a resolution calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. This is effective proof. (To be continued).

CSO: 4020

UN PRESIDENT ASSESSES CURRENT SESSION

OW180712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] United Nations, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly "has significantly proven the fact that the United Nations has become a mirror of the harsh realities of our world today, reflecting obvious political, economic, national and ideological differences," said Rudiger Von Wechmar, president of the current session of the UN General Assembly, at a press conference here today.

Sizing up the current session which suspended yesterday, he said "in many important fields, this assembly has given proof that it was able to come to grips with problems that at the outset may have seemed insurmountable. In trying to solve these problems, a greater degree of consensus was reached than expected."

"Certain recent developments in different parts of the world including the war between Iran and Iraq, the situation in Afghanistan and in Southeast Asia gave rise to our concern," he noted.

He said "the question of the Middle East ranks among those that continue to carry a potential threat to international peace and security. Renewed efforts are still to be made in order to bring about a just and equitable solution to this problem."

On the question of Namibia, he said "the decision of the General Assembly to postpone the debate on Namibia hopefully has contributed substantially towards an independent, sovereign Namibia through free elections supervised by the United Nations," he held.

Turning to global negotiations on international economic cooperation for development, he said that he was not in a position to offer a final text on procedures and agenda. But he hoped that "it will be possible to bring about a solution to the remaining questions."

CSO: 4020

OAU SECRETARY GENERAL REVIEWS 1980

OW011627 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 1 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, 1 Jan (XINHUA)--Edem Kodjo, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), expressed his deepest conviction that Africa would succeed in attaining its development objectives for the decade of the 1980s, according to a report from Addis Ababa.

Kodjo made the statement in a New Year message issued on 30 December 1980, by the secretariat of the O.A.U.

The secretary general noted that the target of setting up an African economic community by the year 2,000 as prescribed by the Lagos summit is an exercise that calls for a better organisation of Africa's regional spaces.

On the year's achievement, he cited the "resounding rebirth of Zimbabwe" which, he said, came as an irrefutable proof that the decolonisation policy is bearing its fruits. In this regard, he stated that Namibia and South Africa are where this same objective should be achieved.

Reviewing the situation in the past year, he expressed concern about the fratricidal fighting in Chad which imposed useless sacrifices on the people of Chad and their neighbors, and noted that in South Africa and Namibia, the racist Pretoria government still turns a deaf ear and is consolidating its inhuman regime of terror.

He hailed the initiatives of the African oil producing countries that have decided to earmark five percent of their production for Africa on account of its difficulties in supplies.

CSO: 4020

HUSAYN ON PALESTINIANS, CAMP DAVID

OW201942 Beijing XINHUA in English 1926 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Damascus, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan has declared that Jordan is "of the Arabs and for the Arabs," and that its destiny and its honour lie in waging "all the battles of the Arabs nation in defence of its character," according to a report from THE JORDAN TIMES today.

In an interview with the Paris-based Arabic magazine "AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI," Husayn said Jordan is "for Palestine and its people" and for the "central cause" of the Arabs, namely the Palestinian cause. Jordan would maintain this position until the Palestinian people regained their rights, the king affirmed.

Asked whether a date had been fixed for his meeting with U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan and whether at that meeting he would speak on behalf of a group of Arab officials, King Husayn replied: "The only thing that has happened is that President-elect Reagan has expressed his desire to meet with me soon after he assumes office as president of the United States. Naturally, I welcomed this. But no date has been fixed for this meeting. And we have not discussed with the new U.S. administration any political questions or anything else, but if I go to the United States, I will speak about my country and on bilateral relations. As I have always done, I will defend the position of my nation, its causes and rights as much as I can."

The king added: "In my opinion, the Camp David process is finished after failing to achieve anything in the way of establishing a just and durable peace in this part of the world. Continuation of the attempts to revive Camp David can lead to absolutely no positive results."

Asked if he envisaged a particular way to resolve the Middle East crisis, the king said: "There is no specific visualisation. However, my position has been constant and clear since the beginning: namely that the Palestinians should exercise their right in formulating a just and durable peace in this area through their sole, legitimate representative--the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Furthermore, the Palestinian people should exercise their full rights on their national soil, and choose what they want in an atmosphere of freedom after the elimination of the occupation. These are the bases upon which peace in this part of the world can be built. And I cannot find any other alternative."

"We believe that the Palestinians should be the basic and major element in any solution of the Palestinian issue. We will help them and cooperate with them. This is a duty but we will not replace them," he added.

CSO: 4020

FOREIGN OFFICIALS' COMMENTS ON USSR'S GULF PROPOSAL

Omani Paper Scores Proposal

OW191328 Beijing XINHUA in English 1312 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--"It is hard to see the Brezhnev declaration as anything else than window-dressing designed to deflect criticism from the invasion of Afghanistan and the genocidal campaign now being waged there by the Soviet forces and those remaining in the Karmal puppet government," says "TIMES OF OMAN" in an editorial today.

The editorial, commenting on Brezhnev's Gulf security proposal put forward last week, points out, "Brezhnev has made similar proposals before, and has signed treaties promising to bring them into effect... If he is honest in his claim that the USSR has no ambitions whatever in the region round the Gulf, let him back it by a unilateral removal of all Soviet forces from the region."

It goes on to say, "The greatest threat to the Gulf states is the huge Soviet base in South Yemen....Next comes the Soviet force presently occupying Afghanistan, which could be rapidly reinforced and which is even now a grave threat to the stability of Iran and Pakistan. Even the Soviet bases in Caucasia are within very brief flying time of the Gulf."

The editorial notes, "All who live in the Gulf well know that the Soviet Union has made considerable progress in the encirclement of the Gulf region and now threatens, unless checked, to complete the operation within the foreseeable future."

It considers, "What the people of the Gulf would like to experience, rather than mere words, would be a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and South Yemen and the complete dismantling of the bases in Socotra and near Aden."

"The states of the Gulf would be wise to continue their efforts to strengthen their own defences, and to reinforce the ties which bind them in cooperation for self-preservation," it concludes.

Muskie, FRG, French Comments

OW121700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1650 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie Thursday rejected Brezhnev's proposal on peace in the Persian Gulf area, according to Western press reports. Now in Brussels to attend the NATO foreign ministers and defence ministers meetings, Muskie described the proposal put forward by Brezhnev in New Delhi as "a fox in the chicken coop proposal."

"What he is saying to us in effect," Muskie said, "is now if you people will just leave the Gulf, forget your bases, eliminate your navies, and just leave the Gulf in our hands, we'll protect your security interests."

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said in an interview with Deutschlandfunk yesterday that the Soviet Union should get out of Afghanistan before making peace suggestions for the Gulf.

"Anyone who wants to make suggestions for this region to guarantee security must surely first end the occupation of Afghanistan," he said.

He added that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan did not fit into the picture of a regional settlement based on self-determination for all countries, and without self-determination there could be no solid peace.

Alois Ertes, foreign affairs spokesman of West Germany's opposition Christian Democrat parliamentary group, pointed out that Brezhnev's proposal is "old hat" aimed to deflect attention from the "war in Afghanistan" and from threats to the Gulf region by the Soviet Union itself, and to block access of the U.S. and its allies to the sea.

French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet told reporters in Brussels yesterday that the proposal was "not new." Afghanistan was in the Gulf region too, so "the two things (Western bases near the Gulf and Soviet troops in Afghanistan) cannot be considered separately," he said.

CSO: 4020

IRAN SUBMITS FINAL REPLY TO U.S. 18 DECEMBER

OW192016 Beijing XINHUA in English 1920 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Tehran, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The Iranian Government submitted its final reply to the current U.S. proposition on the hostages' issue to the U.S. administration via the Algerian special envoy here yesterday, the PARS News Agency reported today.

The news agency quoted Behzad Nabavi, Iranian minister of state in charge of executive affairs as saying that the U.S. was asked to correlate its statements with one of the Iranian conditions regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of Iran.

In connection with the other three conditions of Iran the proposed undertakings of the U.S. Government had been recognised as generally acceptable, he added.

However, from the point of view of the Iranian Government, written promises with the signature of the U.S. president is not sufficient, the minister stressed, and adding, "It is required of the U.S. Government by the current proposition to deposit the frozen assets and gold of Iran in the Central Bank of Algeria in addition to signing the document."

"The endeavors and transfer of the assets to the Algerian Government must be prior to the release of the 52 hostages by the Iranian nation," the reply said.

As to other properties and assets of the government of Iran and those plundered by the ex-shah and his relatives, acceptable assurances must be given to the Algerian Government regarding the fulfillment of the undertakings.

CSO: 4020

CLASH BETWEEN IRANIAN GROUPS REPORTED

OW251847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Tehran, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--A clash occurred here yesterday between followers of "Mojahedeen" and "an offensive group," causing one person dead and several others wounded, PARS News Agency reported today.

The violent conflict happened at 11 o'clock yesterday morning when the offensive group attacked one of the offices of the "Mojahedeen."

The revolutionary guards hurried to the scene and tried to separate the conflicting sides by shooting into the air.

Iranian leader Khomeyni, referring to the incident, condemned here today the "deviated groups" for "serving the United States and the Soviet Union."

Mahdavi-Kani, minister of the interior, denied the involvement of the revolutionary guards and the revolutionary committee in the clash. He said to the state radio's reporter this noon that it is the enemies who instigated the people to clash.

He added that it is up to the government to solve the problem. He asked the people to coordinate and make frequent contacts with the authorities.

CSO: 4020

POLAND'S LECH WALESA HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

OW180800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Committee of the "Solidarity" independent trade unions, did not rule out the possibility of Soviet intervention in Poland, at a press conference today in the Polish port city of Gdansk.

Asked if he thought that the possibility of Soviet intervention no longer existed, Walesa said, "No, how can I know, just as I wouldn't know whether I am going to fall down before I go out of the door. If somebody wants to have a go, let him do it." He said that "Solidarity" did not pose any threat to anybody, adding, "We are in favour of socialism." He followed this up with the comment, "I do not worry about outside intervention, because I'm not afraid of anything."

Asked about his union's attitude towards the dissidents, he said, "We are trade unions and cannot be too politicized. We are opposed to those who seek for other goals by making use of the trade unions. But we cannot allow any groundless and unreasonable arrests."

He then went on to say that Jacek Kuron (head of the social self-defence committee) was an adviser to the trade unions, but was doing much more than the trade unions had asked him to do. Walesa then said, "We should protect him when he is working for us and we cannot do so when he is doing something private."

Asked about the attitude of "Solidarity" towards the "Solidarity" Farmers' Union, he stated that the new independent T.U. Organisation fully supported the farmers' demand for the establishment of a union, and hoped that its registration would be approved.

Referring to the relations of "Solidarity" with other trade unions, Walesa said that the other trade unions had only 10 percent of the total number of workers and employees whereas "Solidarity" has 85 percent. He said, "We will not contact them for the time being. We do not want to quarrel with them. In principle, we should have talks with all the unions, no matter how big their membership, as long as they are serving the workers. The pre-condition is that we must clearly know their stand."

Walesa declared that "Solidarity's" tasks for next year are to organize trade unions and for each factory to work out its own programme of action.

About the accessibility of the "Solidarity" to the mass media, the union leader said that within a month, "Solidarity" will produce its own nation-wide weekly newspaper, each big district will have its own printing-house for the publication of small newspapers, and the radio and television will run weekly trade union programmes.

CSO: 4020

PZPR'S KANIA REVIEWS SITUATION IN POLAND

OW311746 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], said today that "1980 is a difficult and disturbing year which has given much food for deep thought." He expected that 1981 would be a year when "the factors contributing to our national security and independence would grow stronger."

Kania made these remarks at the "Paris Commune" shipyard in the harbour city of Gdynia.

He inspected cities of Gdansk and Gdynia and laid a wreath at the newly-unveiled monument to shipyard workers killed in the 1970 strikes. Visiting the "Paris Commune" shipyard Kania met party's activists there.

The first secretary of the Party Central Committee told the ship-builders that the situation in Poland was still complicated and difficult. "In 1980" he said, "national income has fallen for the second year running and we should be prepared for a similar trend next year too." In order to maintain the people's present living standard, the government will cut investments drastically."

Kania declared that renovation in domestic politics and social life will continue. "The Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party warned that there was a danger threatening the socialist renovation. This warning is still now of practical importance."

Dealing with the matters of trade unions, Kania said that the trade union "solidarity," as an organization, was a link of the chains of socialist democracy. The Polish authorities "unequivocally affirm its constructive attitude towards the trade unions and will seriously heed their voices."

He stressed that one should not forget the December incident in 1970. "Every effort should be made to see that no conflict between the authorities and the society will crop up and that no conflict should be solved by resorting to force," he added.

On the international situation, Kania said: "With every aggravation of the situation, the inner weakness of Poland will weaken the community," and "the socialist community constitutes the guarantee of the security of the Polish nation." Meanwhile, he continued, "Poland is interested in expanding its ties with other countries."

CSO: 4020

CALMER SITUATION IN POLAND VIEWED

OW191342 Beijing XINHUA in English 1321 GMT 19 Dec 80

["Round Up--Situation in Poland Calms Down"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Dec (XINHUA correspondent)--The situation in Poland as a whole has relaxed with no more strikes taking place throughout the country, production in some areas returning to normal and the people pledging to remain united, in trying to overcome the crises.

Since early last September, the new Polish leadership headed by Stanislaw Kania had begun to rectify errors committed by the former party leadership led by Edward Gierek and sum up the experiences and lessons of the past decade. It put forth a line of "socialist renovation" designed to overcome the political, economic and social crises. The new line has won support from party members and those outside the party who embrace the move to correct errors and carry out renovation in society and the economy.

To push through the line of renovation, the party and government set up an economic reform committee, strengthened the supervision of the National Assembly and the Supreme Control Committee over the government, improved relations between the United Workers' Party on the one hand and the democratic parties and the church on the other; relieved corrupt leading cadres of their posts; restored democratic centralism; fixed an 8-year term for state leaders, reorganised the trade unions and increased the role of workers, peasants, youth and women organizations. All these measures have been favourably received by the public.

To tide over the economic difficulties at an early date, the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party on 3 December appealed to the people for higher production and stability. Workers building the "Berhatof" power station, the largest in Poland, urged fellow workers to unite and respond to the party's call with concrete actions. The Organization of Farm Producers also pledged to produce more grains and meat for the state.

The United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party in a joint declaration called on all patriotic forces and the entire Polish people to form a broad action front. The government and the Catholid episcopate on 8 December called upon the entire Polish people to unite for the survival of the sovereign nation. Addressing the Congress of the United Peasants' Party on

13 December, leaders of the National Assembly, the United Workers' Party and the United Peasants' Party all reiterated that the Poles were able to solve their problems by themselves.

The independent and self-governing "Solidarity" trade union also urged the workers time and again not to hold strikes. Lech Walesa, leader of the trade union, said at a meeting that the time has come "for the people to compromise and reconcile." He said, "All those who are sincerely concerned about the country's interests and the socialist ideal, no matter whether he is a party member or not, atheist or theist, have something to do," "after all, we are Poles."

CSO: 4020

POLISH UNITED PEASANTS' PARTY CONGRESS CONCLUDES

OW161352 Beijing XINHUA in English 1302 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The Eighth Congress of the Polish United Peasants' Party was held here from 13 to 15 December.

In a report delivered to the congress, Stanislaw Gucwa, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party, pointed out that "to safeguard Poland's sovereignty and defence should always be regarded as our supreme task." "It is impermissible for any outsider to intervene in our country or interfere in our internal affairs. This includes supplying false information about the situation in Poland and carrying out political manoeuvres by taking advantage of our present difficulties. The Polish problems can only be solved by the Polish people themselves," he added.

He listed two major tasks in coping with the current difficulties: first, to normalize the work and life in the country and on this basis to seek social and political stability in order to promote the smooth progress of socialist renovation; second, to work out a concrete and reliable programme to tide over the crisis.

A resolution adopted at the conclusion of the congress said: "The United Peasants' Party recognizes the leading role of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party in Polish state and society." It pledged "to work together with them and other forces supporting socialism for the strengthening of the socialist system and the unity among various social forces."

Attending the congress were Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party; Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party; Henryk Jablonski, president of the Council of State, and Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Stanislaw Gucwa was reelected chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party.

CSO: 4020

GREECE TO BECOME FULL MEMBER OF EEC

OW011521 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 1 Jan 81

[Text] Athens, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--Greece becomes the 10th full member state of the European Community tomorrow.

Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis in a recent interview with La Societe Nationale de Television Francaise 1 said that the decision of Greece to join the EEC was made with a "United Europe" as the point of departure and it was an important decision politically and economically. He added that a Europe united will consolidate its security and independence and enable it to deal effectively with the various emergencies it faces. He pointed out: "If Europe has failed to promote its own unity it will be subjugated by the existing superpowers and power groups." The aggressive superpower hegemonism in the past 20 years has compelled Greece to consider seriously as to how certain historical events can be prevented from repeating themselves. It is both the historical lessons and the harsh reality today that have induced Greece's decision to accede to the EEC.

Economically Greece is the weakest of the EEC countries, with its per capita national income standing at 4,197 U.S. dollars in 1979, which is less than one half of that of West Germany and 60 percent of the EEC average. In joining the EEC, Greece is counting on the help of community funds to quicken its own economic development and on a protected international market for its relatively under-developed industry and agriculture. Greece's trade volume with the other nine EEC countries totalled 4,300 million U.S. dollars in 1979, accounting for 42 percent of its foreign trade total. But for the existence of some restrictions, Greece incurred an unfavorable trade balance of 2,700 million U.S. dollars with these countries. Greece's entry into the EEC means the removal of these restrictions and the granting of price subsidies to its farm products.

Greece also has to pay for its entry into the EEC. It should contribute 270 million European counting units (equivalent to 350 million U.S. dollars) to the community budget in the first year. The exemption of tariff among the member countries, while undoubtedly benefiting export of Greece, can also open the flood gate to products from other member countries. While receiving subsidies for its farm products, Greece is asked to reduce correspondingly the output of some of its farm products and to raise their prices to the required level. This will lead to price rises in Greece.

CSO: 4020

GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

OW301306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1254 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Ankara, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Greek Foreign Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis in an exclusive interview to the Turkish daily MILLIYET, published in Istanbul yesterday, said: "The development in the region and in the world are forcing our two countries to speed up their efforts for a reconciliation and bring about cooperation which is needed among (NATO) allies."

"Turkey and Greece should put aside the incidents of the past which caused frictions between the two countries and strive for long-term policies," he said.

"The Greek side believes that Turkey is ready for meaningful dialogue for better relations," he added.

"The western allies are pleased to see positive developments between Ankara and Athens," he said.

On the Cyprus problem, Mitsotakis said, "both Turkey and Greece can aid the two communities of Cyprus in achieving mutual understanding. I believe that they will be able to resolve their differences in the near future. The Cyprus problem is the great wall between Turkey and Greece. If this problem is solved, the two countries can enjoy better relations."

For long years Turkey and Greece have had disputes over the sea and air control in the Aegean Sea. Since the Cyprus dispute in 1974, the relations between the two countries have further deteriorated.

CSO: 4020

ITALY'S FORLANI ON ECONOMY, OTHER ISSUES

OW280716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Rome, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Italy is suffering from a mounting inflation and there are more and more signs that the economic situation in the country is in recession.

Italian Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani intimated at a year-end news conference held by the Italian Journalists' Association here today.

"The economic situation in all parts of the world does not fair well. Many countries we export our products to are practising an austerity policy to cut back expenditures in an effort to maintain a balance of payments," Forlani said.

He continued, "Rising oil prices have added to the burden of countries like ours depending almost entirely on imported oil as the only energy source: runaway inflation results and economic recession worsens."

"This year, we have spent a staggering sum of money on oil and the figure for next year is expected to reach 21,000 billion liras. Deficits totalling 9,000 billion liras were incurred in our national expenditure this year," he said.

To cope with the crisis, maintain employment and curb inflation in order not to lag behind other industrialized countries, the prime minister pointed out: "We have to boost production and cut back consumption so as to raise the competitive power of our products on the international market. At the same time, we also have to curb spending at home in order to reduce imports, especially that of consumer goods."

Asked how Italy takes Greece's participation in the European Community, Forlani said, "Italy is behind Greece's entry into the EEC," in spite of the unfavourable effects on the country's business and trade. "Political significance comes first in our consideration," he noted.

In answer to a question about Italy's attitude towards Poland, he said that his country "is worried and is ready to offer aid if Poland so requests. He urged noninterference, whether direct or indirect, in Poland so as not to suppress the free expression of the Polish people."

CSO: 4020

ROMANIA'S CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

OW310750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received diplomatic envoys of various countries and representatives of a number of international organizations here today.

Present also were Elena Ceausescu, Ilie Verdet and other Romanian leaders.

N. Ceausescu spoke after a speech by Soviet Ambassador V. I. Drozdenko, chief of the Diplomatic Corps.

The president said that the ten years that have passed were ten years of labour and struggle. The country has achieved many successes and, at the same time, met many difficulties and made many mistakes. "We had to pass through roads still unknown to us. But we should say that the policies of the Romanian Communist Party have proved to be completely correct," he said.

He pointed out that the summaries [as received] they are making have a positive effect. The Romanian party and state leadership will try their best to ensure the fulfillment of the new plan for 1981, thus building a solid foundation for the new five-year plan and raising the material and spiritual welfare of the people to a new height.

Referring to the country's foreign policy and international situation, he said that his country hopes to have the broadest possible cooperation with all countries and will pay special attention to the relations with neighbouring countries in the Balkan and in Europe. His country will work for extensive cooperation with these countries with a view to realizing security and cooperation in the continent.

He noted that there are too many conflicts in the world today. He hoped that all these conflicts would be settled through negotiation. "We will contribute to the realization of this goal together with all peace- and cooperation-loving countries."

He pointed out that it is a regret that in the past ten years the gap between rich and poor countries, between developed and developing countries has widened. That is why the developing countries are expecting that certain progress would be made in solving the problem of under-development and in establishing a new international economic order in 1981 or the coming decade.

The president said that in fact, a special feature of 1980 was that the world economic crisis had deteriorated. He said, "we should point out frankly that the economic crisis beginning from developed capitalist countries has much stronger repercussions in the developing countries and has made their economic situation much worse. This crisis has also affected in one way or another the socialist countries. So it is actually becoming a crisis affecting all countries, thus bringing great deterioration to international relations."

"Therefore," he said, "we hope that measures would be taken to solve the crisis through cooperation based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. Do not shift all the difficulties onto the poor countries. The rich should have a share. The crisis should be shaken off through close cooperation between all countries, and economic activities should be restored through settling the problems related to disarmament and the new international economic order."

CSO: 4020

YUGOSLAV PRESIDENCY ISSUES MESSAGE TO NATION

OW310728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--The outgoing year shows that the Yugoslav people have the capability and confidence to further consolidate socialist, self-managed and non-aligned Yugoslavia--the cause of Josip Broz Tito.

This is stated in a New Year message issued here this evening by the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia.

Reviewing the international situation in 1980, the message says, "the world is confronted with endless unrest and conflicts, and the outgoing year has brought no tranquillity to the people. The international situation has markedly deteriorated and the threat to world peace kept growing. What is heartening, however, is the mounting resistance to the main causes leading to such a situation--inter-bloc rivalry, policy of strength, pressures, interference in the internal affairs of others, and all sorts of menaces to the sovereignty, freedom and independence of the peoples."

Turning to the situation at home, the message says, "in spite of the complex and grave economic problems in the past year, initial, remarkable results have been achieved in the policy to bring about economic stability. The working class and all laboring people firmly believe that this policy is the only way to tide over the existing difficulties. The coming year will not be an easy one and the whole world is greeting a new year with unstable economies and growing burdens. Our tasks ahead is to remove firmly and in an organized manner the basic causes of the economic instable economy and strive to curb price rises and deficits, thereby creating conditions for improving living standards on the basis of higher productivity and efficient management.

CSO: 4020

HOXHA LETTER ON CHINESE REVISIONISM PUBLISHED

AU041521 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 4 Dec 80

["There Is No Communist Party in China, But Clans and Factions Striving for Power"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 4 Dec (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes today excerpts from a letter that Comrade Enver Hoxha has sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo on 30 July 1978. It analyzes the policy of the Chinese leadership and many of the events that had occurred in China at that time. It makes clear the true political and ideological motives lurking behind the farce of the trial which is taking place in Beijing against the so-called "gang of the four." The trial of the so-called gang of the four and of the group of the top military leaders of the period of the cultural revolution is going on in Beijing according to the scenario composed long since. The newspapers of the Chinese capital as well as the XINHUA Agency publish every day a judicial correspondence, which reiterate the same accuses of the attorney, the same admissions of the witnesses, the same few and rare words of the accused who reject the accuses. It is precisely a Chinese comedy with terrible dragons and wise monkeys, with old illegible hieroglyphs and ancient undecipherable symbols. It is spoken of assassination of people, economic damage and destruction of property, of confusion and anarchy. But which has been the political line on behalf of which these things have occurred, who has elaborated it, who has launched and led the cultural revolution, who has led the "gang of the four," Lin Biao and Cheng Boda, who overthrew Deng Xiaoping and brought him again to power, who brought Hua Guofeng to power? Whom have the latter acted against, which was their line? The Beijing trial has not been organised to give explanations. It does not conform to the rules of logic and reason because it does not want to convince any one. It wants only to take revenge and settle accounts. Such acts need no facts and argumentations, witnesses and assertions. Therefore, it fully resembles a tragic farce which although was very carefully prepared cannot conceal the old struggle between the various Maoist groups for power and privileges, to dominate China each for its own account and according to its own desire.

The ZERI I POPULLIT board was composing an article devoted to the Beijing trial, when it got acquainted with a letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to Comrade Hysni Kapo on 30 July 1978. Comrade Enver Hoxha handed over this letter to the museum of Terbac on the occasion of its inauguration. It was a reply of a letter Comrade Hysni Kapo had sent to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha through which he condemned the anti-Marxist and

and anti-Albanian activity of the Chinese leadership and was in full solidarity with the correct stands of our party and government. At this time Comrade Hysni Kapo, being still sick after an infarct he had suffered from could not have attended the meeting of the Central Committee, where there was approved the rebuff of the Albanian Party and government to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chinese Government, on the cutting off credits and all economic relations with the PSR of Albania by China, and which was published in our press on 29 July 1978.

Follow some extracts from the letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha which has not been published so far. It analyses the policy of the Chinese leadership and many of the events which had occured in China. It clarifies very well even the true political and ideological motives which lurk behind the farce of the trial being held in Beijing now.

Dear Comrade Hysni,

The Chinese received the deserved rebuff. Our party and its leadership acted correctly on the Marxist-Leninist road. They exposed through facts another major enemy, Chinese revisionism, which had been hiding behind the guise of Marxism-Leninism for a long time...

> The ideological, political and organisational principles of the CPC and Mao Zedong are principles of a pronounced pragmatic philosophy with clear aims of transforming the "eternal" China into a superpower to dominate the world.

The Communist Party of China, especially Mao Zedong, who has been an idealist dreamer and visionary, without general culture (except that of Chinese antiquity) have followed the course of the history of mankind as the most xenophobic diletantes. Their ideological, political and organisational principles, especially since the time of the founding of the Communist Party of China and onwards, are principles of a pronounced pragmatic philosophy, which interest China alone and with clear aims of transforming "eternal" China into a superpower to dominate the world, to make the law, to dictate its will and culture.

In the analysis that we have made of their actions, we have come up against this Chinese ideology and we have seen and see that the forms of their organisation and action are concentrated in the direction of this ideology which they want to make "universal."

The figure of Mao Zedong has been inflated into a divine figure of a Chinese emperor. And in fact this modern emperor operates with all omnipotence over his courtiers who have created a swollen and terrible bureaucracy which applies the "ideas of genius" of the "great helmsman." He has subjugated the CPC and whenever he "deems" it necessary according to the "dialectical development of the opposites," seen from the angle of Maoism, topples people from power, attacks and liquidates the party, carries out the occasional "revolution," balances the power of courtesans. He explains all this with allegedly revolutionary formulas, but which are nothing other than more "cultured" actions than those of the Emperor Bokasa, of the shah of Iran and of the king of Nepal whom Mao Zedong loved so much, welcomed and farewelled not only because he was urged on by the material profit, the profit in politics to make them China's satellites but because Mao's philosophy was in conformity with theirs.

> Mao Zedong should be described not as a "prophet" of the revolutions, but a "prophet" of the counterrevolutions. He is a Chinese bakunin.

In these conditions, with these concepts the CPC could never be a Marxist-Leninist party.

The philosophy which guided it was idealist bourgeois, retrograde, because China itself, its society despite its democratic bourgeois revolution, has remained a closed society, with old beliefs and mentality dominated by mysticism and by philosophical and organisational state principles archaic in essence but which have allegedly evolved superficially. We can see this in the construction and form of the state, in the development of the economy, in the way the education and cultural system has been built, in the organisation of the army, etc. Everything bore the specific Chinese seal, from ideology literature down to the slogans.

The slogans had their source and everyone in China from the youngest to the eldest had to repeat them without making the slightest mistake in any letter or comma. This was a struggle to benumb the creative thinking, this trampled underfoot every form of democracy, this was nothing other than the cult of the "helmsman" and the domination of bureaucracy.

Such an aberrant development at given moments could and will only suffer defeat, which Mao Zedong has preached as "revolutions and counterrevolutions" in every 7 years.

Mao Zedong should not be described as a "prophet" of the revolutions, but a "prophet of the counterrevolutions." He represents the type of an anarchist who has confusion in his blood, chaos, the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but on the condition that this permanent anarchy be led by him or by his typical Chinese anarchist ideology. Mao Zedong is a Chinese bakunin. The cultural revolution was an illustration of the ideas and actions of this Chinese bakunin.

> The chaos created in China before the cultural revolution by the treacherous anti-Marxist line of Mao Zedong and that of his courtiers was combatted by the "great helmsman" with the anarchy of the cultural revolution.

The chaos created in China prior to the cultural revolution by the treacherous, anti-Marxist line of Mao Zedong and that of his courtiers, chaos in politics, ideology and economy replete with defeats was combatted by the "great helmsman" with the anarchy of the cultural revolution.

This anarchic revolution both saved the Maoist autocracy, but also risked undermining it. The "prestige" of the "helmsman" had to be saved, anarchy must not be allowed to eradicate myths, therefore military measures were used, the essence of bureaucracy incalcated in the courtier Zhou Enlai-Confucius was preserved and so-called "new" "revolutionary" elements were pushed onto the stage of propaganda and agitation, whom the "helmsman" charged with the role of illustrating anarchy as a "revolution within the revolution," allegedly to liquidate the bourgeoisie which had been admitted to the party. In fact, there was no party, but the bourgeoisie existed everywhere, clans and factions which fought for power. It was the Trotskyist "permanent revolution" which was led by Mao Zedong Trotsky.

> The so-called gang of the four acted as Mao instructed them. They lived as long as a spring flower, with the only exception that this "flower" was putrid, filled with the poison of all the other "flowers and schools" which flourished and are flourishing in China.

The so-called gang of the four had acted as Mao instructed them. He was their only support so this is why they lived as long as a spring flower, with the only exception that this "flower" was putrid, filled with the poison of all the other "flowers and schools" which flourished and are flourishing in China.

"The gang of the four" was a group of gossips with no principles, megalomanic, ambitious intriguers, like all the other factions of the bourgeoisie who swim in swampwater. But the latter controlled "swampwaters," while the "gang of the four" had the keys which were not worth a straw and did not make any organisational, state or economic move. They only wrote articles and organised ballets. They were suspicious people, just like all the others. Their heads were in the clouds like that of Mao, while the faction of Zhou, Deng and Yeh worked systematically to seize power.

"The gang of the four" thought that through its bombastic words it would raise the millions to their feet under "Mao's banner." But Deng, "overthrown" temporarily brought one million out of Tienanmen, shouting against the "gang of the four." Later on "the gang of the four" rose one million against Deng. The same people cheered for both of them. Deng came to power, one million came out and cheered for Deng. They were the same people who shouted against him before. This is the bitter and sinister "mirror" of Mao Zedong thought.

The bourgeois world describes the gang of the four as "radical." It is no accident that they add the word "socialist" to this epithet and make it "radical socialist." But they have never been radical, or socialist. In France there used to exist a powerful party of the bourgeoisie, which was called a radical-socialist party, which was led by bourgeois elements, outstanding politicians and literary men, such as Herriot, Daladier, etc. But this party, which suffered complete fiasco, left some traces, while the "radical" "gang of the four" was liquidated and disappeared without traces, just as Mao Zedong thought died or is dying.

> The black reaction of Hua Guofeng Deng Xiaoping will fight for power until savage state of fascist dictatorship is established.

The black reaction of Hua Guofeng-Deng Xiaoping, which has seized power, will fight for power until a savage state of fascist dictatorship is established.

The fight is for world hegemony. The strategy they follow is natural. The alliances with American imperialism and world reaction are natural, are normal. Just as normal are the antagonisms and the eruption of predatory wars which will arise from all this embracing between bandits.

> Maoism is in agony. It will suffer the same fate as the other theories invented by the world capitalism and imperialism in disintegration.

The analyses we are making of the Chinese revisionists are correct, objective and made in the light of Marxism-Leninism...

Maoism, as an anti-Marxist theory is in agony. It will suffer the same fate as the other theories invented by the world capitalism and imperialism in disintegration.

The current team ruling in China or the other teams which will most certainly come to power later on as a result of the internal struggle of the factions for power, will use Maoism, but as an antihistoric cadaver, to unscrupulously and shamelessly build up a powerful imperialist Chinese state in unity and divergencies with the other imperialists and through the oppression and exploitation of the peoples who aspire to, and fight for liberation, independence and socialism.

For the Chinese revisionists all the evil means are good means just as they are good for their friends, American, Soviet and other imperialists.

> Terrible waves have passed and will pass on the Chinese people but the day will come that there, too, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin will triumph.

Our just struggle will be long and protracted and this is why it is necessary that our party be very strong, in a militant revolutionary unity, that is why we must temper it every hour and every day in the ceaseless political, ideological and economic battles, we must make it as vigilent as possible, cherished and united with the people like flesh to bone through proletarian democracy, isolated from every diseased and undermining manifestation of opportunism, sectarianism and bureaucracy. The correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party will be supported and backed by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world. It will be supported by the world proletariat, by the peoples. The day to day life of the struggle of our party proves this. Through propaganda and all other means the Chinese fascist-revisionist cliques will do their utmost to arouse indignation amongst and enrage the Chinese people against us, deceive the world opinion. But they "cannot deceive all and at the same time." Terrible storms have and will pass over the Chinese people, but the day will come when, even there the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin will triumph. The present and coming generations of China will understand and will say: "The party of Labour of Albania opened our eyes, it acted correctly, it exposed Mao Zedong thought because it loved the Chinese proletarian revolution, because it wanted to dispel the destructive myths created in China, which hindered the happiness of this great people, who wants to live in genuine socialism."

I embrace and kiss you with longing,

Enver Pogradec,
30 July 1978

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' VIEWS PEACEFUL TURKISH NEW YEAR

OW020736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 2 Jan 81

["Round-up: First New Year After Military Takeover in Turkey"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Ankara, 1 Jan (XINHUA correspondent Liu Kaichen)--The Turkish people are passing their New Year today with a sign of relief for the first time for many years, as street violence has been basically checked and the security situation has much improved since the 12 September 1980 military takeover in Turkey.

Curfew throughout the country was put off today from midnight to 2 a.m., ending at 5 a.m. This extra two hours allowed many Turkish people to enjoy New Year's eve to their hearts' content, going to cinemas, theatres, and other entertainment spots. A special New Year TV program began from 5 p.m. yesterday evening and ended at 4 o'clock this morning. Usually it ends before midnight.

During the festival, additional train and bus tickets are available from Ankara to other cities to meet the increased demands.

In Ankara today, all public services operated normally without any interference. No water, electricity or gas cuts were made in order to guarantee the happy life of the New Year's Day.

The calm and joyful atmosphere prevailing in Ankara and other parts of the country today testifies to the outstanding achievement of the military authorities in the field against terrorism. Housewives in Ankara now are not so afraid of opening their doors to strangers as before the military takeover and the streets of Istanbul are not deserted after dusk for fear of terrorist attacks.

In the past few days, many housewives here were shopping for the New Year's celebrations. An abundance of foodstuff, clothes and many other goods, apart from cigarettes, are found in the market, although with some price increases.

This reflects some improvement in the economic field after the military takeover.

The Turkish daily GUNAYDIN said in a commentary yesterday, "Turkey is entering a new year with some hopes and positive developments for the first time in many years."

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' ROUNDUP REVIEWS ARMENIAN-TURKISH ENMITY

OW271644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1601 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Ankara, 27 Dec (XINHUA correspondent Liu Kaichen)--Funerals for Sarik Ariyak, Turkish consul-general in Sydney, Australia, and his bodyguard Engin Sever were held here yesterday.

On the early morning of 17 December, while Sarik Ariyak and his bodyguard were taking a car in the suburb of Sydney, two Armenian gunmen on a motorcycle drove past and shot them dead.

Turkish diplomats abroad have long been targets of Armenian terrorist organizations. Since 1973 Armenian terrorists have launched numerous bomb attacks against Turkish missions and offices abroad and claimed the lives of three Turkish ambassadors, two consuls-general, one first secretary, one press attache and several other Turkish people.

Armenian terrorism is the result of national discord in Turkish history. Armenians are a minority nationality in the country. Under the rule of the Ottoman empire, a part of the area inhabited by the Armenians was occupied by Czarist Russia, many Armenians were forced to live in what is eastern Turkey today. During the First World War, especially in 1915, the Ottoman government ordered all the Armenian population (about 1.5 million) to move from eastern Anatolia close to the Russian border to Syria and Lebanon (then a part of the Ottoman empire), under the excuse that the Armenians were serving the interest of a hostile power--Czarist Russia--in time of war. In the course of the exile, about one million Armenians died by violence and of famine and diseases.

After the end of the war, the exiled Armenians revenged themselves on the "Young Turk (Party)" leaders who helped the Ottoman government to expel Armenians. They killed Talat Pasa and Cemal Pasa, two of the party leaders, in Germany in 1922.

The Turkish revolution led by Mustafa Kemal overthrew the Ottoman empire in 1923. However, the exiled Armenians did not give up their vengeance. They continued to give vent to their anger on Turkish diplomats who had nothing to do with the "Armenian massacres" at all.

The exiled Armenians and their descendants now scatter over the United States, Australia, Lebanon and many European countries. In France alone, there are 200,000 Armenians.

They established "the Armenian genocide justice commandos", "the Armenian secret army", "the Armenian genocide revengers army" and several other terrorist organizations to wreak vengeance on Turkish diplomats abroad.

In recent years, the Soviet Union used Armenian terrorists to serve its own interest. According to the Turkish daily HURRIYET, "the Soviet secret service KGB is running the Armenian terrorist movement."

The spiritual leader of the Armeanian community in Istanbul, Archbishop Ohannes Colakyan, recently urged the Armenians all over the world not to become involved in such "shameful actions" and not be tools of any organization.

CSO: 4020

JAPAN'S PREMIER HOLDS NEW YEAR'S PRESS CONFERENCE

OW311622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1600 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Tokyo, 1 Jan (XINUUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki told a press conference on the New Year's Day here that he chose the ASEAN member countries as his first visit abroad from 8 to 20 January since he took his office in July 1980.

"The purpose of my visit is to show by deeds Japan's basic desire to further develop friendly and cooperative relations with ASEAN," he said.

On his scheduled 13-day visit to five ASEAN countries--the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand--Suzuki said he would exchange views with the ASEAN leaders on both bilateral and international problems. He said he would observe the two proposals made by former Japanese prime ministers for extending economic assistance to five big ASEAN projects and for promoting the cooperation between Japan and the ASEAN.

Referring to the Kampuchean problem, he expressed support for ASEAN's stand toward the Democratic Kampuchea. He held that the regime of Democratic Kampuchea should be respected.

Suzuki said he will visit Washington on his way home from Mexico City, where he will attend the north-south summit meeting in June. He added that he planned to dispatch Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito to visit the United States prior to his meeting with President Reagan. He said "Japan's diplomacy is aimed at establishing close and matured relationship with the United States."

On the Japan-Soviet relations, Suzuki said that it is absolutely necessary to settle the four-northern island territorial dispute before concluding a peace treaty between the two countries. However, he said that Japan would promote relations with the Soviet Union in the field of economic cooperation.

On the newly approved defense budget, Suzuki said that Japan's 1981 defense budget was set at 2,400,000 million yen (some 11,428 million dollars), or up 7.8 percent from the current fiscal year ending 31 March. He added that the defense spending is aimed at modernization and qualitative improvement of equipment.

He said "it is a matter to be decided by the Japanese Government and I believe the United States will have a full understanding of this."

Suzuki stressed "Japan cannot play a big international role militarily but will do as much as it can politically through economic and technological cooperation."

CSO: 4020

THAI PAPER REPORTS SOVIET ARMS IN KAMPUCHEA

OW270829 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Bangkok, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has poured large quantities of armour, heavy weapons and ammunition into Kampuchea to strengthen the Vietnamese troops, said the BANGKOK POST today in a report quoting a high-ranking military officer in the Supreme Command of Thailand.

The officer told the BANGKOK POST yesterday that the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh ordered the Kompong Saom seaport closed to all foreign and unauthorised vessels between the 13th and 20th of this month while Russian cargo ships were unloading war materials.

Thai field military sources said one Vietnamese troops battalion and another engineers' battalion were sent to reinforce the forces at the O-Salao area.

In Paoy Pet yesterday, the Vietnamese troops started burning shrubs and elephant grass around the border town to prevent the Democratic Kampuchean troops from using them as cover. The blaze touched off a string of explosions from landmines planted in the area.

As a precaution against a possible spillover of the fighting in Kampuchea, Thai reinforcements have been sent to the border, said the Thai officer.

Meanwhile, in Ta Phraya and Aranyaprathet districts of Thailand's Prachin Buri Province, a 7 pm-6 am curfew imposed by the first army region against travelling on the Thanavithi road from Aranyaprathet to Ta Phraya went into effect yesterday.

Informed military sources here said the Thai troops, border patrol and local police stationed in the border areas throughout the entire eastern front from Ubon Ratchathani to Trat provinces have been placed on full alert since Wednesday.

CSO: 4020

'VODK' CLAIMS RECENT GUERRILLA VICTORIES

OW270823 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--The national army troops and guerrillas of Batdambang Province, Kampuchea destroyed several dozen metres of railway line on the Svay Prey-Kraum Phluk section of Koas Krala district on the night of 21 December, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

On the same night they attacked a Vietnamese post at Sophi station west of Sisophon, killing 15 Vietnamese soldiers and wounding 17 others. Also on this night, they attacked a Vietnamese company guarding Bridge No 8 on the road linking Sisophon and Thmar Puok. Twenty-eight Vietnamese were killed and the rest fled.

At ten o'clock on the morning of 22 December, the national army and guerrillas destroyed three Vietnamese military trucks moving from Rovieng to Reach district, Pouthisat Province in an ambush. They wiped out 35 Vietnamese and captured a quantity of materials. On the same day, they ambushed a battalion of Vietnamese troops on the road from Peam Prous to Anlong Reap, west of Reak district, wiping out 22 of them.

On 10 December guerrillas killed two Vietnamese soldiers in the Dol Tapung Market in Phnom Penh.

The guerrillas captured six Vietnamese posts in Samlot district, Batdambang Province after fierce fighting from 10 to 17 December. They wiped out 58 Vietnamese invaders and once again cut off Samlot from Highway No 10.

On 20 December, they twice ambushed a company of Vietnamese aggressor troops in Dei Kraham, Kaoh Kong Province, killing 27 and wounding 29 Vietnamese.

CSO: 4020

THAILAND PERMITTING ONLY MEDICAL AID TO PHNOM PENH

OW281236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Bangkok, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The National Security Council (NSC) of Thailand has informed the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that it is permitted to fly only medical supplies to Phnom Penh, not foodstuffs, for humanitarian reasons, Prasong Soonsiri, secretary-general of the council, said yesterday.

ICRC delegate Francois Perez was called to Prasong's office and handed a letter informing his agency of the Thai Government's stand.

The NSC has also indicated to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) that if it reduces the quantity of food supplies to Khmer refugees across the "Land Bridge," the government will also require the amount of food shipped to Kampong Som to be cut by the same proportion.

The action was reportedly taken because the ICRC has notified the Thai Government that it will stop giving food aid to more than 150,000 refugees around the "Land Bridge" areas and provide them only with medicine. UNICEF informed the Thai Government that from 1 January, it will reduce the amount of food given to the refugees at the Thai-Kampuchean border area.

Thailand has always maintained that the refugees encamped in Thailand and living at the Land Bridge areas must be given equal amounts of, if not more, food aid.

He said the Thai Government has also told other international relief agencies that if there is any new military incursion into Thailand from the Kampuchean side, it will not permit ICRC planes or UNICEF ships to go to Phnom Penh and Kompong Som through Thailand.

CSO: 4020

THAI LEADERS URGE VIGILANCE, UNITY, FRUGALITY

OW311755 Beijing XINHUA in English 1642 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Bangkok, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--Thai leaders in their New Year radio addresses here tonight called on the whole nation to be vigilant, strive to overcome all difficulties and unite as one to build the country and safeguard its liberty, sovereignty, independence and prosperity.

King of Thailand Phumiphon Abunyadet said that in the past year, the Thai people have managed to deal smoothly with a number of extraordinary events with endurance, unity and wisdom.

In the coming new year, he continued, the whole people should at least be as vigilant as in the past and go all out in their joint effort to build a strong and all-round Thailand.

Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon in his New Year address said that from the very beginning, his government has adopted various measures for solving the problems the country is facing, particularly the problem of increasing the personal income of the people. However, he added, the country still has to face the world-wide shortage of fuel oil in 1981. All the compatriots of the country should get united and strive to help overcome the difficulties of the country with coordinated action and the meeting of minds, for from unity comes the solid strength with which to safeguard the independence of the nation.

Harin Hongsakul, speaker of the Thai National Assembly, urged the whole people to help one another in the forthcoming year which will be another year of difficulties, and practice thrift and frugality, eliminate extravagance and discard all ill practices.

CSO: 4020

FORMER INDIAN OFFICIAL HITS INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

OW291757 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--Former Indian Foreign Minister A.B. Vajpayee said yesterday that the recognition of Kampuchea's Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea "propped by the Vietnamese Army" had created serious misgivings about the independence of India's foreign policy.

THE TIMES OF INDIA today quoted Vajpayee as adding that independent observers could not be blamed if they infer that Indo-Soviet friendship was being transformed into Indo-Soviet alignment.

Vajpayee voiced the criticism while delivering an address at an open session of his Bharatiya Janata Party's national convention in Bombay yesterday.

Deploring India's acquiescence in the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, he pointed out that India's stand on this issue had tarnished its own image and isolated itself completely from its neighbors, the non-aligned group and the Islamic world.

He said that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had precipitated in this part of the world a situation which should have prompted both India and Pakistan to forget the past and try to open a new chapter in their relations. But it was a matter of regret that the leadership in both countries failed to achieve this aim. India, he stressed, should realize that it was in its own interest to have a strong and stable Pakistan between itself and the Soviet Union as a buffer. Any temptation to take advantage of Pakistan's present difficulties could in the long run prove very costly to India, he warned.

CSO: 4020

INDIAN FARMERS DEMAND HIGHER PRICES

OW281220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--Farmers in India's western state of Maharashtra have staged a 365-km march for better government-support prices for their crops, according to reports from New Delhi.

The march, which began in Nasik on 7 December and ended in Nagpur on 26 December, enjoyed the support of six opposition parties. The farmers wanted to present a memorandum to the state legislature on 26 December, the final day of its present session in Nagpur. But the police turned them back before they reached the state lawmakers meeting.

Earlier, the state authorites had announced a ban on the march to try to prevent it. When the marchers were on their way, the police harassed them all along the route, arresting 5,000 farmers and politicians taking part in the march, including opposition leader former External Affairs Minister Y. B. Chavan, other former ministers and members of Parliament.

Opposition leaders in the Indian Parliament raised a storm of protest on 22 December over the arrest of Chavan. The Executive Committee of the opposition Bharatiya Janata (Indian People's) Party released a statement in Bombay, capital of the Maharashtra state, saying: "We regret that a peaceful march was sought to be disrupted by all sorts of arbitrary tactics."

Similar agitations also took place in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. About 1,000 demonstrating farmers were arrested in a 3-day blockade of food supplies to urban areas ending 26 December. Farmers in another southern state of Karnataka pledged to have their own march next week. The Karnataka state officials moved quickly to ban strikes and demonstrations Saturday and ordered reserve police and paramilitary home guards to strategic rail, communication and road links.

CSO: 4020

PHILIPPINE'S ROMULO HAILS UN RESOLUTIONS

OW150305 Beijing XINHUA in English 0255 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Manila, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo yesterday described the UN resolution on Kampuchea as a success of ASEAN in its efforts to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Romulo, who arrived here yesterday from New York, said in a prepared statement that "of utmost importance to us in the region is the festering conflict in Kampuchea. As chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, I had the responsibility of drawing up the strategy and leading the fight to defend one of the sacrosanct principles of the United Nations Charter--that of nonintervention and self-determination. Through the concerted efforts of the ASEAN countries, we not only succeeded, by overwhelming majority votes, in having the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea upheld once again, but also in convincing the world body to reiterate its call for the total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, and the convening of an international conference with a view to finding a political settlement to the problem."

"The question of Afghanistan remains a focal point of danger. As I have often said, with minor alterations, the situation in Afghanistan bears a strong similarity to the one in Kampuchea. Both cases violate the principle of nonintervention and self-determination. Recognizing this, the assembly once again demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country prior to a political solution to the problem," he said.

CSO: 4020

CARTER VIEWS AFGHAN, HOSTAGE SITUATIONS

OW250728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--U.S. President Jimmy Carter yesterday urged the Soviet Union to withdraw its military forces from Afghanistan, according to Washington reports.

In an impromptu interview in his hometown Plains, Georgia, where he is spending his Christmas holidays and in a formal statement issued by his office in Washington, the president marked the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with the call that the Soviet Union respond to those nations urging the withdrawal of its military forces.

He said the Soviet Union made "a serious mistake" by invading Afghanistan. The Soviets have not been able in the last year to establish a government that has the support of the Afghan people though "massive firepower and increasingly brutal tactics" have been employed with the result that more than 1.2 million Afghans have fled to Pakistan alone.

He noted the "brave resistance of the Afghan people who have continued their struggle for independence and the right to determine their own political future."

"The suffering of the Afghan people must be brought to an end," he stressed.

Carter reiterated the United States' willingness "to join in the effort to find a political solution involving a Soviet withdrawal."

Referring to the U.S.-Iranian relations, the president said prospects are "quite dim" for the hostages' release before he leaves office on 20 January next year.

The U.S. position on the hostage question has been explained "very clearly" and "we will not pay any ransom," Carter declared.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AL-SADAT ASSERTS EGYPT'S SUPPORT FOR AFGHAN PEOPLE

OW271855 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat reasserted today that Egypt is determined to double its support and assistance to the Afghan people against the Soviet invasion until the unbending Afghan people retrieve their full freedom. He appealed to all Arabs and Muslims "to establish their solidarity with the sacred national struggle of the Afghan people, to renounce their disputes and close their ranks."

Al-Sadat gave these remarks in his message to a public conference here marking the day of solidarity with the Afghan people. Al-Sadat's message was read out by Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali.

The president said that "the Soviet military occupation constitutes a threat to the security of the Gulf, the Middle East as well as to our security." This invasion calls upon "every Moslem to stand up in material and political solidarity with the valiant Afghan holy warriors."

Al-Sadat pointed out that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has topped a multitude of adventures during the past years in Africa, the Arab world, the Far East, East Europe and Latin America.

The president stressed that "if the Soviet Union is determined to pursue its policy of colonialist invasion and illegitimate interference in the Middle East and in the vital Arab and Islamic causes, it will certainly face active and joint resistance" and "eventually face the inevitable fate of the ancient empires which depended on tyranny and the use of force."

Today's public conference was organized by the constituent assembly of the Leage of Islamic and Arab Peoples, at which four visiting Afghan resistance leaders strongly condemned the Soviet aggressive atrocities in Afghanistan. They said that the Afghan people are determined to continue their struggle until final victory, which is not only the cause of the Afghan people but also one of all Muslims. President al-Sadat received these representatives at his residence in his home village yesterday.

The conference ushered in a week of solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, with the TV station giving a series of special programmes on Afghanistan. People in the city of Port said and in other places are reported to have started a campaign of donation to support the Afghan people's struggle against Soviet occupation.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN REFUGEES DENOUNCE SOVIET INVASION

OW271659 Beijing XINHUA in English 1650 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Peshawar, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Speaking at mass rallies held in refugee camps here today on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Afghan Islamic leaders strongly denounced the Soviet aggression against their motherland.

Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan said that the Russian invasion of Afghanistan is not only aimed at enslaving the Afghan people and plundering their natural resources but is also against Islam.

Rabbani, who is also president of the Afghan Islamic Society, noted: "The Afghan people remembered many kinds of plots and tricks which came from the West. But now this time they came from the East (Russia). All these plots and tricks are played to colonize us."

Speaking at the Warsak refugee camp, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, president of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, pointed out that the Russians thought that they could occupy Afghanistan in a few hours or several days as they did in Czechoslovakia. They were absolutely wrong. Afghanistan is not to be subdued. Today everybody knows that Russia is the symbol of aggression and invasion of the poor countries and nations, he stressed.

Similar mass rallies were also held today in refugee camps near Peshawar.

An exhibition of captured Russian weapons and ammunition as well as photographs of captured Soviet militarymen sponsored by the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan will open here tomorrow.

CSO: 4020

DEMONSTRATORS IN WEST PROTEST AFGHANISTAN INVASION

OW281224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--Afghans and other people in Sweden, West Germany and Norway held rallies or demonstrations yesterday to mark the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The demonstrators demanded immediate withdrawal of the invaders from Afghanistan.

In Stockholm, some 800 people, holding banners reading "Russians out of Afghanistan!," marched to the Soviet Embassy yesterday afternoon.

At a rally there, Chairman of the Swedish Liberal Party Lars Leijon Berg said that the Swedes abhorred the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He called for broader public denunciation of Moscow's aggression and voiced support for Afghan people's resistance against the Soviet invaders.

A resolution on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was adopted at the end of the rally.

In West Germany, some 600 Afghan students of the Bonn University held a protest rally near the Soviet Embassy on 27 December. The students passed a resolution cursing the Soviets for their "barbaric crimes" and their bombardment of Afghan villages and towns. They demanded the West German Government "not to accept the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a fait accompli."

On the same day, a separate rally was held in Paulsplatz, Frankfurt. The demonstrators burned an effigy of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev.

In Oslo, about 100 Norwegians demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy. The Afghanistan Committee in Norway, organizer of the demonstration, issued a resolution, addressed to Soviet President Brezhnev, demanding immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN PAPER ON AFGHAN RESISTANCE

OW241318 Beijing XINHUA in English 1309 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Islamabad, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--"If the Russians are allowed to have their way in Afghanistan, a precedent will be set that could be repeated anywhere with impunity and nobody's freedom will be safe," says the "PAKISTAN TIMES" in its editorial today.

The editorial says, "The world community has by and large stood by the Afghan people in their hour of trial, but some governments, particularly in the West, have not yet taken the kind of economic and diplomatic action strong enough to deter the aggressor. There is also the need for larger and more organised international assistance to enable Pakistan to look after the 1.3 million Afghan refugees who have fled Soviet military terror."

It notes that the blatant violation of the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan "marked a new stage in the Soviet use of armed forces as an instrument of its global strategy."

It stresses that Moscow has achieved neither its military nor political objective. Despite the massive inflow of arms and men into Afghanistan, Moscow failed to break the Afghan spirit of independence. The Mujahideen, lacking both weapons and mobility, continue to offer active resistance to Soviet troops.

The Afghan army, it says, has almost disintegrated and now it is the Soviet forces doing all the fighting. Neutral military observers, however, say that the Soviets are being gradually cornered into a no-win position, the editorial writes.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN RESISTANCE LEADERS IN CAIRO ISSUE STATEMENTS

OW260712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Cairo, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--Three visiting leaders of Afghan Islamic resistance organizations cited many successes scored in their resistance against Soviet aggressors over the past year.

In a statement carried in the Egyptian paper "AL AHRAM" today, they said that the Soviets and their henchmen could only stay in the capital and big cities while freedom-fighters and revolutionary tribes are in control of the vast countryside, hilly regions and forests.

Despite insufficient weapons and shortage of food and medicine, they said, the resistance forces are in high morale, resolved to free their country from the Soviet occupation.

The threat posed by the Soviet invasion, they noted, is directed not only to Afghanistan alone, but also to the Islamic world as a whole, for Afghanistan is serving as a wall shielding other Islamic countries from foreign attacks.

These leaders voiced their determination over the radio here yesterday to wage struggles, political or military, and employ all means available to completely free Afghanistan from Soviet domination.

They also appealed to Arab and Islamic countries for more material and moral support to the Afghan resistance forces.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN GROUPS URGE FIGHT AGAINST SOVIET INVADERS

OW261620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Peshawar, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--The Afghan Islamic society "Jamait-i-Islami of Afghanistan" called upon heroic Mujahideen on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to demonstrate their strong condemnation of the barbaric aggressor by intensifying their crushing attacks.

The call was issued by Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic society, in a statement yesterday.

The statement said: "The anniversary of the shameful aggression by the Russian imperialists on our country is the most tragic catrastrophe in the history of mankind." "They burned, killed and looted and brought about the catastrophe which still continues," it added.

The statement called upon the whole nation to hang up black flags over their homes as a symbol of mourning.

The statement urged the Muslim nations and all the people throughout the world to come to their help and to condemn the Soviet invaders wherever they are and by whatever means they can use.

A communique issued by another organization, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hezb-i-Islami of Afghanistan) noted: "27 December is one of the black days in the history of the Muslim people of Afghanistan."

The communique said that the party condemns this bloody day and will participate in the demonstration against Russians and their puppets.

CSO: 4020

SOVIET SETBACKS IN AFGHANISTAN REPORTED

OW261616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1610 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Peshawar, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan have suffered 27 casualties and losses in tanks, trucks and helicopters in their week-long attack on Panjshair Valley, Parwan Province, which started on 11 December.

According to a report of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan here today, Afghan freedom-fighters have also killed some 40 puppet troops and captured some weapons in the valley.

Another report said that guerrillas destroyed some Soviet tanks in Khost, Paktia Province, on 17 December and in Laza Mangal of the same province. Twenty Afghan soldiers and an officer in Laza Mangal crossed over to join the resistance.

Soviet and Afghan puppet troops attacking guerrilla positions in Dishu, Helmand Province, have fallen back after sustaining a number of casualties.

The report added that the trunk road between Kabul and Kandahar was blocked for several days in the middle of this month. Guerrillas continued to be active in the city of Kandahar.

Casualties and other losses were inflicted on the Soviet troops in Yarghali Mountain, Samangan Province, on 10 December.

Freedom-fighters ambushed an enemy convoy in Gul Taipa, Kunduz Province, and captured two truckloads of wheat and sugar and destroyed two jeeps and one truck.

CSO: 4020

PROBLEMS FACING KABUL REGIME REVIEWED

OW281928 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Peshawar, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The economic situation of Afghanistan under the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal regime is deteriorating day by day, according to a report from Kabul received here today.

The regime is faced with great difficulties of famine and has no way to provide daily necessities. The Soviet Defence Ministry had to pay the salary of the military and civil officials of the Karmal regime.

In spite of a great number of Russian troops stationed in Afghanistan they have not been able to control the situation. The report says that Russian advisers concerned have been recalled to Moscow to assess the serious situation.

Some members of the Parcham faction of the People's Democratic Party said that they disagreed with the Russians who had made the situation more serious. It was reported that a deputy minister of the interior had been arrested in Kabul by Russian secret police.

The situation in Kabul has become more critical. The Karmal regime often arrested and imprisoned residents of the city without any investigation. They even arrested pedestrians on the streets. Russian police and troops are plundering the houses of the people under the pretext of search.

CSO: 4020

AFGHANS IN U.S. PROTEST SOVIET AGGRESSION

OW280251 Beijing XINHUA in English 0238 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Washington, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Some 300 Afghans demonstrated near the Soviet Embassy here this afternoon to mark the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

They marched in freezing cold to a place about 200 meters away from the Soviet Embassy to join some Afghans already on hunger strike for 5 days in protest against the Soviet occupation of their country. The demonstrators carried placards reading: "Russian killers out of Afghanistan," "Down with Russian imperialists" and "They can kill us but they cannot conquer us."

A leaflet issued by the Afghan community here during the demonstration said that the Afghan people rose empty-handed against the Soviet invaders in the last year and have frustrated Kremlin's efforts for the control of their homeland.

The leaflet said that all that has happened in Afghanistan "contradicts the Kremlin's claims of limited objectives of ensuring stability on its southern border. It is a clear example of the Soviet expansionist policies for greater military thrust in control of the world."

It exposed the Soviet suppression of the Afghan people. "There is an abundance of evidence that they have used both chemical and biological warfare in violation of all human rights and international laws," the leaflet said. "Because of their indiscriminate bombing and shelling, many parts of the country have been transformed into piles of (?rubble) which have forced more than 1.5 million people to flee to neighboring Pakistan and Iran and seek refuge," it added.

"If the Soviet military advances are not checked in Afghanistan today," the leaflet went on, "the geo-political advantages that accrue to the Soviet Union will certainly enable the Kremlin to coerce, one by one, the countries in the Gulf area...to fall into the Soviet orbit."

The freedom fighters in Afghanistan, however ill-prepared and poorly equipped they may be, are determined to fight to the end, the leaflet said. It appealed to the world for support to the Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion.

CSO: 4020

JAPAN PRESS MARKS SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

OW271650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Tokyo, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Many Japanese newspapers noted in their editorials issued today on the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that the Soviet big power behaviour has made it increasingly isolated in the world.

"MAINICHI SHIMBUN" pointed out in an editorial that in the past year fighting between Afghan guerrillas on the one hand and the Soviet occupation forces and the Karmal government troops on the other has been unfolding. The more the Soviet Union tries to prop up the Karmal regime, more Afghans would be killed and deeper hostility and hatred would be created, thus landing it into a Viet Nam-styled quagmire. The Soviet Union's stupid acts have once again made it a target of public denunciation.

The editorial said that in the fighting in Afghanistan, casualties of the Soviet troops have surpassed ten thousand. Internationally the Soviet Union is more isolated and at home criticisms have been levelled against it. It has paid a higher price.

ASAHI SHIMBUN said in an editorial today, "One year after its invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union today still deploys 80,000 to 90,000 armymen there, and possibly will send more reinforcements. The Soviet Union, which tries to bring Afghanistan into its sphere of influence by force of arms, has met determined resistance from the people of the moutainous state and has been bogged down in an inextricable quagmire."

"Even for such a big power as the Soviet Union," it added, "it is very difficult to quell resistance from the people of a small nation by force. This is the lesson of the present world."

"One year after its military intervention in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union began to take the bitter path the U.S. had walked during the Viet Nam war," it says.

It pointed out, "Two resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and a resolution of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference, representing overwhelming public opinion, demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and the realization of national self-determination. The Soviet Union should not ignore such public opinion." It must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, it stressed.

CSO: 4020

U.S. OFFICIALS ASSESS AFGHAN SITUATION

OW260832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 26 Dec 80

["Yearender: Afghanistan--How Washington Sees It"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Washington, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union is floundering in a quagmire, miserably failing in most of its objectives during the course of a year of brutal military invasion of Afghanistan. U.S. official and other sources all recognize that the resistance movement has put up such stiff resistance that as far as the Kremlin is concerned there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

During the course of the past year in Afghanistan, one State Department senior official has said, "they have had little success in building support for the Babrak Karmal regime, which faces widespread and growing alienation and resistance within Afghanistan. There is also almost a universal hostility to the Soviet presence which has intensified its problems, and although the Kremlin has been able to keep Karmal in power, he is regarded throughout Afghanistan as a mere Soviet puppet."

Thousands of Afghan soldiers have defected. The Afghan army force has dropped from 100,000 prior to the Soviet invasion to about 25,000. The continuing flow of refugees is another indication of the failure of the Soviet effort to subdue the Afghan countryside. A U.S. official has stated that one out of every ten of the population of the country is a refugee, and that more than one million have left their homeland for Pakistan and elsewhere.

According to U.S. Government sources, a noteworthy development during the last few months has been the indications of better cooperation between nationalist groups in actions against the Soviet invaders. There are signs of some intertribal coordination and cooperation in a number of key provinces. The resistance is mainly focused on the Soviet intruders, and it is ironical that the resistance is combatting the intruders with equipment, small arms in particular, which they have wrested from Soviet troops or from defected Afghan soldiers.

A year after the invasion, reported the press here, 75 percent of the countryside is outside the effective control of the regime. The nationwide nature of the resistance is making it very difficult for the Soviet troops to succeed in their efforts to suppress it.

The Soviet invasion is a matter of concern not only to the United States and the West, for it seeks to ensure that the Soviet Union domination extends to the oil bearing areas of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. U.S. officials are worried that it might lower the threshold for the exercise of Soviet military power in pursuit of its expansionist foreign policy objective and create a very dangerous situation.

CSO: 4020

U.S. PROFESSOR URGES SUPPORT FOR AFGHAN RESISTANCE

OW270122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0108 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Washington, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Zalmay Khalilzad, professor of political science at Columbian [as received] University, today called for support by the United States and its allies for the Afghan opposition to Soviet invasion and for endeavours to achieve a Soviet withdrawal from that country.

Writing in THE WASHINGTON POST today on the anniversary of Soviet invasion, he recalled that immediately after the invasion, many people argued that the Soviet purpose in invading was limited. But Soviet policies since the invasion indicated that they at least wanted to integrate Afghanstain into the Soviet satellite empire, the article said.

The article said that Soviet behavior underlines its determination to maintain its grip on Afghanistan. Indiscriminate bombing, the exploitation of internal conflicts--all the familiar tactics of a colonial war are being employed to break the resistance.

"From a Western perspective," it said, "it should also be clear that Moscow's continued and unhindered occupation of Afghanistan, and a possible Soviet move in the direction of the Persian Gulf, constitute a threat to American and Western credibility and, more immediately, to vital economic and security interests in the Gulf."

The article held that whether the Soviets attempt other Afghan style operations in the region will depend on many factors, but a major one is likely to be the Western ability to contain Soviet power. Without such a Western capability, the Soviets may well be tempted to become more adventurous. Soviet policy in the larger region may well depend on its experience in Afghanistan, it noted.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' REVIEWS SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

OW291854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 29 Dec 80

["Southern Africa after Zimbabwe's Independence by Correspondents Xia Ze and Guan Yunqui"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--Southern Africa has taken on a strategically new look following the independence of Zimbabwe last April, leaving the racists a lone foothold in the southernmost part of the continent.

The independence of Zimbabwe has fortified the confidence of the peoples still struggling for liberation. Black students in South Africa boycotted classes for several months in protest against the apartheid policy and won sympathy and support of the black population. Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization, has said that Zimbabwe's victory came as a tremendous support to the Namibian people and an assurance that they would eventually win in the struggle against South African domination.

Zimbabwe has rapidly rehabilitated its economy since independence. Crops are growing well. It is estimated that the output of corn will reach 1.6 million tons this year and the country will be able to export more to its grain-deficient neighbours. Some manufactured goods are also available for export. These achievements will improve the economic strength of the country and serve as an impetus to regional development.

Independent Zimbabwe has secured for its neighbouring independent states a peaceful environment which is another factor in favor of regional economic cooperation and development. Encouraged by the progress in Zimbabwe, the independent Southern African states are working out plans for this cooperation to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. To this end, nine Southern African states held their first conference on coordinated development, at which they signed agreements on cooperation in communications and transport.

Zimbabwe's independence represents a rebuff to the Soviet expansionist designs in Southern Africa. Since its success in putting Angola under its control, the Soviet Union has tried to extend its influence to Zimbabwe--an important target in Southern Africa for Moscow's strategy. This Soviet drive was thwarted thanks to the Zimbabwean government's independent policy of active non-alignment. However, Moscow will not taking its reverse lying down and will miss no chance for a renewed attempt in Southern Africa.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' EXPLORES 'SHABA TODAY'

OW310712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 31 Dec 80

["News in Depth by Correspondent Yang Qi: Shaba Today"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Kinshasa, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--Mining and life in Shaba, the southern, copper and cobalt rich province of Zaire, have recovered from the ravages of two invasions by Soviet and Cuban-trained mercenaries in 1977 and 1978. And there are signs of new progress.

The Shaba region is called by the local people the "lungs of Zaire". Mines and factories of the General Mining Company of Zaire sprawled along a stretch of 300 kilometers from the southeast to the northwest of the copper belt where several cities, have sprung up.

The General Mining Company, Zaire's biggest enterprise vital for the country's economy, has overfulfilled the target of copper and cobalt output in the first three quarters of this year and is expected to produce 420,000 tons of copper and 15,000 tons of cobalt this year, surpassing the output of 1978 or 1979.

The soaring price of cobalt on the world market last year enabled the company to earn a large sum of hard currency and its turnover reached to 1.54 billion U.S. dollars, 164 percent over that of the previous year. According to the estimate of a leading personnel of the company, the company's sales proceeds would go up further this year if the world prices of copper and cobalt remain at the present higher level. Sixty-one percent of its hard currency earnings or more than half of the nation's hard currency revenue, was handed over to the government. This helped the government much in the repayment 450 million U.S. dollars of debt this year.

During the two Shaba wars, large numbers of refugees had fled to Angola and Zambia. Since 1978, with the help of the office of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, nearly 170,000 refugees have returned home.

Vice-Governor Salum told this correspondent that self-sufficiency has been achieved in meat, eggs, checken and vegetables, thanks to the local government's agricultural program. In the towns we visited, there was abundant supply of consumer goods at prices no higher than in the capital.

We were told that the two invasions of Shaba had brought untold suffering to both the local people and the neighbouring countries. Former Katanga gendarmes, who once served as Soviet-Cuban mercenaries, now live in exile in Angola and Zambia and lead a precarious existence.

Considerable progress has been made in the negotiations between Angola and Zaire with the participation commissioner of the U.N. High Commission for the return of these gendarmes. Local military and administrative authorities said that they were ready to welcome home their brothers who had gone astray. Eluki Monga Aungu, commander of the First Military Region, said confidently that Shaba is safe as since the government has adopted a series measure to ensure its security.

CSO: 4020

COMOROS' FOREIGN MINISTER INTERVIEWED 17 DECEMBER

OW171640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1610 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Moroni, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Comoro Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Ali Mroudjae denounced the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea in an interview with XINHUA here this morning.

On the Afghan problem, he said: "The aggression against Afghanistan and its occupation by Soviet troops have shocked the whole world, the Islamic countries including Afghanistan in particular. For us, this aggression constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the UN charter by a superpower pursuing its hegemonic designs." "The Comoro delegation (to the 35th UN General Assembly session) condemned the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and the presence of foreign troops in this non-aligned Islamic country," he added. "There can never be a political solution to the problem of Afghanistan so long as the Soviet troops remain in that country," he stressed.

On the Kampuchean problem, the minister said: "We condemn the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia and so long as these foreign troops are not withdrawn, we cannot recognize a regime installed by a foreign power against the will of the Kampuchean people."

Mroudjae also appealed for an immediate ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, and voiced strong opposition to any form of foreign intervention in the conflict, especially Soviet or U.S. intervention.

CSO: 4020

ANGOLAN MPLA-PARTY OF LABOR HOLDS CONGRESS

OW251947 Beijing XINHUA in English 1848 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--The first extraordinary congress of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA)-party of labour ended in Luanda recently, according to reports from that city.

The congress approved a report made by Jose Eduardo dos Santos on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, and the main directions of economic and social development of Angola in the period from 1981 to 1990. The congress also elected Dos Santos president of the party.

In his report, Dos Santos pointed out that in the past three years, the industrial sector was recovering steadily, with the total mining production increased by 450 percent of the oil output reaching 21 million tons. However, the goal of meeting the people's essential needs set forth in 1977 has failed to be realised. The situation in the fields of education and public health, especially in food supply, is far from satisfactory.

This was because of indiscipline and the continued war conditions, the report said. There remained the serious problem of the lack of a new setup which makes the leadership vigorous and efficient, the report maintained.

On foreign policy, the report reaffirmed support of the stand of the South West Africa People's Organization and the African National Congress of South Africa on liberation struggle, and condemned the South African racialist regime's successive armed attacks against Angola.

The resolution on social and economic issue approved at the congress stressed the need to take the improvement of the people's life as one of the party's most important tasks.

The resolution stressed the gratitude to the Soviet Union and Cuba for their "internationalist assistance and support".

CSO: 4020

OAU CONFERENCE ON CHAD OPENS

OW231854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Lagos, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--The Fifth Conference on Chad opened here this morning under the auspices of the OAU to assess the situation and seek a "lasting peace" in that war-ravaged country.

The conference was called after last week's civil war victory of Libyan-backed Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei's forces over the former Defense Minister Habre's forces.

In his opening speech, the current chairman of OAU, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone said that the meeting is intended to "help our brothers in Chad reconcile themselves one to the other, and provide for that territory a stable and effective government necessary for the stability and the development of Chad."

He added that "foreign presence complicates the Chadian problem and make its resolution much more difficult." "We need the exclusion of foreign influence in Chad which had been recognized all along as a pre-requisite to the solution of the Chadian problem," he declared.

Stevens appealed for the mobilisation of material and financial assistance to Chad for its national reconstruction and the repatriation and rehabilitation of its refugees. But "these are measures which can only be carried out effectively without foreign intervention in whatever form in Chad," he noted.

President Shagari of Nigeria in his welcome address called for the implementation of the other aspects of the Lagos Accord which deal with pacification, reconstruction and the rehabilitation of the Chadian people.

Also present at the conference are the presidents of Senegal, Benin, the Congo, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Guinea, Niger and Togo, Minister of Industry of Sudan Izadin Ham Ahmed [name as received] on behalf of President Numayri, and Secretary-General of the OAU Kodjo.

Foreign Minister 'Ali at-Turayki of Libya arrived here after the opening ceremony, President Goukouni Oueddei of Chad and Defense Minister Hissein Habre are reported to have arrived here but not appeared at the conference.

CSO: 4020

NATO COUNCIL MINISTERIAL SESSION ENDS

OW121922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Brussels, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council wound up here today unanimously condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and warning against a possible Soviet invasion of Poland.

A communique issued at the end of the conference says that the continuing military buildup of the Soviet Union, its clear willingness, as seen in Afghanistan, to use force in disregard of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and international law, and the Soviet menace which hangs over Poland give cause for grave concern to the members of the alliance and to the entire international community.

It points out that detente has been seriously damaged by Soviet actions. Poland, it declared, should be free to decide its own future and the Soviet Union must observe the principle of nonintervention.

The ministers at the session stressed that allied strength and cohesion are thus essential to the maintenance of stability and peace. United in purpose, their countries are determined to meet any challenge and to react in the manner which the gravity of this development would require.

Under present circumstances, the communique emphasizes, there is particular need to look to deterrence and defence. The allies will therefore take, individually or collectively, the defensive measures to meet the growth of Warsaw Pact capabilities and to deter any aggression. They reiterate the continuing implementation of various programmes and measures aimed at strengthening the allied defence.

The communique states further that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is unacceptable. The use of military force by the Soviet Government to impose its will on the people of a neutral and nonaligned country belies its oft-repeated professions of friendship for the nations of the Third World, creating distrust about its future intention.

The ministers also deplored the war between Iraq and Iran, which caused further concern for the stability of the affected region. They underline the importance of maintaining freedom of navigation.

At a press conference this afternoon, U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie said that the ministerial session was one of the most satisfactory and positive he had ever attended. There is no doubt that relations between the U.S. and its allies are excellent, he added.

CSO: 4020

WORLD CLIMATOLOGISTS URGE COOPERATION

Asian Climatology Conference

OW200810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Guangzhou, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--The First Regional Technical Conference on Climate called here by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) today appeals to nations in Asia and the Western Pacific to facilitate close cooperation among meteorologists, agricultural scientists and economists and others involved in food production and the use of water and energy resources.

The appeal was made in a statement issued at the end of the Technical Conference on Climate for Asia and the Western Pacific, which was attended by many of the world's most well-known meteorologists and climatologists as well as experts from some UN specialized agencies and other international bodies.

Cooperative projects between nations in the region should be developed so that mutual benefit may be obtained by the exchange of expertise and resources in meteorology and climatology, the statement says.

It stresses full advantage must be ensured to be taken of the knowledge of climate influence in food production and the use of water and energy resources.

The statement appeals to nations in the region to encourage research and development for the adaptation of available methodologies to suit local conditions and for the improvement of methodologies.

All possible measures, the statement says, should be taken to ensure that climate information relating to food production and to the use of water and energy are identified, processed and made available, preferably in computer-compatible form.

The statement points out that those responsible for decision-making in food production, management of water resources and energy supply in the nations in the region must be fully aware of the dominant influence of climate.

"The use of climate knowledge will only be effective if meteorologists and climatologists work in direct association with hydrologists, agriculturists, economists and soil scientists as well as scientists and users in related fields," the statement says.

Government officials and scientists should work together as a close-knit team too, the document adds.

The week-long conference also appeals to UN specialized agencies and other international bodies to increase their assistance to nations in Asia and the Western Pacific in improving the application of climate knowledge particularly in the fields of food production and the use of energy and water resources. "Continuing close collaboration" should be ensured between relevant UN specialized agencies and other international bodies in these activities.

Speaking of the reasons for the appeal, the document states that there are about 2,000 million people at present living in the region and this number will increase to about 3,000 million by the year 2000. A substantial increase in food production will be necessary if the goal of adequate nutrition for all people in the region is to be achieved.

Water resources in the region are inadequately utilized at present and considerable improvement will be necessary if the demands in the year 2000 are to be satisfied, the statement continued. "A massive increase in energy consumption in the region is likely to occur between now and the year 2000."

Climatologists Meet in Guangzhou

OW190746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Guangzhou, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--World climatologists meeting here agree that it is still too soon to tell whether the globe is going to be getting warmer or cooler.

It might take them two decades or even longer to see a preliminary general trend, they say, for the climate fluctuations involve both natural and human factors, which are very complicated.

However, heated discussions on the present world climate trend have been going on here at the Technical Conference on Climate for Asia and Western Pacific since it opened on Monday.

Some climatologists say that the growing increase of carbon dioxide released into the air in recent decades with the development of industry and other factors seem to lead to a global warming. The carbon dioxide layer in the atmosphere, they say, has a sort of greenhouse effect, that is, stopping the release of the heat on earth.

Others say that the global temperature is declining because of the increased volcanic ash in the air, the sun spot activities and the vapour changes in the atmosphere, which have impacts on solar radiation.

Bert Bolin, 55, professor of the University of Stockholm, Sweden, who is one of the world's several well-known meteorologists, said that the general trend is that the global climate seems to get warming and the leading factor is the release of huge amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

He said, the carbon dioxide released into the air this year might reach 8 billion tons and in 1979 the amount was 5.4 billion tons. By the year 2025, the figure is estimated to be around 14 billion tons. The average annual emission of carbon dioxide into the air in the past decade was about five billion tons, he added.

The Swedish professor, who has been doing research in this field for 25 years said that among the total emission, 50 percent stays in the air, about 28 to 40 percent is absorbed by plants and the rest goes into the sea.

According to some specialists here, carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by 15 percent since the beginning of the industrial revolution in the early 18th century. Calculations show that if carbon dioxide in the air doubles, the average global temperature will go up one degree centigrade.

And this may be possible by the middle of the next century if the estimated average annual increase of the fossil fuels like oil and coal consumed is two percent, according to a U.S. Government report issued on 24 July 1980. This may happen earlier than estimated due to the growing felling of trees, the report says.

If that being the case, the report continues, the temperature in the polar regions may perhaps go up by as many as 5 to 10 degrees centigrade, for the "greenhouse effect" of the carbon dioxide in these areas is obvious.

Then the ice in the polar regions will melt and the sea will rise and people will have to abandon many of the coastal cities, the report claims.

"I don't think that the carbon dioxide will double by the middle of the next century," argued Koichiro Takahashi, 67, professor of Waseda University, Japan.

He said, if it should be the case, countries the world over will take various measures now to cope with this and cut down the carbon dioxide to be released. They may also turn to developing solar energy, wind and water power resources, he added.

Besides, he stressed, reports have already said that the reserves of oil and coal today are limited on earth.

"My research shows that there seems to be a global cooling," the well-known Japanese professor stated. He noted, the temperature began to decline in Asia in the 1960s and in Europe, in the 1940s.

Factors behind the temperature declining are several, he explained. One is the increased airborne volcano ash in the recent decades. Before the 1940s, he recalled, few volcanoes erupted and this has also been noted by British, West German and some American specialists too. This, plus the sun spot activities and the vapour changes in the atmosphere have affected the solar radiation onto earth.

But, he said, the cooling is not what is felt in the Ice Age or the Little Ice Age but may have impacts on crops. In Japan, he said, the average temperature decrease in the past 20 years or so was one degree centigrade and in some areas the decrease was bigger, hence, the output of rice, a major crop in Japan, went down 4 percent.

Chinese meteorologists state that global cooling seems to be the general climate trend. There has been a temperature decrease in the north polar region, Africa, southern China and eastern Atlantic in the past decade, said Wang Shaowu, associate professor of Beijing University.

China has experienced cool summers in 1957, 1964, 1969, 1972 and 1976, the 48-year-old Chinese professor recalled. Besides, he said, the average temperature from 1971 to 1980 is lower than that from 1931 to 1960 despite the increased carbon dioxide released.

"We all agree that the increase of carbon dioxide may lead to a temperature increase, but it's hard to say that the reason for the rise in temperature is the increase of carbon dioxide," Wang Shaowu said.

Basing themselves on extensive studies in Chinese meteorological records, navigational logs, annals of various localities and ancient literary works over the past 5,000 years, Chinese meteorologists maintain that the "changes" in the past decade are similar to those which had repeated in the past 500 years.

"Never before did we dream of the human activities' impact on climate. We said that or this is 'independent of nature'," an American professor commented.

Besides, they noted, cooling or warming seems to have varied from place to place in terms of timing and period.

But, they all stressed, it is an important issue to consider and research efforts must be encouraged and intensified so as to provide better meteorological service for the future development.

CSO: 4020

PLANS FOR MORE MOUNTAINEERING EXPEDITIONS BY FOREIGN TEAMS

More Mountaineering Expeditions

OW291214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--Two mountaineering expeditions from Austria and Japan and three American trekking teams will come to China next year, the Chinese Mountaineering Association (CMA) said here today.

A 16-member expedition from the Austrian Alpine Club will challenge the northwest face of the 7,546-meter Mount Muztagata, one of the high peaks in northwest China's Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region from 31 August to 26 September next year.

A trekking team from the American Mountain Travel Inc. will tour the same area in June next year, but their highest climb will be to a point at an altitude of 5,600 meters.

The CMA said that a Japanese expedition, organized by the Japanese National Railways Mountaineering Federation, will climb the 5,445-meter Mount Bogda also in Xinjiang in July next year. The team will be led by Ken Kambayashi and the climbing route will be decided later.

Two trekking teams from the American Mountain Travel Inc. and another from the Mountain Travel Nepal Inc. will also trek the mountain in autumn next year after touring the well-known scenic spot Tianchi, or "Heavenly Lake," near Mount Bogda in the eastern part of the Tianshan Mountains.

Mount Bogda is one of the half a dozen peaks over 5,000-meters high and dozens more exceeding 4,000 meters in the vicinity hitherto unclimbed, the CMA said. The snow-capped Mount Muztagata, known as the "father of the icy mountains," was ascended for the first time by a combined Sino-Soviet expedition in 1956. Three Americans reached the top on skis in July of this year.

Since the opening of eight mountains to foreign expeditions earlier this year, more than 70 protocols have been signed for climbing and trekking in 1981, the CMA said. In addition to the groups mentioned, other visiting teams from Australia, Britain, France, Italy, New Zealand and Switzerland will also assay the peaks.

U.S. Team to Climb Qomolangma

OW130818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0807 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Two American trekking teams will tour the area of Mount Qomolangma (known abroad as Everest) in China's Tibet autonomous region next year, it was learned from the Chinese Mountaineering Association (CMA) here today.

In November 1981, a team organized by the company Mountain Travel Nepal Incorporation, composed of both mountaineers and tourists will climb to 5,000 meters where expeditions used to establish their basecamps. The team will be led by Albert Read, managing director of the company. It will not attempt to reach the 8,848-meter summit.

The CMA said the team will come to the Mount Qomolangma area after touring the area of the world's 14th highest peak, Mount Xixabangma, also reaching 5,000 meters.

Another Qomolangma team from American Mountain Travel Inc., 30 people in all, will divide into two groups and trek the mountain area between September and October next year. Their highest climb will also be to the 5,000-meter basecamp.

These tours will follow an Australian Qomolangma team, which plans to climb a 6,600-meter glacier on the world's highest peak between 20 April and 20 May.

The CMA said that American Mountain Travel Inc. also will send an eight-member trekking team to the 7,556-meter Mount Gongga area in southwest China's Sichuan Province between May and June next year. The team will be led by Leo le Bon.

CSO: 4020

MADRID SECURITY CONFERENCE ADJOURNS 19 DECEMBER

OW192020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1925 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The European Security Conference adjourned here today after 6 weeks of fruitless debate. The next session is scheduled for 27 January next year.

This followup European Security Conference, opened on 11 November, was attended by delegates from 35 countries from Europe (with the exception of Albania), the United States and Canada. A 2-month preparatory session was held before the conference.

The conference was called in a rush without an agenda which was scheduled to be worked out at the preparatory session. During deliberations on the execution of the final act adopted at the 1975 Helsinki Conference, delegates from the Western, neutral and non-aligned countries censured the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan and human rights violations. They pointed out that the Soviet action "constitutes a serious infringement on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act," "has pushed detente to an abyss" and that "there cannot be separate detente in Europe" under the current situation. The Soviet delegate resorted to sophistry at the meeting to avert accusation and blamed the West instead for sabotaging detente.

As the conference entered its fifth week, delegates from the East and the West had put forward over 80 proposals on East-West relations, ranging from European disarmament, security in the Mediterranean, human rights and energy to what joint actions are to be taken against terrorism.

Western officials said they were pessimistic about these proposals, since at the 1977 Belgrade Conference only 3 out of the 106 proposals advanced were adopted.

Western news agencies reported that the Western countries are uneasy over rumours that the Soviet Union is about to intervene militarily in Poland. Under such a situation, public opinion in the West is skeptical over what results the next European security session will produce.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING HOSTS NEW YEAR'S PARTY FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS

OW291716 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--Over 700 foreign students from some [number indistinct] countries and 500 Chinese teachers and students celebrated the coming new year at a party given this evening at the Beijing Institute of Languages.

The party, sponsored by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Higher Education, started off with music and refreshments and ended with the showing of a new Chinese feature film "The Mysterious Buddha".

Like all gatherings of young people, the party was livened up by the students' animated chats and laughters. Foreign and Chinese students discussed their views on things and shared their experiences in studies.

A 23-year-old student from Madagascar, Johanesa, who majors in traditional Chinese medicines, told XINHUA that he wanted to bring this ancient Chinese culture back to his country to serve his motherland, however, he said, the only thing that worried him was whether these herbal medicines were available in his country or not.

A very young Kampuchean girl student Matieng who came to China from guerrillas areas last March said she was now preparing herself for her future task of liberating and building up her motherland. She said that the teachers and schoolmates were good to her and she felt very much at home here. "War has deprived me of a proper education and I will do my utmost to catch it up here," she added. Twenty-two-year-old Vernon K. Fowler, a graduate student from Leeds University in England is now studying classical Chinese literature at Beijing University. He said he liked his study and his teachers and wished for more contacts with other Chinese students.

Pu Tongxiu, vice-minister of education, attended the party and extended greetings to the students on behalf of the ministry.

Bai Jiefu, vice-mayor of Beijing, also addressed the party. He said he hoped students of all countries present would join hands to work for world peace and progress.

There are now 930 foreign students studying in 15 Beijing universities and colleges. Many of them have left Beijing to spend their Christmas and New Year holidays elsewhere.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

IRANIAN PREMIER DISCUSSES HOSTAGES--Tehran, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister 'Ali Raja'i said here today that "the U.S. Government can take the hostages before the Christmas holidays if they can give the necessary guarantees," reported the PARS News Agency. During a meeting with the ambassador of Sweden here, the prime minister said: "Our final reply to the explanations that the U.S. requested has been prepared and will be sent to the U.S. in the near future. After that, every measure to speed up the release of the hostages depends on the U.S. Government." Raja'i also told PARS on 16 December that Iran now only required a financial guarantee from the U.S. to be given to the Algerian Government, which is responsible for Iranian interests in the U.S., and then the U.S. could take the hostages. [Text] [OW181527 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 18 Dec 80]

AFGHANS RESIST SOVIET TROOPS--Islamabad, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Twenty-five Soviet soldiers were killed on 15 December during a fighting between Afghan freedom fighters and the Soviet aggressive troops in Ganikhin district of Paktia Province, according to the spokesman of Hizb-i-Islami of Afghanistan in Peshawar today. The spokesman said that in another fight in Solicoat district of Paktia Province the same day five Soviet soldiers were killed while two freedom fighters lost their lives. On 10 December freedom fighters made attacks on the Soviet troops in Khost and Kani in the province. As a result, 6 Soviet military trucks were destroyed and 50 machine-guns and 5,600 bullets captured. Resistance movements, he said, are very active in Nangarhar Province. The freedom fighters recently destroyed in Nazyan district three Soviet tanks and killed all those aboard. According to another report, the Afghan freedom fighters in an action against Soviet troops in Kesham area of Badakhashan Province caused heavy casualties for the invaders. [Text] [OW211628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 21 Dec 80]

AFGHAN GUERRILLAS CONTINUE FIGHT--Islamabad, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--The Afghan Moslem fighters (Mojahedin) have carried on a heroic struggle in the rural areas of Afghanistan against the Soviet occupation troops and the Soviet-backed Karmal regime, said Maulvi Mohammad Khalis, leader of Hezb-e Eslami (Islamic Front) in an interview with Pakistan Radio in Peshawar yesterday, according to press reports here. With the help of the local people, the Afghan guerrillas have made surprise attacks on the Soviet aggressors and the Karmal regime's army, he said. In face of the recent Soviet economic offensives, he added, the Afghans, though living in poverty, refused to accept the Soviet distribution of food stuff, cash and other goods and described them as "bribes." [Text] [OW221208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 22 Dec 80]

AFGHAN DELEGATION VISITS CAIRO--Cairo, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The Afghan resistance delegation which arrived here yesterday said that despite scanty arms and the shortage of food and clothes, the resistance fighters have enjoyed high spirits and continued their struggle against the Russian invaders. A member of the delegation, Sanatallah Mujaddidi, said that despite the difficulties faced by the patriots, they have succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the Soviet invaders. He dwelled on Soviet forces' atrocities in Afghanistan. [Text] [OW211220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 21 Dec 80]

IRAQ OPPOSES INTERVENTION--Bangkok, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--"Iraq is strongly against interference by any country in the internal affairs of another as in Kampuchea and Afghanistan," said Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi at a press conference here yesterday. Hammadi, who left here today after a 4-day official visit to Thailand, also declared that Iraq supported Thailand's and ASEAN's proposal for an international conference on Kampuchea adopted by the UN General Assembly. He expressed his country's readiness to increase oil export to Thailand and other ASEAN countries. He said Arabs were willing to provide the countries in the region with more business and trade opportunities. He believed that a dialogue between ASEAN and the Arab League would help pave the way for closer economic cooperation between the two groups. It could also be used as a means to formulate a common stand on major political issues of mutual concern such as Arab-Israeli confrontation and the Kampuchean conflict. [Text] [OW191224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 19 Dec 80]

IRAN PREPARES REPLY TO U.S.--Tehran, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--Iranian leader Khomeyni has given permission to preparing a reply to the United States on the hostages. He hoped that in the near future there would no longer be a hostage problem, Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i told the PARS News Agency this morning after meeting with Khomeyni. "As we have repeatedly said," he said, "the issue has become a dead subject for us. So in order to get rid of this hindrance and save our time, we have prepared a final answer that will be conveyed to the U.S. Government through the representative of the Algerian Government who has come to Iran for this purpose." He added that it was now up to the United States to take the hostages back any time, any day. "We have only asked for financial guarantees from the U.S. for our interests. Then they can take the hostages," the prime minister concluded. [Text] [OW161600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 16 Dec 80]

COMMENTS ON U.S. RESPONSE--Tehran, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--"The reply and the position of the United States to the conditions (for releasing the U.S. hostages) set by the (Iranian) Islamic Consultative Assembly have been basically positive," said Ahmad Azizi, director of American hostage affairs in the office of the prime minister, the PARS News Agency reported today. The discussion between the Iranian authorities and the Algerian mediation team is still going on, he said, and added that the results will be published soon after the Algerian team leaves Tehran. The Algerian team arrived in Tehran 9 days ago, bringing with them the U.S. response to the conditions of the assembly for the release of the hostages. Meanwhile, Azizi indicated that the trip of four American clergymen to Iran had been realized without prior planning. [Text] [OW131559 Beijing XINHUA in English 1537 GMT 13 Dec 80]

BANI-SADR DISCUSSES U.S. HOSTAGES--Tehran, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--"If the U.S. returns the money deposited by the Iranian Government in U.S. banks and other banks under the U.S. control, the problem of the U.S. hostages will be solved," Iranian President Bani-Sadr announced at a press conference here this morning. He stressed that "I am not referring to the money brought out by the late shah." On the economic difficulties, Bani-Sadr admitted that Iran was facing great economic difficulties because the country was engaged in a war under the condition of an economic blockade. Iran could solve these problems by relying on the efforts of its people until it wins the war, he said. The president reiterated that "so long as the enemy troops do not withdraw from our land, we cannot accept any solutions." [Text] [OW150840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0832 GMT 15 Dec 80]

BANGLADESH-UAE JOINT COMMUNIQUE--Dacca, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and the United Arab Emirates in a communique today demanded an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The communique, issued after a 3-day visit to Bangladesh by UAE State Minister for Foreign Affairs Rashid 'Abdallah al-Nu'aymi, also demanded Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands and reiterated support for the Palestinian people's right to an independent state in their homeland. Both sides appealed to Iraq and Iran to immediately cease hostilities and seek a just solution to their dispute. They stressed, "The Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz should be kept free for safe navigation in the interest of global peace and security." The two sides pledged cooperation in upholding the principles of the Organization of Islamic Conference, and underscored the need for unity and solidarity among Muslim countries. They also pledged to cooperate in oil and gas explorations. The UAE expressed willingness to invest in mutually beneficial projects in Bangladesh. [Text] [OW290716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 29 Dec 80]

AFGHAN REBELS' SOLIDARITY VIEWED--Islamabad, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--S.M. Zafar, a former federal minister, siad at a public meeting held in Lahore today that the people of Afghanistan were putting up tough resistance against the well-equipped Russian forces in what was a demonstration of their force of self-determination, according to APP tonight. The public meeting, held to express brotherhood and solidarity with Afghan refugees and Mojahedin, called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its armed forces from Afghanistan by respecting the UN charter. Mayor of Lahore Mian Shujaur Rahman said at the meeting that the war of the Afghan people was the war of the entire Muslim world. They were fighting for righteousness and justice, he added. He appealed to all Pakistanis to donate one rupee each every month to the Afghan refugees. Some other speakers at the meeting also condemned the Russian aggression on Afghanistan and expressed their confidence that the Afghan people would finally emerge victorious in their war against the Russian occupation of their homeland. [Text] [OW270115 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 27 Dec 80]

AFGHANS PROTEST IN DELHI--Beijing, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Braving the chilly weather, about 100 Afghans began a 24-hour fast outside the Soviet Embassy yesterday evening in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, reports "THE TIMES OF INDIA" today. The demonstrators, including men, women, children and youth were led by Said Mohammed Maiwand, a former representative of Afghanistan in the United Nations. Displaying banners with such slogans as "death or freedom" and "Russians quit Afghanistan," the demonstrators sat on the dew-drenched grounds opposite the Soviet Embassy. A spokesman for the demonstrators said their protest marked the first anniversary of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He said the hunger strikers will be joined by other Afghans in Delhi today to hold a protest demonstration outside the embassy. [Text] [OW270738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 27 Dec 80]

AFGHAN OFFICIAL'S DEFECTION NOTED--Islamabad, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Yaboorrashid Arian, deputy prime minister in Babrak Karmal's regime, has fled from Afghanistan, the daily "THE MUSLIM" reported today. Arian, who was Kabul's ambassador to Islamabad during the governments of Nur Mohammad Taraki and Hafizollah Amin, was called back home by Karmal and appointed justice minister. He became deputy prime minister and a member of the revolutionary council after he visited Moscow last June. [Text] [OW270807 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 27 Dec 80]

AFGHANS PROTEST IN NEW DELHI--Beijing, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Some 400 Afghans shouted anti-Soviet slogans in front of the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi today, according to reports received here. On the first anniversary of the Soviet occupation of their country, about 300 Afghan demonstrators today joined some 100 of their fellow-countrymen on an overnight hunger strike in front of the embassy. The demonstrators carried banners inscribed with the words, "Down with the Kremlin's criminal regime!" and enlarged pictures of Afghan victims of the Soviet invasion. They also chanted slogans "Down with Soviet imperialism!" "We want justice, we want freedom, and we will die for freedom!" [Text] [OW271518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 27 Dec 80]

EGYPTIAN PRESS SUPPORTS AFGHANS--Cairo, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Solidarity with the Afghan people against the Soviet invasion is the thesis of today's editorials of both "AL-AKHBAR" and "AL-GOMHURIA." "AL-AKHBAR" pointed out that the Soviet crime in Afghanistan has alarmed peoples and nations all over the world. They all expressed their support to the Afghan people against the invasion. "AL-GOMHURIA" said that the Afghan people were exposed over a full year to the most abhorrent crimes of the Soviet invasion ranging from murder of women, children and old people, destruction of whole villages with their population, air raids, to profanation of sacred places of Islamic worship. In spite of this, the paper added, the Afghan people stood steadfast in the face of invasion and waged the noblest battle against the superpower. They have made the Soviet Union in a plight [Text] [OW261510 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 26 Dec 80]

AFGHANS PROTEST IN TEHRAN--Tehran, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--A demonstration was held here today on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The march began at 8 am and the crowds were mostly Afghan residents. They marched first to the Afghan Embassy and then the Soviet Embassy in Tehran, shouting slogans such as: "Russia will be defeated," "Afghanistan hates Soviets as well as Americans" and "The Red Army should be pushed back." Scores of demonstrators succeeded in entering the Soviet Embassy compound where they caused some damage, according to a PARS News Agency report. They pulled down the Soviet flag and burnt it, the report added. They read a 14-article resolution condemning the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The demonstrators were dispersed by police reinforcements. The PARS also reported that Afghan residents in the city of Mashad in northwestern Iran on the same occasion demonstrated and burned pictures of Babrak Karmal and Brezhnev. [Text] [OW271513 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 27 Dec 80]

SWISS PRESS MARKS INVASION--Geneva, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--On the first anniversary of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, Swiss newspapers came out today with commentaries, pointing out that the prolonged Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has indicated Moscow's ambition for further expansion in the world. A commentary in "TRIBUNE LE MATIN" of Lausanne said, "The occupation of Afghanistan represents an important step of Soviet expansion towards the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Starting from the Afghan plateaux, Moscow directly menaces Iran and Pakistan, and keeps a close eye on the petrol passage lane which the West depends on." "Since the time of cold war, Soviet menace has never been so real as it is today," it added. "24 HEURES" in its commentary held that because of the strategic importance of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has not shown the slightest intention of giving up its occupation of that country. "LA SUISSE" in an article wrote that "In the last 12 months of tough battles (in Afghanistan), soldiers of the Kremlin have failed to diminish the ever raging resistance put up by Islamic people of all circles throughout the Afghan nation." [Text] [OW281516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 28 Dec 80]

KARMAL DEFENSE MINISTER SHOT--Stockholm, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--Mohammad Rafi', minister of defence of the Karmal regime in Afghanistan, was gunned down by an officer of the Soviet occupation troops and hospitalized recently, according to a Kabul report by Anna-Maria Lantz, correspondent of the Swedish paper "EXPRESSEN." Rafi' was wounded on 17 December when he was visiting the Bagram Soviet Air Force base on the outskirts of Kabul. He did not come to until 21 December. He is known to have vehemently criticized the commanders of the Soviet occupation troops for failure to stop Soviet soldiers from raping Afghan women, and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. There have been reports of cases of violence in Kabul in the past few weeks. Of the three schoolgirls who fell victim, one succeeded in taking flight but the two others were found lying dead in the fields. The wife of an Afghan officer also became a victim. [Text] [OW240748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 24 Dec 80]

DACCA PEOPLE PROTEST AGGRESSION--Dacca, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--About 2,000 people from all walks of life held a demonstration here this afternoon, protesting against Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan. This was organized by the Bangladesh Youth Resistance Front on Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. The demonstrators marched through the main streets, carrying placards and streamers with slogans: "Down with Soviet social-imperialism" and "Soviet aggressor troops should withdraw immediately from Afghanistan." After the demonstration, they held a mass meeting. Speaking at the meeting, leaders of several political parties, including the communist party (ML), and mass organizations strongly condemned the Soviet action and demanded that the Afghan people be free to determine their course and destiny without any foreign interference. They expressed firm support to the Afghan people in their struggle against the Soviet aggressors. They also called on the Third World countries, non-aligned countries and peace-loving people all over the world to unite in opposing Soviet hegemonism and expansionism. A similar demonstration was held here this morning by 1,500 students. [Text] [OW280120 Beijing XINHUA in English 0110 GMT 28 Dec 80]

IRAN LISTS U.S. ALTERNATIVES--Tehran, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i summoned foreign ambassadors and charge'd affairs in Tehran this afternoon and announced that Iran will keep the 52 U.S. hostages before the United States gives back all the money Iran requested. He said that the U.S. has three alternatives: First, to hand over a guarantee to Algeria as Iran suggested earlier; second, to give Iran part of the money on which there is no difference between the two sides, and before the U.S. succeeded in solving the differences on the other part of the money requested by Iran, Iran will keep the hostages in good condition as before; third, to play plots, to intervene, to cooperate with Saddam. In this case, Iran will defeat it. He criticized the U.S. for entering into a war with Iran more frankly by claiming that "Iran was blackmailing to solve the hostage issue" after Iran gave its last answer to the U.S. through the representative of Algeria. [Text] [OW271930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1923 GMT 27 Dec 80]

KHOMEYNI RECOMMENDS AGAINST DEMONSTRATIONS--Tehran, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeyni today cancelled the nation-wide demonstrations scheduled for tomorrow, reported the PARS News Agency today. Iranian religious leaders and Moslem societies have arranged massive protest demonstrations throughout the country following the recent events in the country, and invited the people to participate in the demonstrations. Incidents between Islamic militants and supporters of President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr have taken place recently at Isfahan and other places during which portraits of the Ayatollah were torn up. An announcement released by Khomenyi's office here today said, "Due to the present critical situation when we are engaged in war with the enemies of Islam, and as I have repeatedly announced, in order to preserve unity, if I or my picture were insulted, the people should show no action. It is hereby recommended that the public holiday and marches which are due to be held for this purpose should be cancelled." "Revolutionary institutions which have announced a 3-day holiday should return to their normal work," it added. [Text] [OW171658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 17 Dec 80]

USSR PROTESTS ATTACK ON EMBASSY--Moscow, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union today handed to the Iranian ambassador here a note, lodging a "resolute protest" with the Iranian Government against yesterday's "piratic attack" on the Soviet Embassy in Iran. The note complains that the Iranian authorities "did not take urgent and effective enough measures to prevent such an attack" and "it is only after numerous and insistent demands of the Soviet ambassador that the Iranian authorities interfered and took measures to turn the attacking persons out of the embassy's territory." "The Soviet Government," the note adds, "reserves the right to make claims to the Iranian Government for the restoration of the damage caused to the Soviet Embassy and to consider the question of appropriate measures to protect lawful interests of the Soviet Union in connection with the hostile actions of the Iranian side against the USSR Embassy in Tehran." According to a BBC report, Tehran residents staged a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy yesterday to mark the first anniversary of the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan. [Text] [OW290808 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 29 Dec 80]

SRV LOSSES IN KAMPUCHEA--Beijing, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Some one hundred Vietnamese troops were wiped out by the Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units in Siemreap and Koh Kong provinces recently, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea. On 24 December, the national army and guerrillas in Siemreap Province destroyed a Vietnamese truck on the Siemreap-Banleay Srel highway, killing or wounding 24 Vietnamese troops on board. A few minutes later, they wiped out five more when the enemy rushed to the rescue from Banleay Srel. On 21 December, they assaulted and captured a Vietnamese stronghold in Banleay Srel district, killing nine enemy soldiers. On 22 December, a commando unit of the national army in Koh Kong Province attacked a stronghold near the Meteuk River which was garrisoned by a Vietnamese company. Thirty-four enemy troops were killed. Over 30 Vietnamese troops were also annihilated from 18 to 20 December by the national army and guerrillas in Preah Vihear Province. [Text] [OW300816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 30 Dec 80]

SINGAPORE'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE--Beijing, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said today: "We have to take defence seriously for there are always expansionist and aggressive people like the Vietnamese." In a New Year message, Lee said, "we have spent several thousand million dollars on the Singapore armed forces. We will be spending more on new generation of weaponry." He pointed out that the only way to ensure that Singaporeans did not become "boat people"--a reference to the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who fled their homeland in precarious, leaky boats--was to take defense seriously. He noted that the United States and its allies had to increase defense spending or "become increasingly vulnerable to superior Soviet strength both in strategic and conventional weapons". [Text] [OW311644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 31 Dec 80]

NEPAL'S CONSTITUTION MADE PUBLIC--Katmandu, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The third amendment of the constitution of Nepal was made public today on the constitution day of the country. The constitution was worked out by the special committee of the Constitution Reform Commission which was set up in accordance with the results of the national referendum last May that Nepal will retain the Panchayat system with appropriate reforms. The amendment containing 21 articles stipulates that a general election of the members of the National Panchayat will be held every 5 years on the basis of adult franchise and his majesty the king will appoint as prime minister the member elected at least by 60 percent of the total membership of the National Panchayat and recommended by the national legislature. The prime minister also can be removed by reason of failure to fulfill his work by a majority of 60 percent of the total membership of the National Panchayat. The National Panchayat shall be composed of 112 elected and 28 nominated members whose tenure of office will be 5 years. Regarding foreign policy, the revised constitution stipulates that the objective of the Panchayat system is to work towards making Nepal a zone of peace by adopting the basic ideals of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment. [Text] [OW151705 Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 15 Dec 80]

GEOLOGIST'S SWISS DOCTORATE AWARD--Geneva, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Well-known Chinese geologist, Professor Huang Jiqing, was awarded an honourary doctorate of natural science by the Zurich Federal Polytechnic School yesterday. Professor Huang received his certificate at a ceremony which was also a celebration of the 125th anniversary of the school. Ten other famous scientists were also awarded honourary doctorates. Professor Huang is the president of the China Geological Society and vice president of the Academy of Geological Sciences. [Text] [OW030651 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 25 Nov 80]

IMPORTANT 1980 EVENTS LISTED--Beijing, 27 Dec (AFP)--The wave of strikes in Poland this summer was rated the most important world event of 1980 by the Chinese youth newspaper, ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO today. Listing the 10 most significant happenings of the year, the newspaper put the death of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito in second place, followed by the boycott on the Moscow olympics. In fourth place came the Iraqi-Iranian crisis, then the American commando bid to rescue the 52 embassy hostages in Iran. A Chinese event was rated sixth in order of importance, the trial launching of an intercontinental ballistic rocket in May, and in seventh position was the Kwangju uprising in South Korea. Numbers eight and nine were space events: the photos of the planet Saturn beamed back to earth by Voyager-1, and the Soviet cosmonaut who set the world record for spending the longest time in space. In tenth place was Zimbabwe independence. Another Chinese newspaper, BI-MONTHLY FORUM, also ran a rating of the year's 10 most important world news items. It gave first place to the appointment of Hu Yaobang as Chinese Communist Party secretary general. [Text] [OW270854 Paris AFP in English 0804 GMT 27 Dec 80]

ANTHOLOGY OF U.S. SHORT STORIES--Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--An anthology of American short stories translated into the Chinese language has been published by the China Youth Publishing House. One of several similar anthologies available in China, the new book contains 31 short stories spanning a century and a half, but with the emphasis on more recent works. Among the authors included in the anthology are Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mark Twain, Henry James, O. Henry, Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, Albert Maltz, William Faulkner, Langston Hughes, Isaac Bashevis Singer, John Updike and Joyce Carol Oates. Each story is preceded by a brief introduction by the editor, Wang Zuoliang, a professor of English in the Foreign Languages Institute of Beijing. In the preface, Professor Wang, who visited the United States of America earlier this year, says that he finds the American short stories particularly vigorous. He foresees that the strong tradition of American literature--close attention to American realities, dissection, criticism and even protest--is being maintained. Short biographies of the 31 authors are appended to the book. [Text] [OW2370739 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 23 Nov 80]

NEPAL'S KING ADDRESSES RALLY--Katmandu, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Tens of thousands of Nepalese people from all walks of life held a mass rally here today to mark King Mahendra's memorial day and the constitution day. Addressing the rally, King Birendra expressed his conviction that "our existence as a sovereign independent nation warrants a steady economic growth in the country for which a firm political structure seems no less than a resolute will to progress." "In keeping with the expectations as reflected in the referendum," he said, "we rouse the people to be active, to be disciplined, and to be united above all so that they can really contribute to the shaping up of our national economy." Earlier, a mass procession was staged through the streets of the capital. [Text] [OW151708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1707 GMT 15 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEAN GUERRILLAS ATTACK VIETNAMESE--Beijing, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--A Vietnamese motorboat was sunk by the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas on 13 December on its way to Chaytach from Kaoh Kong City. One hundred and seven Vietnamese troops on board were killed, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today. In Preah Vihear Province, guerrillas attacked a Vietnamese position near Phnom Dach district on the same day, wiping out 23 enemy men and capturing a number of weapons. According to another report, a section of the railroad east of Veal Renh station, Prey Nob district in Kampong Saom area, was destroyed on 14 December and a dozen or more Vietnamese troops were killed or wounded. [Text] [OW200114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 20 Dec 80]

ANGOLA DENOUNCES S. AFRICAN INVASIONS--Kinshasa, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The Defence Ministry of Angola in a communique yesterday condemned the South African racist regime for its fresh invasions of Angola, the Angola National Radio broadcast today. On 15 December, the communique said, two South African fighter bombers from Namibia invaded the air space of the Angolan province of Cunene and fired on a bus on the Shaagonogo-Mongua road, killing one passenger on board and wounding four others. On 17 December, it added, 15 South African armoured cars attacked an Angolan border post at Santa Clara in Cunene Province, causing some damage. On the same day, a company of South African troops intruded into the Angolan territory along Melunga-Muluemba. Simultaneously, South Africa troops in armoured personnel carriers entered the Angolan territory in the area of Onangue while two military transport planes dropped paratroopers there. Calling world public attention to these new provocations, the communique demanded that South Africa stop its aggression against Angola. [Text] [OW200713 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 20 Dec 80]

SPANISH, U.S. DELEGATES ON POLAND--Madrid, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The Spanish and U.S. delegates to the European Security Conference now in session here expressed concern today over the intensifying Soviet troop movements along the Soviet-Polish border and condemned once again the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Speaking at the closing session of the first half of the conference, Spanish chief delegate Javier Ruperez pointed out that "cooperation and security would be gravely damaged if some people, being reckless or caught in a hysterical fit, violated the Helsinki regulations." He added that the criticism by Western and neutral countries would help make Moscow think twice before intervening in another country. U.S. delegation head Max Kampelman expressed grave concern over the troop movements of massive, alerted Warsaw pact forces in central and eastern Europe in the past few weeks. He also condemned the Soviet human right violations and invasion of Afghanistan as leaving serious effects on international relations and East-West dialogue. The British and Canadian delegates also denounced the Soviet aggressive policy at the meeting. The Soviet delegate, Ilichev, resorted to sophistry and accused the delegates of some Western countries of waging a psychological warfare in their speeches. [Text] [OW201636 Beijing XINHUA in English 1604 GMT 20 Dec 80]

FRENCH OFFICIAL ON CHAD, POLAND--Paris, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet declared in the foreign affairs committee of French assembly here yesterday that France would support all efforts of African countries to restore peace in Chad, preserve its unity and independence. He said, "France has always supported the efforts made internally in Chad and the initiatives offered by its neighbouring African countries, particularly Togo, for promoting national reconciliation and restoring civil peace in Chad in the framework of the OAU. France will continue to provide cooperation and humanitarian aid to Chadian people wherever possible." He also said, "France takes such an attitude out of its respect for the sovereignty of Chad." However, he added, "this attitude of respect for Chad's sovereignty does in no way mean indifference." Turning to the issue of Poland, he said, "Poland is a sovereign state and the Polish people are a great people. Polish people should choose their own destiny free from any menace, pressure and external interference. It is the Polish people and the Polish people alone who have the right to manage the affairs they are engaged in. To do otherwise will surely have grave consequences for the future East-West relations." [Text] [OW201256 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 20 Dec 80]

RETURN OF JAPANESE TERRITORIES--Tokyo, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--A committee for the reconstruction of the seven villages in Japan's northern territories was formed in Nemuro, Hokkaido, yesterday, Tokyo press reported today. Before the Second World War, 16,700 people lived in the seven villages on the four northern islands. They were forced to leave their homesteads and move to Nemuro following the Soviet military occupation of the islands. Since 1976 they have even been forbidden to visit the graves of their ancestors on the islands. The committee appealed to the former islanders to register and it said that all Japanese who take the interest of the northern territories at heart could also apply for status as islanders. Executive organs for these villages will be elected. The committee attempted to push forward the movement for the return of the northern territories by means of these activities. [Text] [OW210312 Beijing XINHUA in English 0257 GMT 21 Dec 80]

JAPANESE DIET CONVENES--Tokyo, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--The Japanese Diet convened its 94th session today with the emphasis on the examination of the state budget for 1981. The session was adjourned after the adoption by the House of Representatives and the Senate today of a protocol on the extension for a year of the provisional Japanese-Soviet fishery agreement. According to an agreement between the ruling party and the opposition parties, the session will be resumed on 26 January and concluded on 20 May next year. [Text] [OW220828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 22 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEANS OVERRUN SRV STRONGHOLDS--Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean national army and guerrilla units in the provinces of Preah Vihear, Battambang and Pursat recently put out of action nearly 100 Vietnamese troops and seized control of two Vietnamese strongholds, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea. On 14 December the army and guerrillas in Preah Vihear Province wiped out 16 Vietnamese, captured some weapons and ammunition and overran the Trapeang Teum stronghold in Vqhep district garrisoned by a Vietnamese platoon. The army in coordination with guerrillas assaulted Vietnamese occupation troops in various parts of Pursat Province, on 12, 14 and 17 December. They killed or wounded 40 Vietnamese troops, destroyed three barracks and captured one stronghold. Forty Vietnamese troops were killed or wounded by Kampuchean regular army and guerrilla fighters in Sisophon district of Battambang Province on 18 December. In Samlot district in the same province, 10 Vietnamese soldiers crossed over to the national army and guerrillas on 13 December, Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast yesterday. [Text] [OW210728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 21 Dec 80]

BANGLADESH-BURMA BORDER AGREEMENT--Dacca, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and Burma signed an agreement on border arrangement and cooperation yesterday to ensure peace and stability along their common border, according to the Bangladesh National News Agency. Under the agreement, representatives from the two countries, civilian or military, can hold meetings whenever needed. The agreement provided for guarding against illegal movement of people from either country with a view to checking smuggling and preventing criminals from fleeing their countries. The agreement was signed by visiting Burmese Minister for Home and Religious Affairs Brigadier General Sein Lwin and Bangladesh Home Minister Mustafizur Rahman. The Burmese minister arrived here on 17 December at the head of a four-member delegation for a week-long visit. [Text] [OW201254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 20 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEAN GUERRILLAS CLAIM VICTORIES--Beijing, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--Kampuchean guerrillas ambushed a Vietnamese 21-vehicle convoy which was moving from Kompong Saom Port to Phnom Penh on highway 4 on 17 December destroying 7 and damaging 10 trucks and a great quantity of military materials. Fifty-five Vietnamese troops were killed or wounded, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. The Kampuchean national army and guerrillas ambushed a company of Vietnamese troops 2 days earlier in Anlong Veng district, Otdar Meanchey Province, wiping out 44 enemy troops and capturing many weapons and ammunition. On the same day, they attacked the Vietnamese troops which were on a mopping up operation in Bavel district, Battambang Province. They killed or wounded more than 40 Vietnamese intruders and seized a batch of military materials. The radio broadcast a communique today saying that the Vietnamese aggressor troops fired on 8 December gas projectiles in Sala Krau Village, Pailin district, causing the death of four villagers and the poisoning of many others. The communique called the UN and governments and political organizations of all countries to denounce the Vietnamese crimes. [Text] [OW230740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 23 Dec 80]

YUGOSLAV TRADE DELEGATION GREETED--Yang Di, vice mayor of Shanghai, hosted a banquet on the evening of 19 December in honor of (Basch), assistant to the federal secretary for foreign trade of Yugoslavia, and the trade delegation led by him. [Text] [OW200608 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Dec 80]

FRG MINISTER VISITS CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Prague, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--The Federal Republic of Germany (G.F.R.) has identical views with the European Economic Community and NATO countries on the assessment of the urgent issues in the international situation, stated Hans-Dietrich Genscher, G.F.R. minister for foreign affairs at a press conference here today after a 3-day official visit to this country. He said only by firmly carrying out the Helsinki final accords could there be a basis for cooperation between East and West. He told newsmen that he had had talks with Czechoslovak leaders on the political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries and on international issues. He noted that West Germany's ties with Czechoslovakia should be expanded in an all-round way to a level not lower than with the rest of CMEA (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries not bordering on G.F.R. The foreign minister said his meeting with Czechoslovak leaders was held under "very complicated international political situation" and talks were processed in a grave atmosphere. [Text] [OW210113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 21 Dec 80]

SWEDISH COMMUNISTS HOLD CONGRESS--Stockholm, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden was held here from the end of last month to the beginning of this month, says a press communique issued by the party today. The congress adopted the party's program, a new party constitution and a political report by the Central Committee. It re-elected Roland Pettersson chairman of the party. The congress also approved of a recommendation on the party's merger with the Marxist-Leninist League of Struggle of Sweden. The documents adopted at the congress are a summing up of the experience of the party since its formation in 1967. They stress the need to unite with all political forces in the struggle for peace, independence, democracy and the interests of the working people. The political program points out that the Soviet attempt to gain global supremacy and control Western Europe increases the possibility of a new world war. Therefore, the party makes the defence of peace and national independence its most important task. [Text] [OW120718 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 12 Dec 80]

SPANISH LEADER ON SOVIET INTERVENTION--Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--"The Communist Party of Spain will break off relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union if Soviet armed intervention in Poland takes place," executive committee member of the Communist Party of Spain Manuel Azcarate warned Friday, according to Madrid reports. Azcarate stated that military intervention in Poland would be "a severe blow to peace, European security and the development itself of socialism." He added that "a very dangerous and complex situation" has been created over Poland. He said his party held that "workers' strikes were not directed against the socialist order in Poland, but against big mistakes of the country's leadership." He stressed the party's total independence from Moscow and called on other communist parties to "react independently" as well. [Text] [OW131651 Beijing XINHUA in English 1536 GMT 13 Dec 80]

SPANISH LEADER ON DEFENDING SOCIALISM--Madrid, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party Santiago Carrillo said here today that the people of every nation should be allowed to defend socialism themselves. Addressing a rally commemorating the 85th birthday of Dolores Ibarruri, chairman of the Spanish Communist Party, the general secretary noted that the policy of defending communism does not mean going beyond the frontier of a nation to occupy another nation. The way to defend socialism should be left to the labouring people of a nation to choose and defend it with blood, he added. Speaking about the danger of a new war, he said that unfortunately, war is possible so long as tanks, with whatever marks on them, advance, there exists a danger of war. Referring to D. Ibarruri's role in the Spanish Communist Party, S. Carrillo said: Although her son had shed his blood to defend the Soviet Union, yet she still urged the party to take its own stand when the Soviet Union occupied Czechoslovakia. D. Ibarruri made a brief statement at the rally. Chinese Ambassador Zhang Shijie was among the 1,000 people present at the rally. [Text] [OW151210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 15 Dec 80]

ITALIAN WARNING ON POLAND--Rome, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--A leader of the Communist Party of Italy today reiterated that any outside intervention in Poland is "absolutely unacceptable." In an interview published in the daily "PAESE SERA" today, Paolo Bufalini said: "We have made it very clear that defense of socialism and the struggle for reforms and against the danger of anarchism are the duty of the Polish working class, people and party, and that an outside intervention is unacceptable from the viewpoints of international principles and defense of socialism and is dangerous for peace and detente." "We do not agree to the tendency which ascribes a decisive weight to the danger constituted by hostile elements and the assistance rendered to them from without," he declared. "Any external pressure poses an obstacle to the battle (for reforms) as it hurts the legitimate feelings of national independence." "It is our view that the press in certain countries of the East are depicting the situation in Poland as one that gives rise to fears of an eventual outside intervention and this fact alone is a form of improper and harmful pressure," he noted. [Text] [OW130710 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 13 Dec 80]

UK STRESSES NATO DETERRENCE--London, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--British Defense Secretary Francis Pym said today that the importance of Britain's strategic nuclear force is that "we can independently control the nuclear weapons we have," not the huge stockpile of weapons. He noted: "Independence in control" is a key factor in deterring the Soviet Union. Speaking at the Royal United Services Institute in London, Pym said: While the Soviet Union maintains its vast nuclear arsenal and is still expanding conventional forces, only NATO's strategy of deterrence can insure nuclear weapons never need be used. He said: "This is our entire purpose and objective." Asked about the dangers of a tactical nuclear attack on Britain, Pym said that he was more concerned about the threat of Soviet chemical warfare. He emphatically pointed out: To deter the Soviet Union from using nerve gas, we must have a "retaliatory capability." But he said Britain has not come close to a settlement of this question yet. Pym also reiterated the stand on approving Britain's deployment of 160 U.S. cruise missiles. [Text] [OW190608 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1530 GMT 17 Dec 80]

FRG DEFENSE BUDGET INCREASED--Bonn, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--West German Finance Minister Hans Matthoefer announced the fiscal budget for 1981 at a press conference here today. The budget adopted by the government yesterday will be submitted to parliament for approval in January next year. The 1981 budget totalling 224,700 million marks will register a 4.3 percent increase over the current year. Defence spending will rise by 6.2 percent to 41,200 million marks. In view of the rising prices, increase in the defence budget in real terms is expected to fall short of NATO's target of 3 percent. To make up for the budgetary deficit, the federal government has decided to borrow 27,400 million marks, raise the taxes on mineral oils and strong drinks, and reduce the state subsidies in some fields next year. The West German finance minister held that the financial situation in 1981 would be most worrisome. But he anticipated a turn for the better in his country's economy in the second half of next year. [Text] [OW181222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 18 Dec 80]

NORWEGIAN MINISTER CONCLUDES USSR VISIT--Moscow, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--A Soviet-Norwegian joint communique made public by TASS here today says: "The two sides confirm that there is divergence of positions on a number of problems between the USSR and Norway." The communique was issued at the end of a 3-day official visit to the Soviet Union by Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund. Frydenlund had an exchange of views with his Soviet counterpart Gromyko on international issues and bilateral relations. It was reported that no concrete agreement was reached between them. [Text] [OW240118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0107 GMT 24 Dec 80]

EEC ECONOMIC SITUATION DECLINING--Brussels, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The nine countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) are grappling with an unfavourable economic situation with more people out of jobs, prices rising and trade deep in the red, according to figures released by the EEC Commission today. The downward trend of industrial production since last April is continuing. The industrial production index of the third quarter dropped by 2.9 percent compared with that of the second quarter. The employment situation continues to worsen. The unemployment rate of the community as a whole was up 0.2 percent in October, bringing the total number of the jobless to 7.4 million, or 6.6 percent. Prices continue to soar. Prices of consumer goods in the community rose by 0.9 percent in October, bringing the total figure in the 12 months ending last October to 13.1 percent. Meanwhile, external trade deficits of the community in September increased by 200 million European units of account from August with the total deficit figure standing at 4.1 billion European units of account (5,210 million U.S. dollars). [Text] [OW191646 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 19 Dec 80]

EUROPEAN TROOP REDUCTION TALKS--Vienna, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--Nineteen nations from NATO and the Warsaw Pact ended here today the 22nd round of their talks on troop reductions in Central Europe with no progress made. The latest round of their talks started on 15 September. This year the two blocs have held three rounds of talks lasting more than 7 months. Up to now, both sides still remain where they started. A representative of the Warsaw Pact said that they had made a number of new proposals during the past year. He asserted that the West should be responsible for "no real progress" in the talks. NATO complained that the

Warsaw Pact countries had failed to provide an accurate number of their troops stationed in Central Europe. NATO estimated they have 150,000 more troops than NATO's. The next round of the talks will begin on 29 January 1981. The talks will thus enter the 8th year since they started in 1973. [Text] [OW200836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 20 Dec 80]

PYM DENIES TROOP REDUCTION--London, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--British Defence Secretary Francis Pym today denied reports that the government was preparing to save money by reducing the number of British troops stationed in West Germany. It was reported last weekend that the strength of the British army of the Rhine was under review as the Defence Ministry grappled with spending cuts in its budget next year. In a press statement Pym emphasized that Britain's commitment to NATO, including the Rhine army, was "central to our whole alliance contribution." There was no thought in his mind, he added, of "going back" on that contribution. It was essential to the alliance's forward defence strategy, which the United Kingdom supports "wholeheartedly," he said. But Pym maintained that it was necessary for the alliance as a whole to take a periodic look at itself, to see whether it was using its collective resources to the best effect. That was why he had recommended a review of the alliance's cost-effectiveness, he said. A Defence Ministry spokesman said Pym's idea is not to reduce NATO spending but to get better value for the money spent. [Text] [OW230736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 23 Dec 80]

NATO EXERCISES IN NORWAY--Stockholm, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--The armed forces of NATO countries will stage a series of winter military exercises during the period of winter training in southern Norway, the Norwegian paper AFTENPOSTEN reported. The exercises to be held by stages from January to early March next year will involve some 2,400 men of NATO allied forces including ground, naval and air units. The purpose of the exercises is to make the allied forces adapted to the cold winter climate and improve the speed of moving allied forces to Norway from sea and air, the report said. [Text] [OW120220 Beijing XINHUA in English 0208 GMT 12 Dec 80]

YUGOSLAVIA'S MIJATOVIC MEETS ITALY'S PERTINI--Rome, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Italian President Alessandro Pertini today once again denounced the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan during talks with President Ovijetin Mijatovic of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia who arrived here this afternoon for a 3-day visit as guest of Pertini. Pertini also voiced support to the Polish people, saying that they have the right to defend their freedom. Referring to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, President Pertini said that the Afghan people "are fighting for their own independence and against the invasion of their country by foreigners." Pertini paid tribute to the late President Tito for his contribution to the non-aligned movement. At a banquest in his honor, President Mijatovic said, "Europe and the whole world have been shocked by grave crises and various unresolved problems." The problems and crises, he said, "can only be settled through political means. The independence of peoples and their right to decide their domestic and foreign policies should be respected." [Text] [OW180736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0702 GMT 18 Dec 80]

WALESA SAYS POLES FEAR NOBODY--Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--According to a Rome dispatch, ANSA 13 December reported that Walesa, chairman of the Polish independent and self-governing "Solidarity" trade union, said in an interview with a reporter of the Roman TIMES: "The Polish workers are not afraid of anything, nor anybody."

Walesa said that what was clearly written on paper would not necessarily be carried out immediately. He said: "Our responsibility is to push the government to carry out its promises." In talking about efforts in mediating the strike at the Warsaw steelworks, he stressed that the Polish workers of today were capable of doing anything and they would make nothing of even facing cannons, tanks or missiles. However, no matter what we would do, we must make preparations and have organizations. When asked by the reporter to comment on the provocative actions taken by the "Solidarity" trade union, Walesa replied: "I will repeat once again what I have said when you asked me about the Russians--we are afraid of nobody." [Text] [OW162142 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1142 GMT 15 Dec 80]

UNION HOLDS FIRST CONGRESS--Warsaw, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The first congress of the independent and self-governing "Solidarity" peasants union was held today. Over 600 delegates from all over the country attended the congress and discussed the peasants rights, unity in the peasants' movement, the government's agricultural policy and methods to improve the material and cultural life in the countryside. A resolution adopted at the congress concerning the reform of life in the countryside points out that the aim of the "Solidarity" peasants union is to safeguard the interests of the peasants and promote the development of agriculture through peasants struggle. The "Solidarity" peasants union was formed on 7 September on the basis of the independent peasants' association. In mid-September the union applied for registration with the Warsaw court, but so far the application has not yet been approved. [Text] [OW150754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 15 Dec 80]

POLISH CHURCH CALLS FOR PEACE--Warsaw, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--What Poland needs first of all at present is "domestic peace," says a communique issued at the end of a 2-day meeting of the Polish episcopate yesterday. According to a PAP report, the communique says, "no actions will be tolerated which might expose the homeland to the danger of losing her independence and statehood." It says that with "deep concern about the future of the motherland," the bishops "have studied the extremely complicated domestic social, economic and political situation." They held that "there is a decisive need to counteract all attempts to stop the national renewal, set the community at variance and abuse existing difficulties for aims alien to the nation's good." The communique adds that "all actions of the entire Polish people must take as a starting point the already started renewal and the creating of conditions for the implementation of the social agreements between the authorities and the society." [Text] [OW140253 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 14 Dec 80]

GDR 1981 ECONOMIC PLAN--Berlin, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The 7th People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic held its 12th session here today. Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the country's 1981 national economic plan. Under the draft plan, national income will register an increase of 5 percent. Meanwhile, 175,000 flats will be built or rebuilt to improve the housing conditions for 500,000 people. Finance Minister Werner Schmieder reported to the chamber on the 1981 state budget. The country's revenue will be 164.5 billion marks while the expenditure 164.43 billion marks including 10.2 billion marks spent on national defence, an increase of 0.8 billion over 1980. The 1981 national economic plan was drawn on the basis of mass discussions involving two million people. Both the economic plan and the state budget were passed at the session. Party and state leaders Erich Honecker and Horst Sindermann were present on the occasion. [Text] [OW180309 Beijing XINHUA in English 0301 GMT 18 Dec 80]

HUNGARY, GDR STATEMENTS ON POLAND--Beijing, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--The Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee on 9 December issued a statement on the recent conference of the Warsaw Pact member countries' leaders. Hungary believes, the statement said, "under the leadership of the United Workers Party of Poland, the Polish working people are capable of overcoming their country's present difficulties." The statement declared: "The Hungarian communists and people actively support the communists of Poland and the Polish patriots who are loyal to the cause of socialism. We welcome their hard work which aims at guaranteeing their country's continuous development along the socialist road and in the socialist community." According to ADN reports, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held a meeting on 9 December. It expressed the hope that "the Polish United Workers Party and the working class and other people of Poland will settle their domestic crisis in the interest of peace and socialism." The reports declared that the Polish party and people "can have fraternal help and support at any time from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German Democratic Republic." [Text] [OW131411 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1524 GMT 11 Dec 80]

MAURITANIAN LEADER SUPPORTS KAMPUCHEA--Nouakchott, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Mauritanian head of state Ould Hayda's today reaffirmed his country's support to the Democratic Kampuchean people's just struggle against foreign invasion while receiving the credentials of the new Democratic Kampuchean ambassador to Mauritania. Ambassador Hing Un told the press after the presentation that Haydala said that Mauritanians "support the struggle of the Kampuchean people under all circumstances." The Mauritanian leader also expressed the conviction that the just struggle of the Kampuchean people will be crowned with victory over the aggressors, he said. The ambassador vehemently denounced the Soviet expansionists for backing Vietnam in its aggression against Kampuchea and its massacre of the Kampuchean people. Hing Un is the first ambassador of Democratic Kampuchea to Mauritania after the country's embassy here was closed down in September 1976 to curtail expenditure. [Text] [OW141238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 14 Dec 80]

OBOTE'S PARTY WINS ELECTIONS--Kampala, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Former President Milton Obote's party, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), has won the general elections in Uganda. The National Electoral Commission announced over Radio Uganda this afternoon that Obote's UPC party won 65 seats, a simple majority of the 126-seat National Assembly. The rival Democratic Party has so far won 44 seats, and the Uganda Patriotic Movement had one seat, with results from 16 constituencies to be expected this evening. The current general elections were held on 10 and 11 December. Under Uganda's electoral laws, the party that wins simple majority in the parliament forms the government and its leader becomes the president of the country automatically. Therefore, the UPC party has become the ruling party of Uganda, and its leader Obote will assume the presidency. According to electoral commission sources, Obote will be sworn in next Monday. Obote ruled the country from independence in 1962 until he was overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971. For the next 9 years he lived in exile in Tanzania and returned home after Amin's downfall. [Text] [OW131703 Beijing XINHUA in English 1629 GMT 13 Dec 80]

SFRY LEADER VIEWS CRISES--Conakry, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--"The existence of sources of crisis in certain regions of Asia due to foreign intervention and interference has constituted a serious menace to peace," said Fadil Hodza, member of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At a rally held here on 9 December, he said "we consider it necessary to end foreign armed interventions so that the people of every nation can settle their own internal problems in accordance with their own desire and interests." Hodza was concerned about the deteriorated international situation, constant foreign interventions, military conflicts and invasions of sovereign states. He reaffirmed that Yugoslavia always supported the peoples of Palestine and southern Africa in their just struggles against Zionist and racism. He called on non-aligned nations to make their contributions to end the war between Iraq and Iran and find a solution to their disputes. Speaking at the meeting, President Toure said that the Yugoslav guests' visit will contribute to the development and promotion of the historical links between the peoples of the two countries and the non-aligned movement. Hodza left here for Ghana today at the end of his 3-day visit to Guinea. [Text] [OW121926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 12 Dec 80]

LUNS HOLDS NEWS CONFERENCE--Brussels, 10 Dec (XINHUA)--NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns said today that "As was pointed out recently by many leaders in the West, a Soviet military intervention in Poland would surely sound the knell for detente and bring other consequences to East-West relations." The secretary general was speaking at a news conference on the eve of a foreign ministers' meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Luns said, "Events in the past year have proved in a spectacular way that we are living in a dangerous world subject to crises which cannot necessarily all be brought under control." Under such conditions, he emphasized, "to maintain the collective security of the West depends, more than any time in the past, on the power and vitality of NATO." He did not rule out concerted action by NATO if the situation in Poland requires it. Turning to the situation in the Middle East and Southwest Asia, Luns said, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the turmoil in Iran and the war between the latter country (Iran) and Iraq have now combined to provide ample evidence that the area is fraught with potential menaces both to regional stability and to vital Western interests." Concluding, the secretary general expressed his desire to enhance the solidarity of the alliance. [Text] [OW111630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 11 Dec 80]

OAU REAFFIRMS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION--Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has reaffirmed the inalienable right of colonized peoples to struggle for "the exercise of self-determination and the attainment of independence and national sovereignty," the Ethiopia News Agency reported today. In a press release issued on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the UN declaration granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, the OAU said "the quantitative change brought about to the UN through the advent of the African countries to the society of free and independent states in the 60s resulted in the progressive move towards the democratisation of that world body." The press statement went on: "In defiance and complete disregard of the historic declaration of 14 December 1960, Namibia is still illegally occupied by the racist regime of South Africa. Likewise the black majority of the people of South Africa is still languishing under the repugnant and abominable system of apartheid." The OAU renewed its appeal to the international community to continue to give special attention to the struggle for the attainment of the independence of the people of Namibia and South Africa and the total eradication of apartheid. [Text] [OW150150 Beijing XINHUA in English 0142 GMT 15 Dec 80]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES YUGOSLAV LEADER--Bucharest, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, received Aleksandar Grlicikov, member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, here yesterday, the local press reported today. The two sides reviewed the close friendship and cooperation between the two countries, two parties and the two peoples and expressed the wish to further strengthen the cooperation between the two parties and the multilateral relations between the two countries. Referring to the present situation in Poland, the two sides expressed the belief that the Polish working class and the entire people in Poland are capable of seeking an appropriate political solution to their present difficulties and ensuring Poland's continued advance on the socialist road. [Text] [OW140714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 14 Dec 80]

SFRY OPPOSES INTERVENTION IN POLAND--Accra, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Any intervention in Poland would be harmful and caretaking about Polish matters, irrespective of which side it does come from, is a sort of pressure on Poland, a Yugoslav VIP told a press conference here today. The VIP, Fadilj Hodza, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is on a visit to Ghana. He said: "We in Yugoslavia are convinced that the Polish people have enough strength to settle their own problem by themselves in a peaceful way." Asked about his country's stance on the Polish crisis, Hodza noted that his country is worried about the situation in Poland. He added that Yugoslavia is willing to extend cooperation with Poland in all fields. [Text] [OW170748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 17 Dec 80]

BULGARIA'S RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA--Sofia, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--A. Lilov, member of the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has said that both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia wish to promote their relations in which positive signs have appeared recently, according to the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency today. Interviewed by the agency after his return from a visit to Yugoslavia from 2 to 10 December, Lilov said, "It may be pointed out with satisfaction that positive and major steps have been taken recently to improve our relations and cooperation." The two countries, he pointed out, "have increased political contacts and talks." But he also noted that there are still difficulties and differences between the two sides. "However," he said, "we are optimists." He pointed out, "It is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples to maintain goodneighborliness between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia." [Text] [OW140742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 14 Dec 80]

IRANIAN MINISTER ON OPEC CONFERENCE--Tehran, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The foremost objective of Iran's participation in the forthcoming OPEC conference is to press for the release of the Iranian Oil Minister Mohammad Javad Tondguyan captured by the Iraqi forces near Abadan last month. This was stated by Iranian Deputy Oil Minister Sayed Hasan Sadat, head of a 7-man Iranian delegation to the OPEC conference to be held in Bali, Indonesia, to the PARS News Agency today before his departure. The second objective of the delegation is to defend Iran's doctrine that oil should be used as a political and economic weapon, the deputy minister said. "From the point of view of the Iranian delegation the discussion on crude oil production and pricing is of secondary importance," he added. Speaking about the possible sale of Iranian natural gas to the Soviet Union, he said that the USSR has expressed interest in purchasing gas from Iran, but as long as it does not accept the new prices proposed by the Iranian Government, the exportation of gas to that country would not be resumed. [Text] [OW140725 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 14 Dec 80]

AWACS FLY DURING HOLIDAYS--Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--The four U.S. Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) planes stationed in West Germany will continue manoeuvers throughout the Christmas and new year holidays to monitor Soviet moves along the Polish border, according to a report from Bonn. A spokesman at the American air base in Ramstein was quoted as saying that all the 210 AWACS personnel, including flight crews and maintenance workers, are under order to stay on duty in West Germany and will not return home for the holidays. [Text] [OW250756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 25 Dec 80]

'PRAVDA' DENOUNCES POLISH STRIKES--Moscow, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet paper PRAVDA today carried a long article on the role of trade unions, denouncing the recent workers' strikes in Poland as "serving the interests of anti-socialist elements." The article said: "The incident which happened in Poland not long ago has confirmed that a halt of work in state enterprises, whatever the causes might be, will only serve the interests of anti-socialist elements who have turned economic protests into a totally different nature, and led the society astray from the road of socialist development." [Text] [OW261630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 26 Dec 80]

BREZHNEV RECEIVES POLISH MINISTER--Moscow, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev met with Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek here today. The two men discussed questions "linked with further development and perfection to all-round cooperation" between the two countries as well as some "urgent international problems," according to a TASS report. In their talks, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the result of the 5 December summit meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders in Moscow. They attacked attempts by other countries to interfere in Poland's internal affairs and relations with its allies. Czyrek arrived here yesterday on a visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government. [Text] [OW261628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1622 GMT 26 Dec 80]

POLISH MINISTER ENDS VISIT--Moscow, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek of Poland left here for home today after a 2-day official visit. He held talks with his Soviet counterpart A. Gromyko, TASS reported. He said during the talks that "the people's Poland are able to overcome the difficulties that have cropped up and ensure the country to continue to develop along the road of socialism." A press communique issued after the visit said that the Polish foreign minister gave an account of the development of the internal situation in Poland. It said: "The two sides stressed the significance of the Soviet-Polish treaty of friendly cooperation and mutual assistance which serves as a solid foundation for all-round coordination between the two countries." The communique also called for closer cooperation and more coordinated actions between Poland and the USSR "within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the COMECON." [Text] [OW270259 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 27 Dec 80]

JAPANESE SANCTIONS AGAINST USSR--Tokyo, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--Japanese paper KEIZAI SHIMBUN in an editorial today stressed that all sanctions so far adopted against the Soviet Union must be maintained so that the Kremlin could learn a hard lesson from its invasion of Afghanistan that the present-day world is one in which no country could impose its rule over others by force of arms with impunity. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the editorial said, entered its second year yesterday. Despite worldwide condemnation, Moscow has remained so obstinate as to refuse to make any indication of a troop withdrawal. The editorial said that the

Afghan guerrillas have been conducting protracted harassment warfare in almost every part of the country. A vaunted 100,000-man government army has now been reduced to only 30,000 men because of innumerable cases of desertion and mutinies. The Karmal regime with unending internal strife has become a puppet, pure and simple, which could hardly exist without the Soviet backing, the editorial pointed out. [Text] [OW290810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 29 Dec 80]

INDIAN-PAKISTANI BORDER REPORTED QUIET--Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--There is nothing unusual on the Indo-Pakistan border, the INDIAN EXPRESS said in a report today quoting official sources of both countries, according to a report from New Delhi. Pakistan ambassador to India Abul Sattar told the EXPRESS news service yesterday that the border was quiet as usual and there was no concentration of forces on either side. He said that he was in Lahore 2 days ago and even the tension that followed former Prime Minister Morarji Desai's statement on the eve of Brezhnev's visit that "the Soviet Union wanted India to teach Pakistan a lesson," had subsided. In reply to a question whether there was any tension on the Indo-Pakistan border, an official of the Indian Foreign Ministry said yesterday that there was nothing unusual happening and the border was calm. When it was questioned on the same day whether there is any concentration of troops on the Indo-Pakistan border, the Indian Defence Ministry answered: "No. There are usual annual exercises on both sides these days. They and we know about them." [Text] [OW250834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0814 GMT 25 Dec 80]

THAILAND REINFORCES EASTERN BORDER--Bangkok, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon disclosed today that reinforcements had been ordered to the border city Aranya Prathet 2 days before to strengthen the defensive capability on the eastern border front, according to local press reports today. Prime Minister Prem, who is also commander-in-chief of the Royal Thai Army, told newsmen recently that the situation on the border area of Aranya Prathet had become more and more tense. "We have to be prepared for combat at any moment," he said. He added that "we have to pay close attention to the fighting and Vietnamese military moves in Kampuchean territory and their impacts on Thailand." Commander of the Thai First Army Region Lt General Vasin Issarangkun told reporters that forces had to be deployed at every point on the border where an enemy invasion might take place. Spokesman of the supreme command of the Thai armed forces Lt General Som Kataphan told reporters yesterday that Vietnam had sent the 317th division to the Thai-Kampuchean border to replace the exhausted 75th division. In the meantime, the Heng Samrin regime has driven a lot of people to build the Thmar Puok-Ban Khok Han highway to facilitate the transport of Vietnamese armored cars and heavy weapons to Phnom Melai. All this signals an impending Vietnamese offensive on the border areas, he said. [Text] [OW251632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1606 GMT 25 Dec 80]

VIETNAMESE SUPPORT THAI DEFENSE--Bangkok, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--A donation of 214,400 bahts to help strengthen Thailand's border defence was presented by representatives of the Vietnamese residents in Thailand to San Chitpatima, deputy commander-in-chief of the Thai Royal Army, here yesterday, according to a press report here today. Banchong Vacharaprapa, one of the 20 representatives who called on the Thai general, told newsmen that the donation to the Thai army is to support the struggle against Vietnamese aggression. In a statement distributed by them, they condemned the Vietnamese authorities for practising hegemonism and carrying on military expansionist moves against neighbouring countries. The exodus of Vietnamese refugees from their country was caused by these expansionist moves. [Text] [OW241218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 24 Dec 80]

LEE KUAN YEW ELECTION VICTORY--Beijing, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--Singapore's ruling People's Action Party (PAP) of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew won all 75 parliament seats in a general election yesterday, according to reports from Singapore. "This is a watershed election," Lee Kuan Yew told the nation in a televised news conference after the results were announced. He described the triumph as an "overwhelming vote of confidence." The Ruling Party has won four successive elections without losing a single seat, the other three were in 1968, 1972 and 1976. He said about 75 percent of popular votes went to the PAP candidates while about 22 percent to the 43 candidates entered by the seven opposition parties of Singapore. The general election this year was held one year early because the PAP leaders said the Singapore Government wanted a fresh mandate before tackling expected economic problems caused by rising oil prices and other international uncertainties. Voting was compulsory for all citizens in the 38 constituencies in Singapore which has a multiracial population of 2.4 million people. [Text] [OW240712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 24 Dec 80]

ENVOY TO NEW ZEALAND'S TOUR--Wellington, 7 Dec (XINHUA)--Chinese Ambassador to New Zealand Qin Lizhen and his wife Li Huawen made a week-long visit to Rarotonga, Cooks Islands, from 28 November to 4 December. During the visit, the Chinese ambassador called on Chief Justice Gaven Donne, representative of the Queen; Thomas Davis, premier of the Cooks Islands; D. Hosking, speaker of the Legislative Assembly; and met with all the cabinet members. The ambassador had friendly talks with them. The government of the Cooks Islands held a reception for the ambassador on 29 November. The Cooks Islands Premier Thomas Davis hosted a luncheon for him on 1 December. While in Rarotonga, the Chinese ambassador visited a hospital, a college, a fruit cannery, a handicraft factory and an agricultural research station. The ambassador and his wife were warmly received everywhere. The ambassador was seen off by Minister of Internal Affairs Iaveta Short on his departure on 4 December. [Text] [OW090956 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 7 Dec 80 OW]

TIANJIN-MELBOURNE PROTOCOL--Tianjin, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--Official bonds of friendship between the Chinese port of Tianjin and the Australian port of Melbourne were established at a signing ceremony here today. A protocol of understanding to this effect was signed by Liu Shusen, head of the delegation of the Tianjin port under the Ministry of Communications and director of the Port Administration, and A.S. Mayne, head of the delegation of the Melbourne port and executive chairman of the Port Administration. Tianjin and Melbourne became sister cities in May this year. The establishment of official links between the two ports is expected to promote friendly relations between the two ports and the two countries and enhance exchange and cooperation in port construction and management. The Melbourne delegation arrived in Tianjin on 18 December and had technical discussions with the Tianjin delegation. This evening, Vice-Mayor of Tianjin Li Zhongheng met with all members of the Melbourne delegation and gave a banquet in their honour. He warmly welcomed the establishment of official ties of friendship between the two ports. Mr Mayne and his party will leave Tianjin tomorrow for a tour of harbors in Southern China. [Text] [OW210603 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 19 Dec 80 OW]

GYMNASTS IN BRITAIN--Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--A group of Chinese gymnasts left here today for the Coca-Cola international gymnastics competition on 12-13 December in London, Britain. All four members are 17 years old. Among them are the current national men's individual all-round runner-up, Xu Zhiqiang, and individual all-round third finisher Li Ning, they were placed first and second respectively in the floor exercist event at the national gymnastics championships last October in Changsha, Hunan Province. Women gymnasts Zhou Xiaolin and Zhou Jingjing finished fifth in the individual all-round title and fourth in the uneven bars event respectively at the national championships. The Chinese team is led by Chen Zhenhua, vice-president of the Chinese Gymnastics Association. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1302 GMT 6 Dec 80 OW]

FINNISH EMBASSY RECEPTION--Beijing, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--The Finnish ambassador, Mr Pentti Suomela and Mrs Suomela gave a reception here today marking the 63rd anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Finland. Among the guests were Chinese Minister of Forestry Yong Wentao and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Kehua, as well as leading members of government departments, Beijing Municipality and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. Members of the Diplomatic Corps were also present. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

SOVIET CHEMICAL WEAPONS--London, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The Western allies might have to develop its own nerve gases to counter a Soviet build-up of chemical weapons, British Secretary of State for Defence Francis Pym said in a radio interview here today. He pointed out that no progress had been made towards negotiations with the Soviet Union on a ban on chemical weapons. "Are there any ways, short of holding it ourselves in the alliance, we can prevent their use of it?" Francis Pym asked. He disclosed that he personally had begun to think about a Western chemical deterrent. It was the third time this year that the defence secretary had publicly expressed his fears of a Soviet chemical armoury. Earlier this month he said he was more concerned about a Soviet chemical attack than other possible strike. [Text] [OW290148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0136 GMT 29 Dec 80]

FRG WARNS USSR ON POLICY--Bonn, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union "should make the Afghan event and the world's reactions to it as a turning point to change its policy" warned Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany in a New Year message today. Genscher said: "The hegemonist policy has no future. The West will not accept the Soviet dominant position." He censured any actions weakening the European Community and opposed to weakened cooperation with the United States. [as received] This, he noted, would menace the security of West Germany. He pointed out that the foreign policy of West Germany in 1981 is still aimed to reinforce its relations with the European Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, promote friendship with the United States, and strengthen defence cooperation of the West. [Text] [OW011214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 1 Jan 81]

LAO REFUGEES FLEEING TO THAILAND--Bangkok, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Driven beyond their forbearance of the oppression by the Vientiane authorities, Lao people have fled into Thailand en masse and sought refugee in its northeastern border areas, the Thai paper MATICHON reported. Lao refugees reaching Nong Khai Province totalled 505 in the past week. Those who waded across the Mekong River and entered the Nong Khai district yesterday numbered 230, the biggest daily influx since the beginning of this year. Usually the number of refugees fleeing to the said district ranged from 80 to 120 daily. Among the Lao refugees, many were youngsters and students. They reported that many had been forced to do hard labour, including felling trees in the mountainous areas, before they were taken to Vietnam. [Text] [OW301236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 30 Dec 80]

SRV CASUALTIES IN THAILAND--Bangkok, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--Altogether 173 Vietnamese aggresser troops were killed and 145 wounded by the Thai army in counter-attacks against Vietnamese invasion from 1 January to 19 December this year, reported the BANGKOK POST today quoting a spokesman for the Supreme Command of the Thai armed forces yesterday. In the counter-attacks, 31 Thai troops were killed and 40 wounded, the spokesman added. [Text] [OW300740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 30 Dec 802

'GONGREN RIBAO' ON IMPLEMENTING 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES'

HK020647 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 80 pp 1, 3

[Contributing commentator's article: "Strive to Raise Consciousness in Implementing the 'Guiding Principles'"]

[Text] Since the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" was officially announced, there has been marked improvement in our party style, but the implementation of these principles varies from place to place.

Many comrades have set good examples, put strict demands on themselves, unswervingly implemented the party's line and policies, strictly abided by the party's organizational principles and discipline, shared the people's weal and woe and been conscientious in preserving their qualities as public servants of the people. Such comrades are growing in number. The masses love and respect these comrades. From their deeds, one can see the restoration and the carrying forward of the party's fine tradition, and this fortifies our confidence in engaging in the building of the four modernizations.

Some comrades have been basically good in implementing the "guiding principles" but they have indeed violated the "guiding principles" on this or that question. However, once they found out about their own errors, they were able to give top priority to the will of the party and the people, humbly accept the party organizations' and the masses' criticism and supervision and seriously rectify their errors. The masses welcome these comrades' attitude of correcting mistakes as soon as they become aware of them. They continue to trust them and to support their work. [words indistinct] actions have not lived up to their words. They continue to do things in violation of the "guiding principles." Some of them have even been infected with a despicable decadent style. They often find excuses to stall, refute and deny other people's exposure and criticism. Some even use their official powers to seek opportunities to carry out revenge. These actions which undermine the party style and discipline have adversely affected the party's prestige and created a very bad influence among the masses. They have often been the cause of the failure of the party's propaganda and education work to achieve desired results. Many comrades are quite worried that the socialist cause pioneered by the revolutionaries of the older generation will be ruined by these people.

To most comrades, problems appearing in the implementation of the "guiding principles" mainly reflect the discrepancies in their training in and mastery of the party spirit and the differences in their level of consciousness in following the "guiding principles." Then, how do we change the situation of low level of consciousness? First, it depends on the comrades' constant remolding of their subjective world in the process of transforming the objective world; second, it depends on the masses' strict supervision; third, it depends on the party organizations' constant education and inspection.

Our party is a political party of the working class. Every member of the party is a vanguard fighter for the people's interests. This requires that all party members, particularly party cadres, strive to cultivate the noble quality of being willing to be the people's public servant and not the people's overlord. This is the ideological basis for conscientiously implementing the "guiding principles." There are many comrades who might not be able to memorize specific stipulations in the "guiding principles" but their actions comply with the requirements of the "guiding principles." The most important reason for this is that they wholeheartedly devote themselves to serving the people. They joined the party not in order to become officials or to fish for "benefits" for themselves, their family, relatives and friends but to better work for the greatest interests of the greatest number of people. Therefore, at all times and under any kind of circumstances, they always place themselves in the position of an ordinary worker, maintain close contacts with the masses, faithfully do good things for the people and do not do anything which harms the people's interests. Precisely because they do not pursue selfish interests and do not worry about personal gains and losses, they are openhearted and guileless, are able to seek truth from facts, dare to conduct self-criticism and dare to struggle against all kinds of unhealthy tendencies, against bad people and bad things in political life and strictly abide by the rules in their material life. However, we cannot overlook the fact that there are some comrades who are selfish. As their positions get higher and as the power they hold grows greater, the distance between them and the masses grows wider. Bureaucratism and the privilege-seeking mentality grow in them. They forget that they are public servants of the people and often consider themselves as above the restrictions of party discipline and state laws. When it comes to these comrades, to seriously follow the "guiding principles," the most important thing is for them to get rid of the distracting thoughts of seeking selfish interests, to always think of the people's interests and to strive to raise their consciousness as public servants of the people.

It is necessary to encourage and support the masses in conducting criticism inside and outside the party from the grass roots level to the top in order to make the cadres heighten their consciousness in abiding by discipline and obeying the law. This is not only because our position as the ruling party can easily make some of our comrades look at themselves as special and forget to rely on the masses and make some people with unhealthy thinking abuse their power, but also because the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have seriously damaged the party's fine tradition and corrupted many party members. Some of these party members are still violating laws and discipline, and they are not only unashamed of what they are doing but take pride in their deeds. To heal the internal injury inflicted on the body of the party by the 10 years of turmoil, we must strengthen criticism and supervision by the masses inside and outside the party and we need the force of public opinion in society. At present, some comrades in the party are still worried about the masses' conducting open criticism. This attitude has objective causes. During the "great cultural revolution," the method of "great democracy" was advocated and "the broad masses of people were openly and extensively mobilized from top to bottom to expose the darker side of our party." Yet in the end, this was used by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to create chaos in the party and state, to usurp party power and to attack and persecute a great number of cadres. We must firmly bear in mind this painful lesson. Today, by stressing the importance of encouraging and supporting criticism and supervision from the bottom to the top, we are certainly not repeating the erroneous methods used during the "great cultural revolution." On the contrary, we are striving to guide the masses to correctly use the weapon of criticism under the guiding principle of socialist democracy, to be realistic and tactful and to adopt the attitude of doing things for others' good and curing the illness to save the patient. At the same time, in terms of methods, we have been careful in distinguishing among different situations and dealing with problems rationally. For example, some people are criticized within the party organization, some in their own units; some are criticized in documents circulated within the party, while others, whose deeds constitute very serious cases or are typical and have great significance for educational purposes, can also be openly exposed in newspapers. We must see that the masses long for the four modernizations, that they pin their hopes on the party's leadership, place strict demands on the party's cadres and dare to criticize the cadres' shortcomings, errors and unhealthy practices. As for their direct criticism of and supervision over the leaders of the party and state, this is a good thing. It shows their enthusiasm in cherishing the party's cadres and caring for the cause of the party. This enthusiasm is very commendable. We must safeguard it and never defeat it; we must direct it and never suppress it. Of course, in the process of conducting criticism, there are bound to be a few people who desire nothing but chaos and who will take the opportunity to create confusion or even totally negate the party's leadership on the pretext of criticizing the shortcomings of party cadres. There is nothing to worry about. We need not be scared and panic-stricken. As long as our guidance is correct, even this kind of behavior will be helpful in educating and training the cadres and masses in the process of carrying out socialist democracy and conducting criticism and self-criticism.

Aside from criticism and supervision from the bottom to the top, there must also be education, inspection and supervision by the party organization in order to achieve better results in the effort to heighten the consciousness of party members and cadres in abiding by the "guiding principles." In some departments and units, the reason why the "guiding principles" have not been implemented is because the party organizations in those units have been lax in their work in this aspect. These party organizations usually do not take the initiative to solve the problems involving leading cadres in their units. They have to wait until the higher organizations intervene, until the leading comrades issue instructions or until the masses are infuriated and the contradictions have intensified before reluctantly solving the problem in a passive way. That is very improper. This phenomenon exists mainly because leading cadres in those units cannot do without considering personal feelings. They only care about saving "face" but not about the influence of their deeds on the party. Some of them are under the influence of the old idea of "one merit covers up a hundred demerits." They think that as long as a person is a good cadre, even his mistakes must be "forgiven." Some are afraid to involve many people or are afraid that once they stir up the "hornet's nest," they will not be able to handle it. Others sympathize with each other. They are afraid that once they offend others, they themselves will be exposed to attack. These cadres protect each other. We must resolutely change this situation and help the party organizations in those units to regain their vitality, to dare to uphold principles, promote justice, conduct criticism and self-criticism and strengthen education and supervision of party members and cadres, particularly the leading cadres. Those who show contempt for party discipline and defy the law, no matter who they are, must be exposed. Those who refuse to repent must be subject to party disciplinary action. Does this mean "punishing without education"? No. The "gang of four" was smashed more than 4 years ago; it has been 2 years since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee put forth the task of rectifying party style and upholding party discipline, and almost a year has passed since the Fifth Plenary Session officially announced the "guiding principles" to the whole party. During this period, internal party documents and leading cadres of the Central Committee have discussed the problem of rectifying party style at length. There has also been a great number of criticisms and appeals from the masses. They have been urging us time and again with good intentions. Under such circumstances, how can we say that it is "punishing without educating" to subject those who are not conscientious to disciplinary action? Besides, criticizing in circulars cadres' mistakes in violating discipline and punishing them is not meant to overthrow them and make their names stink, but to save them and educate everyone. During the time Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were wreaking havoc, criticism inside and outside the party was very abnormal. Until now, people still have the misconception that once certain mistakes of a cadre are openly criticized, it means that this cadre has made other serious mistakes and that he must naturally be dismissed and overthrown. Some comrades even think that only "people to be overthrown" should be openly criticized or that it is only when these errors have developed to a hopeless stage that they should be exposed. Otherwise, they must not be exposed or criticized. At present, we are attempting precisely to change this abnormal method. We are advocating timely, realistic and well-intentioned criticism in order to prevent minor problems, from developing into serious ones.

The quality of party style of the ruling party is a matter of life and death for the party. Negligence of this problem or setting the rectification of party style against the building of four modernizations and stability and unity is erroneous and harmful. Today, there are many conditions favorable to the rectification of party style. As long as the broad masses of party members, particularly the party cadres, strive relentlessly and firmly to uphold the sanctity of party discipline, it is absolutely possible to induce a basic change in party style within a short span of time.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

DISCIPLINE AGAINST OFFICIAL CORRUPTION ASSERTED

Seeking Private Gain Denounced

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial by staff commentator: "Under No Circumstances Is It Permissible To Use One's Office To Seek Private Gain"]

[Text] The party committee of the Hainan District has made the decision and, with the approval of the provincial party committee, dealt severely with the erroneous conduct of the former secretary of the party committee and chairman of the revolutionary committee of Chengmai County Wang Yueqing [3769 1471 7230], deputy secretary of the county party committee and vice chairman of the revolutionary committee Zeng Xiangji [2582 4382 6549], and former member of the standing committee of the county party committee and vice chairman of the revolutionary committee Wu Xianming [0702 7359 2494] in using their office to seek private gains; in doing so, it has upheld the party's discipline, asserted the forthright spirit of the proletariat, and reflected the demands of the vast ranks of the masses, and was therefore very popular.

As leading cadres of the county party committee and in a situation in which the Party Central Committee repeatedly stressed the restoration and exaltation of the party's fine tradition and working style, Comrades Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming should ordinarily have followed such discipline and obeyed the law and done a good job in exemplifying the party's working style, thus guiding the masses well in carrying out our four modernizations construction with one heart and one mind. But they somehow chose to ignore the interests of the party and the state and overlook party discipline and state law, and exhibited, instead, a yen for using their office to seek private gains. They illegally expropriated people's land, and made use of the state's three major construction materials to build their private houses; they approved at random the use of foodgrain, the establishment of households, and the use of workers beyond the planned figure, and thereby sabotaged the party's relevant policies and prescriptions. Their muddle-headed conduct seriously ruined the party's working style, damaged the party's authority and credence, and exerted a very bad influence so that it became a custom for cadres of Chenghai County to use their office to build their own private houses and for agricultural households to enter the city, resulting in hampering the four modernizations construction and causing vehement dissatisfaction on the part of the vast ranks of the masses. In order to educate these comrades themselves, educate the vast ranks of party members and cadres, do a good job in exemplifying and enforcing strict party discipline, and salvage the party's influence, it was entirely necessary for the provincial party committee and regional party committee to deal with them severely.

Our party is the advanced contingent of China's working class; every Communist, irrespective of the post he occupies, is a public servant of society and a servant of the people. He has only the duty to serve the people diligently and no right to seek privilege in politics and in his life. At any and all time he must place the interest of the people, and the interest of the state in the foremost position, and prepare at any and all time to sacrifice his individual interest or even life to defend and protect the interests of the party and the people; under no circumstances it is permissible for them to use the office conferred upon them by the party and the people to seek private gains, to damage the public in order to benefit himself, he is not going to be accommodated by party discipline and state law and should hence be punished accordingly.

The fact that comrades such as Wang Yueqing and others have made such mistakes tells us once more that we can definitely not underestimate the remnant poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Out of their need to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" unscrupulously trampled party discipline and party law under their feet, spread corrupt ideas to poison our party members and cadres, and hence caused the working style of our party to sustain serious damage. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party's fine traditions and working style were restored and exalted. But the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has still not been eliminated entirely; the corrupt ideas they spread, such as "power is everything," "power does not become defunct after a certain period," etc., are still functioning in the minds of some of our comrades; the erroneous conduct on the part of comrades such as Wang Yueqing and others is an example. There are also people who have made mistakes similar to those of Comrades Wang Yueqing, etc. In our party there are indeed some comrades in whose minds the word "self" swells to especially inflated proportions; they want to take advantage of the status of the party in power to reap some "benefits," thinking that "when one is in office, one usually has many friends, but when one is out of office, one does not even have too many relatives; thus they take the office conferred upon them by the party and the people as their capital to make private profits, to fatten their own pockets at the expense of the public, feeling no shame but even assuming a sense of glory. Whatever might be the interest of the party, the interest of the people, or the interest of the state is not at all registered in their eyes. No matter how often the party Central Committee repeats its prohibition against using one's office to seek private gains, they hear nothing and continue to do what they please. Some use their power to grab materials, connive with people at home and abroad, and turn around to sell the goods of the state in order to make instant profits. Some take advantage of their authority to approve the use of money, the use of materials, the use of foodgrains, the establishment of households, the recruitment of workers, and their power to approve the departure from ports and trips abroad to accept gifts and bribes. Some illegally occupy people's land, and use the materials, vehicles and manpower of the state and the collectives to build their own houses at the official prices or even gratis. Some violate established policies and regulations to move relatives and and friends from the countryside into the towns and cities to establish their households there, to have them consume commercial crops, to help relatives and friends get admitted into schools and obtain jobs, or get promotions and obtain special privileges. Some appropriate public funds to invite people and buy gifts, wine and dine to their hearts' content. Some turn public into private possessions, make use of public things, etc. We must discover and expose such lawless conduct detrimental to the interests of the party and the state, deal with it severely with no appeasement or accommodation whatsoever.

To rectify the party's working style, make the party's discipline strict, strengthen and improve the party's leadership, and elevate the party's fighting stamina is an urgent task that lies before us. "Some Regulations Concerning Inner-Party Political Life" requires that "comrades of the whole party must exert their revolutionary spirit, thoroughly eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' stamp out various interferences, and do a good job in this great undertaking of maintaining party discipline and party law and exemplifying well the party's working style which concerns the success or failure of the four modernizations and the future and destiny of the party and the state." For this reason, party organizations at all levels must convey to all our party members the decision of the provincial party committee and regional party committee to deal with the mistakes made by Comrades Wang Yueqing and others, combine with the substantiation of the spirit of the Fifth Plenary of the 11th Party Central Committee and the study of the "Regulations" and the revised draft of the Party Constitution, and develop relevant discussions, so as to carry out an education on party style and discipline among the vast ranks of the party members and cadres. Every Communist Party member, especially the party's leading cadre, must absorb a lesson from the mistakes of Comrades Wang Yueqing and others and take it as a warning, and proceed to check against and inspect his own work, thinking and style according to the requirements of the "Regulations." Whatever is not in accord with the requirements he must take the initiative to correct, so as to do his best to become a qualified party member. Those who have made serious mistakes but insist on going on without repentance must be severely dealt with.

Wang Yueqing, Others Punished

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[Report by the Reporting Group, Regional Party Committee for Inspecting Discipline: "Ignoring Party Discipline, Using Office To Seek Private Gains: Former Secretary of Chengmai County Party Committee Wang Yueqing and Others Are Severely Dealt With"]

[Text] The Hainan Regional Party Committee recently made a decision and, with the approval of the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, proceeded to deal severely with the mistakes on the part of former secretary of the county party committee and chairman of the revolutionary committee of Chenghai County Wang Yueqing, deputy secretary of the county party committee and vice chairman of the revolutionary committee Zeng Xiangji, and former member of the standing committee of the county party committee and vice chairman of the revolutionary committee Wu Xianming in becoming, while in office, seriously oblivious of organization and oblivious of discipline, and in violating the party's policies, using their office to illegally expropriate other people's land, making use of the three major materials of the state to build their private houses, and approving at random the use of foodgrains, the establishment of households, and so on: 1) The punishment of dismissal from the office of secretary of the county party committee was meted out to Wang Yueqing; the punishment of serious inner-party warning was meted out to Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming. 2) The private houses built by Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming were confiscated and put under the control of the housing and property departments; their construction expenses were given back to them by the housing and property departments according to actual expenditure. 3) The question as to Chengmai County's approval, in violation of established policies and regulations, of households that were moved into the city and coverted to the consumption of commercial crops and of workers recruited beyond the planned figure, it should be properly dealt with according to the spirit of the provisions of pertinent central and provincial documents. 4) The situation about how mistakes of Comrades Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming were dealt with was circularized within and without the party, so that it could be combined with the study and carrying out of the "Regulations" in the conduct of a serious education among the vast ranks of the party members and cadres to arrest this devious wind and to exemplify well the party's good working style.

Comrades Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming originally lived in separate public apartments; yet they still took advantage of their office to illegally expropriate other people's land and made use of the state's three major materials to build their separate private houses. Comrade Wang Yueqing occupied 339.56 square meters of land and built 228.17 square meters of housing; Comrade Zeng Xiangji occupied 328.9 square meters of land and built 157.55 square meters of housing; Comrade Wu Xianming occupied 387.79 square meters of land and built 254.8 square meters of housing.

In 1971, the Guangdong provincial revolutionary committee already prescribed: an expropriation of 10 mu and more of farm land must be submitted to the provincial revolutionary committee for approval. But after only a little discussion among members of the standing committee, Comrades Wang Yueqing and others immediately took it upon themselves to use the pretext of "constructing dormitories for the cadres and staff members and workers: and set the condition of an exemption of the purchase of 4,052 jin of public grains, and illegally expropriated 42.49 mu of land (of which 15 mu were water fields) from the Zhongzhai Brigade in Chengcheng Commune to build private houses for themselves and other cadres (while collecting the prices on the lot areas allocated). Only afterwards did they submit reports to the provincial and regional revolutionary committees. The provincial and regional revolutionary committees both gave clear replies expressing disagreement with their expropriation of the land; but they still ignored the opinions of the superior levels and did as they pleased. When their houses were still not built and when they were just getting started in construction, in March 1979, the principal leading cadre of the regional party committee sought repeatedly to criticize and stop them. But they were oblivious of organization and discipline; on the one hand, they conveyed the opinion of the leading cadre of the regional party committee to cadres from the bureau and upward at the county level of organs, and even issued a circular in the name of the county revolutionary committee to request the cadres to stop constructing private houses on the expropriated land; yet on the other hand, they continued to build their own houses. During the construction they took advantage of their office to fatten their own pockets at the expense of the public; through various channels and in the name of public use, and according to the prices for public use or even gratis, they appropriated the three major materials, vehicles and manpower of the state and the collectives. Comrade Wang Yueqing requested 29 tons of cement, 1.27 tons of steel bars, and 9.44 cubic meters of lumber. Comrade Zeng Xiangji used 16 tons of cement, 860 kilograms of steel bars, and 2.2 cubic meters of lumber. Comrade Wu Xianming used 25 tons of cement, 4.48 tons of steel bars, and 5.71 cubic meters of lumber. These materials that they requested were mostly bought at the price for public use, with surcharges added to the purchase of such cement and steel bars by private individuals exempted. They mobilized vehicles from units such as factories, communes, farms, official organs, troops, and petroleum teams to transport materials for themselves, to some of these vehicles they paid no transportation fees; to some, they paid only gasoline costs; and some were simply used gratis. For example, Comrades Wang Yueqing and Wu Xianming repeatedly requested vehicles from the Nanhai petroleum team without paying any transportation fees. They both asked only once for one 15-ton truck each to transport cement for them from Chahe cement plant; the round trip was 336 kilometers and the transportation fee for each was more than 450 yuan (not counting the cost for the trip back after unloading), but not a single penny of this was paid by them. Besides, they also used lumber from some farms, communes and production brigades gratis.

The Party Central Committee has repeatedly issued the order to strictly control the moving of population from the countryside into the cities. But Comrades Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming ignored the relevant regulations and took advantage of their office to approve at random the use of foodgrains and the establishment of households. Since 1978, Comrades Wang Yueqing and others have issued approval slips to the relevant departments to handle as many as 66 households with 224 persons, of countryside population in their entry into the city to establish themselves there, under such approval, there were 69 households, with 231 persons, converted to the consumption of commerical crops, and 42 workers recruited beyond the planned figure.

Most of these foodgrains, households and workers recruited beyond the planned figure they approved were not in accord with established policies and regulations; some of them were approved as a measure of private favor, for the purpose of striking up desired relations, or for making private gains. Under the influence of Comrades Wang Yueqing and others, other leading cadres of the county party committee (except certain individuals) also followed suit by issuing approval slips at random. In April 1979, in particular, foodgrain departments at the superior level discovered that the problem of countryside population moving into the city was very serious, and had already pointed this out to the county party committee in time; but they continued to approve at random. In May, under the presiding of a deputy secretary of the county party committee, they approved, in the fashion of a commando raid, as many as 107 households, with 280 persons, to enter the city in one single session. This resulted in large contingents of countryside population entering the city. Thus in the first 8 months of 1979 alone, people entering the city exceeded the controlled target for the whole year by 15 times, and workers recruited also exceeded the planned figure by more than 1,000 persons. Apart from these, Comrades Wang Yueqing and Wu Xianming also used their office to take possession of public things and turn them into private possessions. Wang Yueqing took possession, from his public office, of two radios, two electric fans, one three-use machine; he also used a watch valued at more than 500 yuan and a bicycle of the Phenix Brand to exchange a watch valued at more than 900 yuan from a physician who had just returned to work after the policies were put into effect, thus taking advantage of the latter. Wu Xianming took possession of a three-use machine (now returned) and one bass speaker.

The mistakes made by Comrades Wang Yueqing and others were repeatedly investigated, and thus verified, by the commission for inspecting discipline of the Nanhai regional party committee in conjunction with other concerned departments. The standing committee of the regional party committee conducted serious discussion twice on this, and then made the decision to deal with them and also report it to the provincial party committee for approval. The decision pointed out that, as leading cadres of the county party committee and at a time when the Party Central Committee repeatedly stressed the restoration and exaltation of the party's fine traditions and working style and when the focus of work of the whole party was being shifted to socialist four modernizations construction, Comrades Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xianji and Wu Xianming chose not to lead the masses well in working on four modernizations construction with one heart and one mind, but to indulge in using their office to seek private gains, seriously ignore organization and discipline in violation of the party's policies and regulations, and thus create a very bad influence. Their mistakes are serious. As the principal leading cadre of the county party committee, Comrade Wang Yueqing must bear the main responsibility in this regard; Comrades Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming must also bear certain responsibilities. After criticism and assistance were rendered to them by the organization, they recognized their own mistakes and financially also made some refund and repayment. In view of their mistakes and their recognition of them in their attitude and in order to educate them and to educate the vast ranks of the party members and cadres, exemplify well the party's good working style, rigorously enforce party discipline, and elevate the party's fighting stamina, it was decided to deal with them severely. The regional party committee demanded that party organizations at various levels all combine with their study of "Some Regulations Concerning Inner-Party Political Life" and the revised draft of the new Party Constitution to develop discussions, and carry out a political and ideological education on party style and party discipline among the vast ranks of the party members. In the case of conduct in violation of party discipline on the part of party members and cadres, especially the party's leading cadres, who used their office to seek private gains, who fattened their own pockets at the expense of the public, and who built private houses and approved the use of foodgrains and establishment of households, etc., effort must be made to seriously inspect and severely deal with them accordingly.

The decision also pointed out, the other two deputy secretaries of the Chengmai County Party Committee also bore certain responsibilities in the handling of questions such as illegal expropriation of land and random approval of the use of foodgrains and establishment of households; they were required to make profound self-examination.

The decision finally required all party organizations and party members at various levels, especially leading cadres, to absorb lessons from the mistakes of Comrades Wang Yueqing and others, take them as a warning, and seriously study the "Regulations" and the revised draft of the new Party Constitution and thereby check against and inspect their own work, thinking and style; whatever is found not in accord with requirements must be actively corrected. In the case of those whose mistakes are found to be serious but who insist on continuing their ways, serious punishment must be meted out to them.

(Reporting Group, Regional Party Committee)

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EXTRAVAGANT EATING, DRINKING BY CADRES CRITICIZED

Reasons for Prevalence

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Shi Zaichun [2457 6528 2507]: "Why Can't the Practice of Extravagant Eating and Drinking Be Checked?"]

[Text] Following the implementation of the "Guiding Principles Regarding Inner-Party Life" within the whole party, the practice of extravagant eating and drinking everywhere has been checked in some degree but not totally stopped. Some of the units have varied their tactics so as to continue the practice of extravagant eating and drinking, using all sorts of pretexts and taking advantage of every opportunity. Why can't this unhealthy tendency be quickly checked? It is understood that the reasons are as follows:

1. The sense of law and discipline on the part of some party member cadres is becoming blunted. The Party Central Committee has long since repeated its injunctions on the issue of extravagant eating and drinking. They just will not listen, but persist in their old ways as before. Some of the units have made self-criticisms on this issue, but before long they continue to commit the same old mistakes. Some of the units have made self-criticisms on this issue, but before long they continue to commit the same old mistakes. Some of the units decided to correct the evil trends of party members at party delegate conferences, but soon afterward commemorative albums were distributed and large-scale dinner parties were held even before the conferences ended. Some of the party leaders spoke earnestly about party discipline at party delegate conferences, and immediately after that they indulged in extravagant eating and drinking regardless of party discipline.

2. Some of the leading bodies and leading cadres themselves are not upright. Whenever they visit lower units, they like to get someone to offer them food and drink. Some of the "inspection parties," "visiting groups," or "groups for conveying greetings and appreciation" dispatched by the leading bodies also indulge in extravagant eating and drinking by taking part in various "on-the-spot meetings," "appraisal meetings," or "exchange meetings" at various places. They eat and drink wherever they go. Some members of the operational departments with real powers frequently take the quality of the food provided as a basis for judging the achievements of departments at lower levels in order to determine if some of their requests can be approved. "Whatever is favored by the upper level is to be followed by the

lower level." If the leading bodies concerned at the upper level can do it this way, there is no reason why the lower level cannot!

3. Certain shortcomings exist in the present economic system. The source of raw materials and the market of products of some business departments, especially enterprises operated by the communes or the production teams, have not been put under the national plan. Therefore they have to find a way out by themselves and solicit help from potential backers. "To earn one's own living" is to seek for help from others. One who beseeches favors from others must "cater to others' likes," either by giving dinners or by presenting gifts. Some people have complained: "One cannot get things done without a feast, and one cannot conduct a heart-to-heart talk without a smoke." Anyone who wants to establish a relationship or to solicit business has to use public funds to entertain others, even though he knows very well that it is not right to do so.

4. The law is not rigidly enforced. Some of the units until this day believe that "eating and drinking do not violate the law," and that they are not a matter of concern. Therefore, they do not handle this matter in all earnestness or with a positive attitude. They want to delay action whenever possible, with a tendency of "dealing leniently with it." Usually only after such cases have been exposed one after another by the masses, or they are repeatedly urged by the upper-level organizations, do they start to move reluctantly to prepare a report of the findings in a perfunctory way, to circulate a notice of criticism, or to ask the person in question to make a self-criticism. These symbolic methods of handling the matter mean nothing to those who practice extravagant eating and drinking, and it seems that there are not many lessons to be learned here.

The practice of extravagant eating and drinking is a traditional pernicious habit left over by the old society and is very destructive and corrosive. Leading cadres should first set an example to check the trend of extravagant eating and drinking.

In order to check the trend of extravagant eating and drinking, it is necessary to enforce party discipline. All regulations within the party or any documents of the Party Central Committee or the State Council should be strictly enforced once they are formally promulgated. An attitude of liberalism is absolutely not permitted. All men are equal before party discipline. Everyone, regardless of who he may be, has to be investigated once he violates the regulations. Investigations should be made wherever such violations occur. Disciplinary action should be taken in accordance with party discipline, administrative orders, or the law, especially against those who violate the law and discipline knowingly or repeatedly. Financially, we would act in the spirit that the one who initiates the "idea" should pay for it, and that he should be asked to make payment before the date due as a rigid economic sanction against him. Unless such actions are taken, it seems impossible to check the practice of extravagant eating and drinking.

There are certain connections between the practice of extravagant eating and drinking and the present backward economy, as well as certain shortcomings that exist in the economic system. We have to adopt principles which are both rigorous and prudent in order to do a good job of reforming the economic system. Departments at upper levels should strengthen their guidance over economic departments at lower levels and help them solve their real difficulties. At the same time, it is also necessary to educate them to improve production through normal channels, such as improving business administration, upgrading the quality of products, and strenghtening cooperation among themselves. It is not advisable to take improper measures or engage in illegal transactions.

The practice of extravagant eating and drinking has become a force of habit. In order to really keep it in check, it is necessary for comrades of the whole party to take concerted action. It is necessary to start in every place, every unit, and every department. This unhealthy tendency is doomed if all of us take concerted and closely coordinated action.

Corrective Measures Taken

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Guo Shuming [6753 7311 6900], Secretary of the Party Committee of Chengnan Commune, Xiaoshan County: "Looking at the Importance of Mass Supervision From the Checking of the Practice of Extravagant Eating and Drinking"]

[Text] For the purpose of implementing the "guiding principles" well in combating the evil trends of party members, it is necessary to subject party members themselves to supervision by the masses. The evil trends of party members cannot be corrected by adopting a closed-door attitude. In the practice of checking the tendency of extravagant eating and drinking, we have had a profound understanding of the truth of this.

Following the successive bumper harvests of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline products, and fishery in recent years, an unhealthy tendency of taking away work income from commune members, practicing extravagant eating and drinking, and giving dinners and presenting gifts prevails among a portion of party member cadres of our commune. Even more serious is the fact that, in some places, one cannot get things done without inviting cadres to eat and drink This evil trend has impaired the fine tradition and style of the party, dampened the enthusiasm of the masses, and damaged the relationship between the party and the masses. In order to correct the style of party members, we are determined to check this evil trend. At the beginning, in consideration of the impact, we only educated the cadres in a general way. Although some cadres have made self-criticisms in the conference room, the evil trend still remains unchecked. Most cadres of our commune at the level of party branch member and above continue to indulge in extravagant eating and drinking. Once there was a banquet with more than 30 people in attendance. Some of the participants were dead drunk and threw up their dinner all over the ground, thereby creating a very bad impression among the masses. In view of this situation, at cadre meetings we have carried out serious criticism individually against those cadres who are habitually eating and drinking, and we have made it a rule that party member cadres are not allowed to practice extravagant eating and drinking under any pretext. Whoever violates this rule will be severely punished. We believe that the evil trend could thus be checked. However, things have not been that simple. Some of the cadres do not practice extravagant eating and drinking openly but privately, or not locally but at places other than their own. In the past 2 years, cadres of the Hongzing Brigade spent more than 3,000 yuan in the name of the "three supports" in indulging in extravagant eating and drinking.

It is not only positive education that has no effect, but the open criticism by name as well. Then, what measures on earth can check the practice of extravagant eating and drinking? We have discovered that the Yongfeng Brigade is extraordinary. They are upright. They do not indulge in extravagant eating and drinking. Brigade-operated enterprises do their business according to regulations. They do not take more than they are entitled to. Why? Because they have a set of systems to subject themselves to supervision by the masses. Informal discussions of commune members are regularly called by the party branch of the brigade to let the masses making comments on cadres, and general meetings of commune members are held regularly at which cadres have to report to the masses on the implementation of the system. By so doing, cadres conscientiously implement the system and the masses seriously supervise the cadres. This is why party members of this brigade are upright and the general mood of the masses is good. The practice of the Yongfeng Brigade has enabled us to understand that whatever one does has a bearing on the masses. To correct evil trends of cadres and to check the practice of extravagant eating and drinking, these must also be subject to supervision by the masses. For this reason, the party committee of the commune has conscientiously summed up the experience of the Yongfeng Brigade to extensively arouse the masses to supervise cadres in order to check the practice of extravagant eating and drinking. It has been decided that all cadres should conscientiously subject themselves to supervision by the masses. In turn, the masses are authorized to check up when they discover party member cadres indulging in extravagant eating and drinking or giving dinners or presenting gifts. They may put forward their reports in different forms for the party committee of the commune to handle. In this way, the extravagant eating and drinking habits of the cadres have been quickly checked. This year there has not been an instance of extravagant eating and drinking in the whole commune.

The practice of checking extravagant eating and drinking has enabled us to understand that a closed-door attitude is not the way to combat the evil trends of party members, and that correcting the evil trends of party members has a bearing on supervision by the masses. In accordance with the stipulations of the "guiding principles," we ask party member cadres to conscientiously put themselves under the supervision of the masses. The party committee of the commune is also asked to lead its members in setting an example. This year, there were several transfers to or from this commune, but on all of these occasions we did not indulge in extravagant eating and drinking. At the same time, we have severely punished those cadres who suppressed criticism by the masses and carried out retaliation. Huang Huanbiao [7806 3562 2871], a mechanic of the cement plant of the commune, put forward his criticism of a former party branch secretary and passed on the secretary's problems to the upper level leadership. This party branch secretary tried in every possible way to "give him tight shoes to wear" in order to carry out retaliation. Informed of this situation, the party committee of the commune thoroughly investigated the case and found many problems relating to this party branch secretary, such as utilizing public funds to practice extravagant eating and drinking for a long period of time, suppressing criticism, taking strong measures against the masses, and having an unhealthy lifestyle. This case has been properly dealt with. At the same time, Huang Hunabiao has been praised for his spirit of daringly criticizing and supervising cadres. Working in this way, a healthy tendency of daring to supervise and being willing to supervise has been created.

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PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI RADIO COMMENT ON IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE

HK030814 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Jan 81

[Station commentary: "Truly Rectify the Party's Work Style"]

[Excerpts] Rectifying the party's work style is a major issue in strengthening and improving party leadership and enhancing the party's combat effectiveness. Comrade Yun recently pointed out with great acuteness that the question of the work style of the ruling party is related to the life or death of the party.

Due to the 10 years of great sabotage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the long period of interference by the ultra-leftist line, our failure to eliminate feudal privileged thinking, and ineffectiveness and mistakes in our own work, unhealthy trends are still rather serious in some areas and departments. Compared with the early post-liberation period, our party work style has not yet taken a fundamental turn for the better. There is now a lot of talk about this inside and outside the party and people have expressed profound concern and worry. This is fully understandable.

The recent work conference held by the Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee seriously studied the question of correcting party work style, and demanded that party organizations at all levels throughout the province resolutely implement the spirit of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission forum and correct as soon as possible the most prominent unhealthy trends in the party that arouse greatest discontent among the masses. Efforts should be made to raise the party's prestige to near the pre-great cultural revolution level this year, to equal it next year, and to exceed it in 3 years. We must adopt resolutely and steady measures to strive to achieve this aim and promote party work style.

There are very many difficulties and very great resistance in the arduous struggle to correct unhealthy trends in the party. This resistance comes from all levels and all sides. However, these people are certainly only a few in number, and are isolated. Every party member, especially leading cadres and cadres of the discipline inspection departments, must eliminate fear, act with boldness, and wage resolute struggle against all unhealthy trends.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

HK021348 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 80 p 8

[Article by Fang Yan (2455 6056): "Transformation on the Basis of Seeking Truth from Facts"]

[Text] Since the 7 May cadre schools dominated by the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company were disbanded, the ruthless method of bringing about "ideological transformation" in the "capitalist roaders" have become a thing of the past! Today, with a correct ideological line, the way to better transform people's subjective world has become clear once more.

During those years, many comrades who went to the 7 May cadre schools had indeed the desire to transform their world outlook. They did physically labor enthusiastically and tried to find time to read the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. However, just when some people were still perplexed by "making revolution in the depths of one's soul" or were honestly feeling "an extremely great sense of guilt," they were locked up and subjected to the "all-round dictatorship." Some people said that detention was also a form of "transformation," but this transformation was cruel. After they were released, they looked at themselves in the mirror and saw that their faces looked famished and their hair has turned grey. Then, they learned about some worldly events which happened while they were in seclusion such as: Lin Biao had committed treason and killed himself in the process; a certain schoolmate in the cadre school had died.

What has been related was once considered "ideological transformation." Yet this is certainly not Marxist transformation.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has put forth the slogan of "emancipation of the mind." In a sense, this is also an ideological transformation. It demands that people transform their subjective world as they transform the objective world. The discussion on the criterion of truth, the implementation of the policy of "emancipate the mind, set the machine in motion, seek truth from facts and unite and look ahead," the putting forward and implementation of the four basic principles and the proclamation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" all contain basic demands concerning the transformation of the subjective world. The serious implementation of this spirit is equivalent to ideological transformation on the basis of seeking truth from facts.

Because we persist in ideological transformation on the basis of seeking truth from facts, we have become wiser than when we were during the 7 May cadre schools. For example, now we know that we must distinguish between transforming our ideology into materialism and transforming our ideology into idealism. We have come to realize better the meaning of Chairman Mao's saying that "the transformation of the exploiters and the transformation of the working class are things of two different natures." What we must uphold is transformation on the basis of seeking truth from facts.

One must constantly transform his subjective world to be able to become a materialist and not an idealist and to be able to uphold Marxism and not to reverse back to liberalism. We are against the kind of "transformation" advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" which persecuted cadres and intellectuals, but we are not against "ideological transformation" per se. Comrade Zhou Enlai's saying that "one is never too old to learn and transform oneself" can still serve as an important guide.

CSO: 4005

'RADIO BA YI' ON 'COERCIVE STYLE' OF PRC LEADERS

OW020412 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] After the downfall of the "gang of four," meetings and newspapers inside and outside the party, commenting on the disasters in China in the past two decades, laid the blame mainly on subjectivism, adventurism, a patriarchal system and autocratic rule. But, very few people criticized the coersive style that is rooted deep in our party. This is because, first of all, many of our comrades are used to seeing this style and therefore are not sensitive to it; and second, any effort to deliberately emphasize the need for overcoming this shortcoming would be open to a suspicion of attacking a certain person in the central authorities by innuendo.

The coersive style is actually one of the main causes of the disasters suffered by our party, our army and the people of the whole country. The establishment of the people's commune, the launching of the "great leap forward" campaign, the "blowing of communist wind," "smelting iron and steel in a big way" and antirightist activities, and the cultural revolution were forcibly imposed on the whole party and people of the whole country by a person or persons.

The coersive style remained unchanged and caused similar serious results after Chairman Mao died. For example, the Sino-Vietnamese war, which was opposed by the majority of people at two meetings of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission, was called by Deng Xiaoping as a move to "kill the chicken to frighten the monkey" and to give Vietnam a lesson. As the results of our army's intrusion into and withdrawal from Vietnam, some 45,000 commanders and fighters were killed or wounded; state plans were disrupted, causing grave financial deficits.

The peculiar relationship between China and the United States has created a de facto two-Chinas situation. The serious losses through blind imports of equipment and machinery complexes from the capitalist countries are already well-known to all. The masses of people and cadres have suffered even more serious damages by the increase of farm products and byproducts, which has caused inflation and soaring prices. A double digit increase of the commodity price index in other countries is already a serious matter. But in our country, prices of some goods have risen by 20 to 30 percent. Cadres and people share a common feeling that now 1 yuan is only worth half a yuan.

Moreover, the trial of the former principal leaders of our army has also been forcibly conducted in accordance with the instructions of Deng Xiaoping and two other comrades. Many comrades of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission have raised doubts and suspicions regarding the Lin Biao incident and pointed out that many of the frameups were concocted by Kang Sheng, Wang Dongxing and Zhang Chunqiao. Huang Yongsheng and others merely acted on orders. They committed serious mistakes but should have no criminal responsibility. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping does not agree.

It should be noted that the coersive style of the comrades in the central authorities has influenced many local and military leaders. For example, when some provinces had difficulty delivering hogs to other provinces some time ago, many county CCP committee leaders forced the masses of people to eat "patriotic meat." Regardless of commune members' economic conditios, they were forced to buy a certain amount of meat in accordance with the number of people in each household. Some commune members with a large families but few laborers did not know whether to laugh or cry when they were forced to buy 50 to 60 jin of meat at once.

The coersive style reached an unreasonable extent in family planning. For example, when Comrade Zhao Ziyang was in charge of work in Sichuan, many localities in the province, in accordance with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's instruction, made it a rule to send a doctor to live with a commune member's family after his wife gave birth to a first child in order to sterilize her. The commune member was asked to pay 1.6 yuan per diem to the doctor until the sterilization was performed on the wife.

As the old saying goes, those in subordinate positions will follow the examples set by their superiors. The coersive style was and still is one of the main causes of the disasters suffered by our party, our army and the people of the whole country.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

FIFTH YUNNAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--The second session of the Nationality Committee of the Fifth Yunnan People's Congress was held in Kunming from 22 to 24 December to convey the spirit of the second session of the Nationality Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress and insure the legal rights of the minority nationalities in Yunnan. The participants have seriously listened to the message conveyed by Zhang Zizhai, chairman of the Nationality Committee of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress. After studying the various relevant documents, the participants have vigorously discussed the legal rights of the nationalities in the province in accordance with the actual situation in the province. Zhang Zizhai presided over the session. Sun Yuting, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Yunnan People's Congress, also attended the session and spoke. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Dec 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION CONTROL MEASURES URGED FOR BEIJING

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Zhou Hongduo [0719 7703 6995]: "The Population of Beijing Should Not Exceed 10 Million"]

[Text] In response to the call of the Party Central Committee for control of the population of our country, and to attain the strategic target set forth by the Party Central Secretariat that "at no time in the future should the population of Beijing exceed 10 million," the Beijing Municipal Population Society from 3 to 5 October held its first annual meeting and its second theoretical discussion on population. At the meeting, more than 150 delegates emancipated their thinking, freely expressed their views, and earnestly discussed such problems as the population of China, the population of Beijing, the quality of the population, and population and the economy.

The meeting strongly pointed out that according to the characteristics of the capital, the size of its population should not be too large and the density of its population should not be too great. As a political, scientific, and cultural center, its population requirement is not quantity but mainly quality. But the present situation in Beijing Municipality is very different from the foregoing requirement. In quantity, by the end of 1979 it had reached 8.71 million people, including 57 percent urban population and 43 percent rural population. In the age composition of the population, 25.2 percent was under 15, and 56.2 percent was between 16 and 50. This shows that the majority of people have reached childbearing age. According to the estimate of departments concerned, if no decisive measures are taken, by 1990 the population will exceed 10 million. How can this be? The meeting stated that first, for a long time in the past, the increase in the population was never interfered with and not controlled. According to statistics from 1950 to 1960, in those 11 years there was an increase of 3.18 million people; on average the annual increase was 289,000 people. During this period, the natural rate of increase of population was an average 26.7 percent. In 4 of these 11 years, the rate of increase exceeded 30 percent. The mechanical increase of population was about half the total increase. Secondly, the enforcement of planned parenthood came too late. In the early 1950's, people were encouraged to bear more children, so that by 1963 the natural rate of population increase had reached 35.3 percent. As enforcement of planned parenthood came too late, the natural increase of population reached 3.53 million people in 30 years. Thirdly, the turbulent political and economic situations resulted in large numbers of people coming in and moving out of this municipality. In the past 30 years, the cumulative total of people coming in was 5.37 million and that of people moving out was 4.33 million; the net increase thus was 1.04 million. During the 10-year period of turmoil, from 1971 to 1976 alone 500,000 people moved in. Fourthly, by arbitrary administrative means, areas surrounding the capital which at the time had no social and economic connections with it were incorporated into Beijing Municipality, even sometimes with difficulty. In 1958 alone, the expansion of municiapl boundaries on two occasions increased the population by 2.18 million people. Fifthly, after liberation, Beijing Municipality laid the emphasis of reconstruction on industry--particularly on heavy industry, which employed a large number of workers--and thus accelerated the mechanical rate of increase of the population of Beijing Municipality.

In the past 30 years, as we did not pay full attention to the special features and conditions of the capital, the population of Beijing Municipality developed too quickly and on a too large scale, and the development of our national economy could not cope with it. To change this situation, it is necessary to control the population of the capital within 10 million at all times. The meeting held that it is necessary to pay serious attention to planned parenthood, advocate widely the birth of only one child per married couple, straighten out one's thinking, intensify the work of propaganda, and do well the work of child care. At the same time, we must exercise strict control over the mechanical increase of the population of Beijing Municipality. Some organizations which have been established unsuitably in Beijing, or factories which obstruct environmental sanitation, should be moved out without exception. Effective economic measures should be taken against those people or factories that fail to move out as they should. We should also energetically develop satellite cities and towns and continuously disperse the population of Beijing. Satellite cities and towns should have their own distinguishing features, where the same lines of trade may concentrate to some extent. It may also be possible to build cities of science and cultural areas, or to build tourist towns of Beijing's real mountains and rivers and places of historic interest and scenic beauty. In a word, we must make full use of all advantages and build satellite cities and towns of our capital as quickly as possible. This is an important channel for dispersing the population of the capital. In conclusion, the meeting made a proposal to set up quickly an authoritative organ jointly run by the central party, government and army organizations, and Beijing Municipality for the control of incoming personnel, and to stipulate conditions for personnel to come into Beijing. As regards the necessity of transferring personnel to Beijing, we must persist in the principle of reciprocity, sending one person out in exchange for one person coming in; otherwise, nobody can be allowed to come to Beijing.

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LABOR INSURANCE, 'OLD AGE CARE' SYSTEMS DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Dai Yuqing [2071 3768 1987]: "Labor Insurance and Planned Parenthood"]

[Text] In his speech at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out clearly: "In the interest of the people themselves, it is essential that the promotion of family planning should continue." To do the work of family planning well and to control the rate of population increase, we must pay serious attention to and do well the work of labor insurance, and truly achieve "old age care." However, due to certain shortcomings in our economic system, the labor insurance system has not yet been instituted in our vast rural areas, and the question of "old age care" has not yet fundamentally reached a solution. If the policy of "one couple, one child" is carried out in the countryside, after several decades a couple will take care of four old persons. It is very clear that this economic burden will be very heavy. If we do not adopt economic measures, the rural population, which constitutes 80 percent of our total population, will still increase on a large scale in the coming decades, bringing about tremendous pressure on the construction of the four modernizations.

At present, in our enterprise units of whole people's ownership and in most enterprise units of collective ownership, "old age care" is guaranteed by the retirement system. The state has enforced "compulsory insurance," and every year it has deducted, as the source of the pensions, insurance funds according to a fixed scale from the wealth created by staff members and workers. As most staff members and workers taking labor insurance are in the prime of life, they do not need their pensions for the time being. Therefore, a small portion of the insurance funds taken from them can be used to pay old people deprived of working ability as pensions, while the other major portion can be invested in construction enterprises so as to bring into play the beneficial results of investment. Labor insurance not only solves the problem of old age care but also has the effect of collective savings, thus being beneficial to both the people and the state. As the enterprise units of whole people's ownership and collective ownership enforce the system of labor insurance, it gives the work of family planning a reliable economic foundation. As seen from the statistics, there is a fairly great difference between the growth rate of the urban population and that of the rural population. In Shanghai Municipality, which has a higher cultural level, the natural growth rate of the population in 1978 dropped to 5.7 percent, which was far lower than the growth rate of the rural population.

There are favorable conditions in our rural areas for the introduction of labor insurance, because labor insurance is, in essence, a cause of collective welfare of "one for all, and all for one." In the population structure, the greater the number of middle-aged and young people with working ability, the greater will be the source of funds for labor insurance; while the fewer the number of old people who are deprived of their working ability, the smaller will be the expenditures out of labor insurance [funds]. At present, the composition of our population is getting younger. The average age of our citizens is 21, which is lower than the world average age level of 22.9 years. Our old people over 65 constitute only 4.6 percent of our total population. The number of able-bodied people far exceeds the number of people without working ability. As seen from the trend of population growth in the coming decades, the composition of our population will not be getting older very quickly. At present in the whole country, people under 30 constitute about 65 percent of the total population, amounting to some 630 million, including about 340 million people from 0 to 15 years of age who constitute 35 percent of the total population. After several decades, these people will be in the prime of life and become a labor reinforcement. Even by that time, the income from labor insurance funds will be certainly greater than the expenditures.

What deserves our study is the fact that there will be a contradiction between the system of labor insurance in our rural areas for total socialization and our existing rural economic system. What can we do? We suggest first the enforcement of compulsory insurance, and then the stipulation of a minimum insurance payment. With an annual income above this minimum, one may be exempted from the deduction of the insurance fee for the current year. When one's annual income again exceeds the minimum, one must again start to pay for insurance. As rural production is usually restricted by natural conditions, the harvest is not uniform in various places. A production team that is rich this year may suffer natural disasters and become poor next year, while a production team that was poor last year may become rich from a good harvest. From an analysis of the general average, all production units will pay more or less the same insurance fee. In this way, it will not only be possible to enforce the system of labor insurance in the whole society, but it will also be possible to show consideration for actual difficulties arising from the inequality between the poor and the rich, thus helping to protect the enthusiasm of the broad peasants.

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WHO SPECIALIST STRESSES NEED FOR MATERNAL, CHILD CARE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Consider Eugenics in Planned Parenthood"]

[Text] Reporter Gu Ronglu [7357 2837 4389] and correspondent Xu Zhengyi [1776 2973 0308] have learned from departments concerned that as various factors have impaired the quality of our population, the number of people with congenital stupidity (mentally retarded) and hereditary diseases has exceeded 10 million. For this reason, your reporter paid a visit to Zhang Peizhu [1728 0160 3796] for an interview on the question of promoting the study of eugenics. She is a maternity and child care specialist and consultant of the World Health Organization and the head of the International Peace Maternity and Child Care Center of the China Welfare Institute. She said the study of eugenics is a subject which should attract immediate attention in the work of promoting planned parenthood. This serious matter, which is related to the health of our coming generations, should cause concern to society as a whole.

Zhang Peizhu believes that we must not only control the quantity but also improve the quality of the population. This is an important topic of study for specialists concerned at home and abroad in recent years. It proves that eugenics is of extremely important significance. She said that although acquired training and "intelligence developing" education can make up some congenital deficiencies, natural predisposition is still the important link which decides human vitality, and this should not be overlooked. For the improvement of the quality of the population, it is necessary to exercise health care for the mother from the first day of her pregnancy. The prognosis of fetal health will prevent the birth of babies with congenital malformation or hereditary diseases.

While discussing the factors that affect the quality of population, Zhang Peizhu explained that congenital and hereditary diseases constitute the principal cause of defective babies. Parents with morbid genes not only can transmit hereditary diseases to their children but also can pass them on from generation to generation. The marriage of close relatives is also one of the important causes for the spreading of hereditary diseases. According to medical statistics, the incidence of recessive hereditary diseases, including dementia, from marriages of close relatives is 150 times higher than that among freely married couples. Furthermore, waste gas, wastewater, and industrial residue (the three wastes), noise pollution, pesticides, farm chemicals, and misuse of antibiotics and other medicines during early pregnancy will also impair the quality of the fetus.

Zhang Peizhu suggested ways of conducting prognoses of fetal health and giving birth to fewer and healthier children.

First of all, we must pay attention to the education of young people on sex and physiological health, and advocate premarital guidance and examination. From premarital guidance and examination, it may be found that both parties suffer illness that makes them not suitable for marriage, and they can be persuaded not to get married. Premarital guidance may also reveal a family history of hereditary diseases and of marriages of close relatives, and promptly may discover hereditary diseases and defects in order to receive treatment, seek guidance after marriage, and make preparations for planned parenthood.

Next, we must pay attention to health care for the period surrounding childbirth (for both mother and child) and the prognosis of fetal health in order to reduce the death rate of fetuses and newborn babies in the period surrounding childbirth (from the late stage of pregnancy to a certain period after childbirth). The main causes of the death of fetuses and babies are malformation, oxygen deficiency, and premature delivery, with malformation the most common cause of death of newborn babies. Most cases of fetal malformation occur in the early stage of pregnancy; therefore, the medical organs of maternity and child care are required to strengthen their work of health protection for mothers during the period of pregnancy. Pregnant women should immediately register with local health centers, which will keep a card file for them. In big and medium-size cities and in places with favorable conditions, hereditary consultation clinics should be established, and new diagnosis techniques should be used to carry out antenatal examination for congenital malformation and hereditary diseases. When necessary, the pregnancy of a malformed fetus should be terminated as early as possible. In the maternity hospital, the pregnant mother should be placed under constant observation for the protection of her unborn baby. We should make sure that every baby born is healthy, strong, and intelligent.

In addition, we should establish an efficient contingent for maternity and child care. Zhang Peizhu proposed that medical colleges should set up a speciality of maternity and child care for the training of a large number of health personnel for women and children, with secondary vocational qualifications and higher professional standards. She also stated that leaderships at all levels should show concern for the health of pregnant women, particularly after the first 3 months of their pregnancy, and make proper arrangement for their work so that they can avoid contact with any harmful substances.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI TEACHERS UNIVERSITY ADOPTS 5-YEAR SYSTEM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 80 p 3

[Article: "The East China Teachers University Tries Out 5-Year System for Two Departments of Physics and Chemistry"]

[Text] With the approval of the Ministry of Education, the East China Teachers University, starting this year, is trying out a 5-year system for new students enrolled in its departments of physics and chemistry. During the first year, the students will concentrate their study in foreign languages and the Han language.

The university changed the school system of its two departments of physics and chemistry to 5 years in order to implement a concrete measure of the National Conference on the Work of Teacher Training. Most new students in their first year are under 20, are full of energy, and have a good memory. After a year's intensive study of foreign languages, they will be basically qualified for reading (to understand common essays) and writing (to write short articles close to the content of the textbooks). On this initial basis, when they later change to vocational study they will be able to read materials in foreign languages and original editions of teaching materials, even learn a second foreign language, and further consolidate and improve their knowledge of foreign languages. The improvement of their knowledge of the Han language will also contribute to their study of foreign languages and vocational subjects. To guarantee the smooth progress of the experiment in the physics and chemistry departments, the university has laid down special teaching plans for foreign languages and the Han language, transferred some teachers to these departments, selected teaching materials of foreign languages and the Han language, and also acquired more reference books, teaching reference materials, and equipment for teaching electricity and chemistry. Moreover, they have also taken into consideration the teaching of foreign languages after the first year, in coordination with the vocational study in these departments.

The East China Teachers University runs its regular courses under a 4-year system. In the past, when new students entered the university, they were taught foreign languages in a decentralized way at each grade year by year. The number of hours for teaching was limited, progress was slow, and the students could not concentrate their effort on the study. This long experience proved that most students could not qualify themselves in foreign languages, and that later on they even forgot what they learned because of lack of practice. As regards lessons in the Han language, these were taught in only a few courses in the departments of liberal arts; in some cases, the Han language was taken only as an elective course. Therefore, this affected the students' ability to improve their writing and reading. Proceeding from the practical needs of conducting teachers training well, raising the level of teaching and research, and building a contingent of Red and expert teachers, the East China Teachers University proposed to try out this reform of its school system.

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SCHOOLS IN SHANGHAI, HANGZHOU TAUGHT BY LEARNED ELDERS

Noted Accounting School Reopens

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Well-Known Li Xin Accounting School Resumes Classes in Shanghai"]

[Text] The Li Xin Accounting School, well-known among our accounting circles, recently resumed its classes in Shanghai. This school, which had once earned very high credtability, will from now on be able to train qualified accounting personnel for the cause of the four modernizations.

This accounting school was established in 1928 by Mr Pan Xulun [3382 1645 0243], who had devoted all his energies to the school. The school name of Li Xin [4539 0207] was taken from the text of the "Confucian Analects": "If the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state." The school had trained successively some 100,000 talented persons in accounting. After liberation, the Li Xin School achieved even greater progress. In 1951, the school had 19,000 students in Shanghai alone. In 1952, with the readjustment of all colleges and university departments in the country, the Li Xin School was closed. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party put forward the call to march toward the four modernizations. Mr Pan Xulun, at his advanced age of 88, understood that our country is in urgent need of accounting talent and made his proposal to resume operation of the Li Xin School. A group of his students, all over 60 in age, also said: "Even our old teacher is worried about accounting instruction in our country. We are willing to exert our utmost effort for this cause." They pledged to teach even without remuneration.

The Li Xin Accounting School has formed a committee of 11 members, including Pan Xulun, Ma Yixing [7456 0001 5887]. Gu Shuzhen [7357 2885 2823], Duan Lipei [3008 0500 0160], Gu Fuyou [7357 4395 0147], and others. This school of professional training will formally open in October. Its nature is of a vocational college, its school system is 3 years, and it will train mainly "assistant accountants" and, on behalf of departments concerned, train special personnel in planning, statistics and the control of commodity prices and business administration, in connection with the vocational knowledge in finance and accounting.

Spare-Time School Established

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 1

[XINHUA news release: "Zhejiang Provincial Committee of KMT Revolutionary Committee Establishes Spare-Time School"]

[Text] The Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee has established a Hangzhou Long March Spare-Time School, which is starting classes in September.

This school, situated in the Hangzhou Rui Jin Middle School, conducts classes in the evening. At present, it has more than 1,400 students, including mostly working personnel and also some unemployed young people. It trains mainly talents in accounting and foreign languages urgently needed by factories and enterprises.

Many of the KMT Revolutionary Committee members taking part in running the school are old people over 70 years of age. They are still working hard to train personnel for the four modernizations. They have visited factories and enterprises to find out what they expect from the school, and they have tried by every means to get teachers. An 80-year-old scientist, Zhou Jinsan [0719 6651 0005], who studied in Japan in his early years, has volunteered to teach the Japanese language. Tang Zhenxiang [3282 4394 4382], head of the English-language teaching and research group, and Chen Yuanshan [7115 0337 0810], head of the Japanese-language teaching and research group, are both learned elders who studied in the United States and Japan in their early years. Assistant professor Li Gengyao [2621 5087 3852], of the Department of Economics of Hangzhou University, also comes to give lectures. As the lineup of teachers is strong, many students have signed up for the entrance examination of this school.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MIDDLE-AGED SCIENTIFIC PERSONNEL LEAD IN ACHIEVEMENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 80 p 1

[XINHUA dispatch: "Research Materials of Chinese Academy of Sciences Prove Middle-Aged Scientific and Technical Personnel Are the Backbone in Achieving Modernization of Science and Technology"]

[Text] A set of research materials of the Chinese Academy of Sciences shows that from 1978 to 1979, of the key scientific and technical personnel of some of the research units of the academy in the Beijing area who received awards for their important achievements in science and technology, 88 percent are middle-aged persons between 36 and 50. Therefore, it concludes that middled-aged scientific and technical personnel constitute the backbone in achieving the modernization of science and technology, and that special attention should be paid to improving their working and living conditions.

Recently, the achievements office of the planning bureau of the Chinese Academy of Sciences conducted an investigation of the ages of 179 key scientific and technical personnel of 28 winning units of the academy in the Beijing area who had received first and second grade awards for their important achievements between 1978 and 1979. The following data were obtained: 5 persons younger than 35, 2.8 percent; 43 persons from 36 to 40, 24 percent; 73 persons from 41 to 45, 40.9 percent; 42 persons from 46 to 50, 23.5 percent; 8 persons from 51 to 55, 4.5 percent; 5 persons from 56 to 60, 2.8 percent; and 3 persons older than 61, 1.7 percent.

These data show that among this group of key scientific and technical personnel who had received awards, there are 158 middle-aged persons from 36 to 50. The "peak" age bracket for scoring achievements is from 41 to 45, including 73 persons--constituting 40.9 percent.

This set of research materials states that most of these middle-aged key scientific and technical personnel of the academy were college graduates between 1958 and 1964. At present, their monthly pay generally ranges between 56 and 70 yuan. As a rule, they have old parents and young children to feed with their limited income. Moreover, most of them were assigned to jobs in which they are not specialized. To enable these scientific and technical personnel to play a greater role, it is necessary to pay special attention to the improvement of their working and living conditions.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PERSONS WITH FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS SOUGHT OUT, EMPLOYED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Good Results Achieved in Assigning Work to Personnel With Foreign Language Capability Throughout the Country"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, personnel departments at all levels have conducted a general survey of personnel with foreign language capability throughout the country and, on this basis, have earnestly carried out the work of readjusting such personnel who were not employed in the line of their learning and also assigning jobs to such personnel who were unemployed. According to statistics of 14 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, including Jiangsu, Shanghai, Liaoning, and Guangdong, readjustment has been made for 2,574 foreign language personnel not employed in the line of their learning, and jobs were given to 3,959 unemployed foreign language personnel. In Jiangsu Province, the number of foreign language personnel who, through the readjustment, have returned to the profession they were trained for has reached 96 percent of the number of personnel who should be readjusted.

Personnel departments at all levels have found many ways to assign work to personnel with foreign language capability who are free and at leisure in society. In most cases, they are either recruited on the staff or engaged by appointment; otherwise, they set up a company or a network of translation services, organize a collective translation cooperative or group, render translation services on a commission basis, and so forth. Zhejiang Province tried to meet the requirements of the departments of foreign trade, industry, supply and marketing, aquatic products and others, so Hangzhou Municipality posted public notices for the recruitment of foreign language personnel. More than 1,800 people applied for the examination, and 330 of them were recruited after oral and written tests in translation and political and physical examinations. Among them, there were staff members and workers of enterprises of whole people's ownership or collective ownership, and also young people awaiting employment who were free and at leisure in society. Zhang Xinming [1728 2450 2494] got the highest marks in the examination--89 and 93 respectively for written and oral tests in translation. In 1966 he had gone to Ningxia to settle in the countryside and studied English persistently in his spare time. After he returned to Hangzhou, he got a blacksmith's job in the No 3 Cotton Weaving Mill. Zhang Yali [1728 0068 7787], a dispatcher for the Hangzhou Municipal Telecommunications Company, had specialized in the English language. In the past, she was not employed because of her relations with overseas Chinese, and so she repeatedly asked permission to leave the country. Now that she has been recruited to work in the provincial bureau of foreign trade, she has voluntarily withdrawn her application to leave the country and has pledged to make her contribution to the four modernizations of the motherland.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 158

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SOVIETS LOSE MORE TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN

OW051326 Beijing XINHUA in English 1253 GMT 5 Jan 81

[Text] Islamabad, January 5 (XINHUA)--A large number of Russians including one officer were killed by the Mujahideen during the heavy fighting in Tagab District, Parwan Province two weeks ago, according to a spokesman of the Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan in Peshawar today.

He said one Russian tank and 10 supply trucks were destroyed during the fighting. Some arms and ammunition as well as 6 communication sets were captured by the Mujahideen, he added.

According to the sources of HEZB-E ESLAMI of Afghanistan, several training centres were blown up by the Mujahideen in Jalalabad City on December 27.

On the same day, heavy fighting in Kaga District, Nangarhar Province, caused the destruction of five Russian tanks or armoured cars and the death of 27 militia men.

Reports from Laghman Province on January 3 said that the Mujahideen had attacked the Russian forces in the Sogkhakan area. In the three-hour clash, two Russian tanks were destroyed and 50 soldiers killed.

A report from Paktia Province said that in the recent heavy fighting in the district of Aji, three Russian tanks were destroyed and a number of Russian invaders and Afghan troops killed.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEBANESE PRESIDENT APPEALS FOR PEACE

OW071346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] Beirut, January 6 (XINHUA)--Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis appealed today to "those who are concerned about the safeguard of Lebanon to translate their words into action, to confirm their respect for the rights of the Lebanese and not to contribute consciously or unconsciously to the continuation of the tragedy in Lebanon."

At a meeting with foreign ambassadors, President Sarkis said that Lebanon is subjected to a severe test and she can only "reject all settlements which could prevent or delay the solution of the Lebanese crisis, regardless of any other regional or international problem and its connection with the Lebanese crisis."

On the Palestine problem, he said, "All plans of settlement based on resettlement (of the Palestinian people in Lec En) have been rejected because they not only jeopardize the vital interests of Lebanon but also fail to take into consideration the right of the Palestinian people to their own territory."

"We will continue to mobilize all energies to support the Palestinian cause," he said, "and urge the countries of the world to seek a just and overall settlement on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestine state in their own territory."

CSO: 4020

THAI OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON KAMPUCHEAN GUERRILLA STRENGTH

OW060738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 6 Jan 81

[Text] Bangkok, January 6 (XINHUA)--Squadron leader Prasong Soonsiri, secretary-general of the National Security Council (NSC), said yesterday that there is a growing tendency towards the formation of a Kampuchean united front to oppose Vietnamese forces.

He predicted that the war in Kampuchean will be a protracted one, but "not a fait accompli case as always claimed by Vietnam."

Lecturing a meeting at the Government House, Prasong said the Khmer Rouge guerrillas have used heavy weapons in battles with Vietnamese troops, set up mobile combat units and shifted from defensive to offensive in certain areas.

The Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces have almost doubled from 25,000 combatants to 45,000 during the two-year struggle against Vietnamese occupation troops.

He stated that a political solution can be achieved in Kampuchea only by implementing the U.N. resolution which calls for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and self-determination by the Khmer people.

"The world must not be misguided to other directions by Vietnamese propaganda," he warned.

Referring to Soviet activities in Vietnam, Prasong said the number of Russian advisers in Vietnam has risen and more naval vessels, fighter and transport planes are stationed on Vietnamese territory. The Soviet military infrastructure has markedly increased, including an intelligence-gathering network.

"The presence of Russian advisers in Laos and Kampuchea has aggravated the situation in the two countries, and Vietnam has made itself a complete proxy of the Soviet Union," he said.

CSO: 4020

INDONESIA TO DOUBLE DEFENSE BUDGET

OW051252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 5 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, January 5 (XINHUA)--Indonesian President Suharto announced in Jakarta today that the defence budget will be doubled up to over 481,000 million rupiahs (about 800 million U.S. dollars) for 1981-82 while the previous defence budget was only 250,000 million rupiahs (about 408 million dollars), according to press reports received here.

Addressing a plenary session of parliament to deliver the draft budget, the president said the budget will be spent to carry out the military strategic plannings.

He said the whole draft budget for the fiscal year amounts to 13,900,000 million rupiahs (about 23,000 million dollars) marking an increase of 31.7 per cent over the previous one.

The president said the draft budget would consist of domestic revenues amounting to some 12,200,000 million rupiahs (about 20,300 million dollars) and foreign aid of 1,600,000 million rupiahs (about 2,700 million dollars). He noted domestic revenues increased by 35.5 per cent and development expenditures by 27.3 per cent. "With increasing domestic revenues, we shall be better able to administer our own state affairs," he said.

President Suharto announced that Indonesia's population, based on the latest census, totalled 147,383,075. From 1971 (the previous census year) up to 1980, the population of the country increased by some 2.34 per cent. "Considering a relatively still high production growth, it would stimulate us to continue and intensify further the family planning programme," he said.

CSO: 4020

UN CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA OPENS IN GENEVA

OW071620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, January 7 (XINHUA)--United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim opened a week-long conference on the future of Namibia today in Geneva with the hope that the territory would become independent by the end of this year, according to reports reaching here.

Representatives from South Africa and the Southwest Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the two main delegates concerned, attended the conference.

Also present were delegates from the front-line African states, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania. Others attending as observers were Nigeria, OAU and five Western countries (Britain, Canada, France, the United States and West Germany).

In his opening address, Waldheim said that the first aim of the meeting was to set a date for a ceasefire and he hoped there would be a firm agreement on this by the time the conference finished on January 14. He also called for implementation of a three-year-old U.N. plan for self-rule by the end of 1981 in the territory, known as Namibia. The plan calls for U.N.-supervised "free and fair elections."

He said the only alternative to independence for Namibia was a continuation of suspicion, violence and hatred between the parties.

CSO: 4020

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES ASEAN TOUR

OW080806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 8 Jan 81

[Text] Tokyo, January 8 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and Mrs. Suzuki left here this morning on a 13-day tour of the five ASEAN countries--the first overseas visit since his inauguration. He will have deep-going exchange of views with the leaders of these countries on bilateral economic cooperation and the complicated Kampuchea issue.

He will wind up his trip with an official speech in Bangkok, spelling out his government's new approach and basic policy in relation to ASEAN.

Departing from a Japanese prime minister's customary practice of first visiting the United States, Suzuki explained that he wished to "demonstrate in deed the importance (Japan) attaches to the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations."

Suzuki will visit the United States this summer and will participate in a south-north summit to be held in Mexico and the summit of seven Western nations in Canada. His current tour is generally regarded as "the inception of Suzuki diplomacy."

Suzuki will start the current tour with the Philippines and then proceed to Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. The prime minister is accompanied by Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito and Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Takao Kameoka.

Before his departure, Suzuki said that "ASEAN is Japan's permanent friend" and that beginning as ASEAN's "good partner," Japan will become a country "advancing together with ASEAN." The Japanese press also underlined the inseparable tie between Japan and ASEAN and noted that closer relations with ASEAN constitute a link in the guarantees for Japan's overall security.

To Japan, the ASEAN countries are a major supplier of raw materials such as tin and rubber. Next to the United States, they accommodate the second largest share of Japan's oversea investments. In 1979, Japan's exports to these nations amounted to 14.7 per cent of its total exports and the percentage for 1980 is even higher. Private Japanese investments in ASEAN countries totalled 2,652 million U.S. dollars by the end of 1979.

Besides, the Malacca Strait between Indonesia and Singapore is Japan's lifeline for with 80 per cent of the country's imported oil and 40 per cent of its manufactured goods passing through the strait.

Japanese papers pointed out that the relationship with ASEAN is a matter of life and death to Japan and that peace and stability in Southeast Asia is "indispensable to Japan's peace and prosperity."

While cordially welcoming the Japanese Prime Minister, the ASEAN countries have yet some reasons to be wary of and complain about Japanese economic cooperation. Deeply disturbed by Suzuki's current trip, Moscow has tried to take advantage of this discord and, through its mouthpiece the newspaper PRAVDA, to estrange the ASEAN nations from Japan.

CSO: 4020

ASEAN-JAPANESE TRADE INCREASES REPORTED

OW071706 Beijing XINHUA in English 1653 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, January 7 (XINHUA)--The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has emerged as a major trading partner of Japan as their two-way trade during the five-year period from 1975 to 1979 grew 110.92 per cent to a record 13,632 million U.S. dollars last year, according to an AFP report from Manila.

According to the latest Japanese customs clearance statistics issued by the Japanese Embassy in Manila, ASEAN countries--Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines--enjoyed an advantage over Japan since their regional exports rose faster than imports during the period. ASEAN exports, mostly raw materials rather than finished products, showed an increase of 115.71 per cent (or 9,911 million dollars) from 6,365 million dollars in 1975 to 16,276 million dollars in 1979.

ASEAN imports from Japan rose by 62.8 per cent, or 3,721 million dollars, during the same period.

Products exported from ASEAN consisted mainly of natural rubber, tin, tropical timber, vegetable oil, bauxite, copper ore and crude oil.

Direct Japanese private investments in the ASEAN region during the same period rose by 100.45 per cent, from 1,323 million dollars to 2,652 million dollars.

CSO: 4020

ASEAN PAPERS CRITICIZE SRV INCURSIONS

OW081346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1258 GMT 8 Jan 81

[Text] Hong Kong, January 8 (XINHUA)--Malaysian, Thai and Singapore newspapers condemn the fresh Vietnamese invasion of Thailand as a premeditated provocation and well-planned out.

The Malaysian SIN CHEW JIT POH said editorially yesterday that Vietnam has declared its refusal to attend the proposed international conference on Kampuchea, which the ASEAN countries are actively promoting through diplomatic channels. Now it demonstrated its "determination" to oppose this conference by resuming border incursions in an attempt to thwart ASEAN's diplomatic efforts.

The editorial pointed out that "Vietnam's resumption of gross military invasion has not only aggravated the tension at the Kampuchean-Thai border, but also convinced ASEAN countries that it is a most arduous task to persuade Vietnam to attend the proposed international conference."

The Malaysian NEW STRAITS TIMES said in an editorial on January 6, "Hanoi's immediate objective may be to revive last July's proposal that a DMZ straddling the Thai-Kampuchean border be established, the first step in securing acceptance of the Vietnamese-installed Heng Samrin regime."

The Thai TONGFUA DAILY NEWS said in an editorial yesterday that the aim of the new incursions, like those in June, was to intimidate the ASEAN countries into dropping the Kampuchean issue, because both Vietnam and its patron Moscow would not like to see any alteration of "fait accompli" in Kampuchea with a view to preventing any unfavourable effect on Vietnam's "Indochinese Federation" scheme and Russia's global strategy for hegemony.

The Singapore SIN CHEW JIT POH said on January 5 that the new attacks mounted by Vietnam on Thailand could only result in closer unity between ASEAN countries and world public opposition to and condemnation of Hanoi's aggressive nature.

CSO: 4020

GUANGDONG TO BUILD WHARF IN HONG KONG

HK060259 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST BUSINESS NEWS in English
6 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Julie Auyeung]

[Text] Guangdong Province is investing $400 million in Hong Kong to build a wharf mainly for its cargo vessels headed for the colony.

The investment is being made through Guangdong Enterprises Ltd, a newly-established company here which acts as agent for all economic entities and corporations in Guangdong.

To be located in Kowloon Bay, the project will be a joint cooperation between Guangdong Enterprises and the Hong Kong-based Chukong Shipping Co.

This is the second wharf project announced recently to be built in Hong Kong with Chinese capital.

The other one--also a $400 million project--is being planned by China Merchants Steam Navigation Co Ltd. It is to be built near Tuen Mun for vessels of 10,000 to 20,000 tons.

A company executive of Guangdong Enterprises said yesterday that the move is "to foster closer economic relations between the two places."

He disclosed that site investigation is being carried out and that the building of the wharf is expected to be completed by the end of next year.

"As trading between Hong Kong and Guangdong increases, we are anticipating more cargo to be transported to Hong Kong by dry-cargo vessels.

"In fact, Guangdong Province will give priority of investment in Hong Kong to that of improving the sea transportation facilites," the executive added.

Although the volume of rail transportation of Chinese cargo is also very significant, Guangdong Enterprises will not consider investing in a rail or air link.

This is mainly to make use of the existing cargo-handling facilities in Hong Kong especially in view of the Hong Kong Government's plan to allocate more such cargo-handling basins to Chinese vessels.

Moreover, the improvement of the rail system within China is still moving ahead slowly. The system is unable to cope with the fast development of the Hong Kong section.

He explained: "We cannot simply invest in the section of the railway on the Hong Kong side. The railway system within Guangdong is still poor and needs to be taken care of before we attempt another move."

The Kowloon Bay wharf project is the first investment made by Guangdong Enterprises Ltd which was officially inaugurated yesterday.

The company "has drawn closer the economic ties between Hong Kong and Guangdong," said the vice-governor of the province, Mr Zeng Dingshi, at the opening ceremony attended by over 1,200 guests.

Guangdong Enterprises has a registered capital of $5 million, purely from Guangdong interests.

"The company will lighten the workload now being borne by China Resources, Wah-yuan and other agents which have been representing Chinese products in the Hong Kong market for a long time," Mr Zeng emphasized.

And the function previously carried out by the "old agents" will be transferred gradually to the new company, representing a change in the trade pattern between Chinese corporations and their trading partners.

Guangdong Enterprises will strengthen its activities by increasing the number of staff. Its staff of 100 mostly come from Guangdong.

"We are ready to take over the business from China Resources and other Hong Kong agents step by step. But I wouldn't say this indicates competition among Chinese companies," the sub-manager, Mr Ho Hei-kun, said.

"We will begin taking back the business in which we have the experience and capacity. We are relatively strong at this moment in business transactions involving native produce and food," Mr Ho stressed.

For the last 6 months, the company has been carrying out business negotiations with local and foreign investors.

Agreements have been concluded concerning trading and other forms of investment in Guangdong, particularly in its free economic trade zones.

Mr Ho added: "Investors in future do not have to go to Guangzhou for trade negotiations as these will be conducted at our office in Hong Kong. This would save investors time."

CSO: 4020

POLAND IN CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

OW080818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 8 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, January 7 (XINHUA)--Economic situation in this country has deteriorated particularly in the past few months, with the industries showing no improvement and agriculture falling back to what it was several years ago. The country's national income has declined for the second straight year.

This was the gloomy picture painted by Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee Henryk Kisiel at a press conference here today.

He added that all this naturally had a negative effect on this year's plan.

The government, he said, would continue to curtail the growth rate of the national income, by cutting down investments, and 49 major projects have been suspended.

He noted that collective consumption would rise and spending for public health, culture, education and art would be increased this year. Per capita income is expected to rise by 17 per cent over last year, and purchasing power up by about 260 billion zlotys. By contrast, increase in commodity production and public services would be within 40-50 billion zlotys. Thus, the basic economic problem facing the country this year is how to narrow down this chilling gap.

CSO: 4020

POLISH OIL WELL BLOWS OUT

OW061232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 6 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, January 6 (XINHUA)--The nearly month-long blow-out of an oil well drilled last year in the Karlino region on the northwest coast of this country has fired the Poles with hope that they may have hit upon a substantial deposit of black gold and economic relief.

The blow-out started on December 9 and has not yet been stopped despite round-the-clock efforts by experts to cap a well.

Poland is rich in coal with a proven deposit of 160 billion tons. The annual output is some 200 million tons. The country exports 40 million tons each year in barter for the oil it needs. At present, the nearly 17 million tons of oil the country consumes annually are almost entirely imported, mainly from the Soviet Union and also from Libya and Middle East nations. Poland produces only 300,000 [words indistinct] year. The Poles [passage indistinct] largest oil field discovered up to now in this country. However, its deposit is a mere two million tons. Moreover, 1.5 million tons have already been exploited in the past six years.

The Karlino oil field in Koszalin Province is in the east of Kamien Pomorski, Szczecin Province. Experts have determined that the crude oil discovered in the area is of high quality and "free of sulphur." Its deposit is unknown up to now. However, even if the deposit is not large, it is still of great economic and strategic significance to Poland.

CSO: 4020

FRG FOREIGN MINISTER CRITICIZES SOVIET HEGEMONY

OW071330 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] Bonn, 6 Jan (XINHUA)--West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today told a Free Democratic Party rally in Stuttgart that the Soviet hegemonist policy has no future.

Genscher said that the Soviet Union should be aware of the sincere desire of the West for cooperation and disarmament. He urged the Soviet Union to respect the Helsinki principles when pursuing its policies and to pay attention to worldwide reactions to its invasion of Afghanistan so as to reconsider its actions at the forthcoming Soviet Communist Party Congress in February.

The minister stressed the determination of the West to defend itself from attacks and the necessity to solidify the EEC and strengthen the alliance with the United States. Europe must make efforts to safeguard its security, he stated.

Genscher pointed out that the double-tier decision made by the NATO is an inseparable entity, which laid emphasis on both arms replenishment and the need for disarmament talks. Whoever neglects the part of the decision on arms replenishment undermines the basis for negotiations on the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons. Such neglect could only lead to sustained Soviet military superiority, not arms limitation and disarmament, he warned. This question involves the security of the West and the core of the West disarmament policy, he added.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

ASEAN SUBMARINE CABLE MEMORANDUM--Bangkok, January 6 (XINHUA)--A memorandum of understanding was signed here yesterday among Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia on the ASEAN submarine cable installation project. The project calls for four stages of submarine cable linkage, the first stage, between the Philippines and Singapore, and the second, between Indonesia and Singapore, were completed in 1978 and 1980 respectively. The memorandum of understanding signed yesterday is for the third stage between Singapore-Malaysia and Thailand which will be completed this year. The fourth is between Thailand and the Philippines. Suchart Phuaksakorn, director general of the Post and Telegraph Department of Thailand, Datuk Mohamed Nadzim, director general of the Telecommunications Department of Malaysia, and Sim Kee Boon, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Communications of Singapore, signed on behalf of their respective governments. The project was decided following the meeting of the ASEAN Standing Committee on Transportation and Telecommunications in 1974. [Text] [OW060848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 6 Jan 81]

AFGHAN LEADER INTERVIEWED--Brasilia, January 5 (XINHUA)--The leader of the Front of Afghan Mujaheddins Mohammed Habib has called for worldwide arms supplies for the militant Afghan people who are determined "to fight to the end" against the Soviet aggressor for whom they "have no illusions." In an interview with the Brazilian magazine ISTO E in Paris, published in the January 7 number of the journal, the former Kabul University professor says "Moscow's objective is not merely Afghanistan itself." "Moscow is pursuing a strategic, offensive policy. The Soviet Union is only 400 kilometres from the petroleum-producing Gulf now that they are in Afghanistan," he points out. Reviewing the tough resistance put up by Afghan freedom fighters, he says that there has been organized fight in both cities and rural areas, which has thus far wiped out more than 10,000 government armymen and 5,000 Soviet troops. The Mujaheddins on their part have lost 12,000 men, he noted. [Text] [OW060722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 6 Jan 81]

POLISH FOREIGN DEBT--Warsaw, January 5 (XINHUA)--Poland's foreign debts now total 24 billion U.S. dollars and it is expected they will top the 30 billion mark by the end of the year, revealed the Polish newspaper NASZA TRYBUNA today. Referring to what should be done under such conditions, the paper called for: first, further restriction on imports from the capitalist countries; second, deferring repayment of debts due in 1981-83 until after 1985; third, efforts to maintain the country's export and an effective export system based on bonuses; fourth, making use of imported machinery and equipment which cost some 500 million U.S. dollars and lie idle. [Text] [OW060728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 6 Jan 81]

POLISH AGRICULTURE DECREASES--Warsaw, January 7 (XINHUA)--The sowing of winter crops and ploughing in Poland fell short of the plan last year. Briefing reporters at a meeting on agriculture held by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party today, Jerzy Wojtecki, member of the party's Secretariat, blamed adverse weather and inundation for the unfavourable farming situation. Other adverse factors he gave included shortage of energy and raw materials and short supply of fertilizer. About 30,000 tractors will be unfit for spring ploughing and sowing. He also mentioned the failure to fulfil the plan in the purchase of pigs, cows and sheep as well as milk which will have a bad effect on the supplies or butter and other dairy produce. He also said that last year's sugar beet output was half a million tonnes less than that in 1979, leading to the government proposal for rationing of sugar. To provide more help to agriculture, the government has decided that charges for services to individual farming households should not be increased; that the purchasing price of wool will be raised; and that production of agriculture-oriented industries and autonomy for rural areas, particularly for farming groups, should be expanded. [Text] [OW071340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 7 Jan 81]

FRENCH-AUSTRALIAN NUCLEAR PACT--Paris, January 7 (XINHUA)--France and Australia signed an agreement on "nuclear transfers" here today, said a communique of the French Foreign Ministry. The agreement, the result of prolonged negotiations, has set the conditions for the import of uranium by France and the purchase of French nuclear technology by Australia. The exchanges between the two countries in this field would come under the guarantee and control of the International Atomic Energy Agency for peaceful use. Australia possesses about 20 per cent of the world's uranium reserves. [Text] [OW080834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 8 Jan 81]

GUANGDONG-HONG KONG LINK--A vice governor of Guangdong yesterday pledged to expand spheres of cooperation between the province and Hong Kong. Speaking at the opening ceremony of Guangdong Enterprises Limited, Mr Zeng Dingshi said the recent years have been increasing economic cooperation between the two places. "From now on, we shall promote economic, commercial cooperation as well as cultural and technological contacts between Guangdong Province and Hong Kong pursuant to the guiding principle of mutual benefit and friendly exchanges." Guangdong Enterprises, the general agency for all economic organizations corporations of Guangdong in Hong Kong, officially opened for business yesterday. Financial secretary Sir Philip Haddon-Cave, political adviser Dr David Wilson, chairman of Hong Kong Bank Michael Sandberg, prominent businessman Li Ka-shing and shipping magnate Sir Y. K. Pao attended the event. Mr Zeng said the company has had strong support and warm assistance from the Hong Kong authorities and confidence from many friends from the industrial and commercial circles. Talking about the situation in Guangdong, Mr Zeng said the Guangdong provincial authorities have achieved encouraging results in executing the policy of adopting special economic policies. [Text] [HK060233 Hong Kong STANDARD in English 6 Jan 81 p 14]

LIBYAN EMBASSY CHANGES--Beijing 6 Jan (AFP)--The Libyan Embassy in Beijing was converted into a "popular committee," according to an embassy official in the Chinese capital. The official, Mr Atallah, did not say, however, when the change would take place, or whether it had in fact already been done. Foreign journalists here have in the meantime been called to attend a press conference scheduled later today. An anonymous correspondent said in his invitation by phone that the press conference had been organised by the "popular committee." [Text] [OW060445 Hong Kong AFP in English 0441 GMT 6 Jan 81] Beijing, Jan. 7 (AFP)--An official Chinese spokesman today said he had no comment to make on "the change of name" of the Libyan Embassy in Beijing to a people's bureau. The move was announced yesterday by Abudala al Harary who heads the Libyan People's Bureau as secretary of the People's Committee. "If the Chinese Government refuses to recognise us, the Libyan congress will decide what to do," he said. [Text] [OW070434 Hong Kong AFP in English 0425 GMT 7 Jan 81]

ASEAN OFFICIALS MEET--Manila, January 8 (XINHUA)--Senior ASEAN officials have agreed on the need for the ASEAN countries to go on seeking a lasting solution to the Kampuchea problem, according to a Philippine news agency report. At a three-day meeting held at Puerto Azul in Ternate, Cavite, which ended yesterday, the officials exchanged views on issues pertaining to peace, security and stability of the region and reiterated their desire to pursue talks with parties and countries concerned with the conflict in Kampuchea and to maintain consultations with their partners on this and related issues, including the problem of refugees and their relief. Many of the matters discussed and positions tentatively reached at the meeting would be referred to a higher-level ASEAN meeting for final decision, the report said. [Text] [OW080832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 8 Jan 81]

POLISH ECONOMIC REFORM--Warsaw, January 7 (XINHUA)--The Independent and Self-Governing "Solidarity" Trade Union of Poland today expressed support for the "genuine economic reforms" to be carried out by the government. This was made known in a resolution adopted at a recent meeting of the National Coordinating Commission of the "Solidarity" Trade Union after hearing a report by its observer attached to a government economic reform commission. The resolution asked the government to put forward as soon as possible its reform program before the trade union and the public. The program was to specify the major principles for setting up a new economic system and point out the ways and means for overcoming the current profound social-economic crisis. The resolution reminded the government "to take into consideration the interests and wishes of the working people" in its program. It stressed: "The new system must be truly based on genuine self-governing of the workers so that implementation of the economic decisions of the government could be supervised by society." [Text] [OW080802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 8 Jan 81]

LONDON INSURANCE OFFICE--London, January 6 (XINHUA)--The People's Insurance Company of China (PICC) has opened its first overseas liaison office here. Hosting a reception on the occasion here this evening, PICC deputy general manager Lin Zhenfeng said that the opening of the London office "is necessitated for the development of the relationship between the PICC and the London Insurance Market and associated interest in the United Kingdom." "The role of the London liaison office is to pave the way for better and smoother exchange of views and expertise and for the increase of business flow of our two markets," he added. Among those near 300 guests present at the reception were responsible officials of the British Trade Ministry, representatives of the London Insurance Market and the Overseas Chinese community in Britain. Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in London Liang Geng and general manager of the London branch of Bank of China Jin Deqin also attended the reception. [Text] [OW070153 Beijing XINHUA in English 0143 GMT 7 Jan 81]

VIETNAMESE CASUALTIES--Beijing, January 8 (XINHUA)--Vietnamese troops in the northern part of Kampuchea's Koh Kong Province suffered more than 100 casualties on January 3 and 4, Radio Democratic Kampuchea announced today. A company of Vietnamese soldiers tried to cross the Me Tuk River by swimming from its east bank to the west. Twenty-seven of them were killed and 19 more wounded by Democratic Kampuchea troops and guerrillas while they were in the middle of the river. A Vietnamese platoon made a second attempt the next day and again sustained 24 casualties. On January 4, Democratic Kampuchean guerrillas ambushed a company of Vietnamese troops on its way from Chaytach to Mountain Kot Russei. Seventeen Vietnamese soldiers were killed and 21 more wounded. Vietnamese reinforcements coming to their rescue were intercepted and suffered six casualties. In Pursat Province, the guerrillas in Leach District on January 4 demolished two Vietnamese military vehicles and put out of action 23 enemy soldiers. [Text] [OW081356 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 8 Jan 81]

U.S. MARINES IN INDIAN OCEAN--Beijing, 6 Jan (XINHUA)--News from Washington: The United States is planning to dispatch an additional battalion of marines (about 1,800 men) to the Indian Ocean, according to an announcement made by the U.S. Defense Department yesterday. This is the fifth such dispatch since last March. Since last March the United States has deployed a small marine force on the amphibious vessels in the Indian Ocean area as part of its armed forces there. The latest information indicates that the United States has 34 vessels in the Indian Ocean-Arabian Sea-Persian Gulf area while the Soviet Navy has 31 vessels in that area. [Text] [OW072343 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1513 GMT 6 Jan 81]

PAKISTAN, IRAN, AFGHAN SITUATION--Beijing, Jan 7 (AFP)--The Chinese Government has refrained from commenting on an announcement by the pro-Soviet Afghan regime that it was ready to start talks with Pakistan and Iran in a quest for a political solution to the Afghan crisis. "Our stand on the question of the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan is constant and clearcut," said an official spokesman questioned in Beijing. Beijing strongly condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan over a year ago. China has repeatedly stated that the Soviet Union had thus posed a direct threat to Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan is one of China's main [words indistinct] in Asia. An Indian Government spokesman said in New Delhi on Monday that the Kabul government had informed India that it was prepared to start talks with Iran and Pakistan in the presence of a United Nations representative. [Text] [OW070508 Hong Kong AFP in English 0444 GMT 7 Jan 81]

CSO: 4020

TWENTY YEARS OF INJUSTICE CONDEMNED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 80 p 3

[Letter to editor by Ji Minsheng [4764 3046 5116]: "Why has it Been So Difficult to Redress a Relatively Simple Case of Injustice?" with appended editorial comment]

[Text] Xiong Chuansui [3574 0278 3603] is a female teacher in the Second Middle School of Hengyang, Hunan. Though she originally came from a poor urban family, in 1958 the police substation maliciously changed her residency registration to "landlord" status. Because of this her parents were labeled landldord elements and put under supervision, her siblings and husband were also implicated, beaten and locked up. They all suffered over 20 years of injustice.

The Source of the Injustice

Xiong Chuansui originally lived in Chengguan township, Jiayu county, Hubei province. After graduating from middle school in 1957 she had to continue her studies at home because of poverty. She habitually attended the town's spare-time literary and arts activities and subsequently Chen Zhengbi [7115 2398 1732] a policeman in the local substation took a fancy to her. Chen went through Wang Bin [3769 2430] of the political committee to propose to Miss Xiong that if she would marry him he was willing to help her continue her education. She had just turned 17 at the time and so declined the proposal because of her youth. After this Chen felt only hatred for her and threatened, "People in my line of work are such that if you don't provoke us we won't provoke you, but if you provoke us we can be quite nasty." In 1958 when Xiong Chuansui changed her residence registration to teach at Jiayu the police substation illegally changed her family status from urban poor to "landlord."

The Limits of Suffering

After Xiong Chuansui's mother discovered that the family had been changed to "landlord" she at first thought a mistake had been made, so she had her daughter seek out the neighborhood chief Li Shijian [2621 0013 3508] to fill out an affidavit so the police substation could make the correction. The police substation not only did not make the correction but also accused Xiong Chuansui of trying to reverse the landlord decision against her family and also informed the school's League branch of this. Xiong Chuansui was then criticized and put under supervision by the Youth League.

In August of 1959 Miss Xiong's younger brother Xiong Chuanze [3574 0278 3419] passed the entrance examination for the Wuhan Steel Company technical school and repeatedly took the neighborhood chief's affidavit to the police substation to request a change in the family status. Chen Zhengbi became very angry, pounded on the desk while cursing him and forced this 16 year-old boy to write a self-criticism. Xiong Chuanze reasoned with him but the chief of the police substation placed his pistol on the desk threatened him saying, "If he won't write then tie him up." Xiong Chuanze was forced then and there to write a "self-criticism." Chen Zhengbi still was not satisfied and changed the "self-criticism" into a "statement of repentance." He also forced Xiong Chuanze and his mother to print up 300 copies and post them in the lanes and streets of Chengguan. When the police substation finally permitted Xiong Chuanze to change his residence registration they changed his family status to "industrialist-businessman and landlord." In 1962 Xiong Chuansui's parents were labeled by the township's local police station as unreformed "four bad elements" and they not only were beaten but were also placed under surveillance. After the Cultural Revolution began they were beaten whenever they ventured from their house. Her father lost his front teeth and her mother suffered a broken arm which became crippled.

In February of 1968 Xiong Chuansui was teaching in Ningxia and asked the Qingtongxia county revolutionary committee to send her request for a change of family status to the Jiayu county revolutionary committee. Before long Xiong Chuansui received a letter from the Chengguan local police station in Jiayu county. The letter said that her status had been changed to "rightist case reversing" and she had thus stirred up another storm. They called her a "leader of rightist case reversals" and "daughter of a landlord who firmly takes a reactionary stance" and after this she suffered endless insults.

The Branch Chief Makes Obstacles to Reversing the Injustice

In 1972 Miss Xiong was transferred from Ningxia to the Second Middle School in Hengyang, Hunan. She repeatedly appealed to the organization for a redress of the injustice done to her. The Second Middle School party branch of the Hengyang Municipal Bureau of Education twice sent someone to Jiayu county to make an investigation and twice was refused without reason. The many letters that the Bureau of Propaganda of the Hengyang municipal committee wrote asking for particulars in the case of Xiong Chuansui all went unanswered.

Since there was nowhere left to turn, early in 1979 Xiong Chuansui appealed to the Central Committee commission for investigating discipline and told of her 20 years of suffering. The commission forwarded her appeal to the Jiayu county committee for handling. In February of the same year the Supreme People's Procuratorate took the appeal she had made to the Procurator Huang Huoqing [7806 3499 7230] and transmitted it to the Hubei Public Security Bureau for handling. At the urging of the upper levels the Chengguan local police station of Jiayu county again made an investigation. Then in early March they spoke with Miss Xiong's father Xiong Junshi [3574 0689 1395] who clearly stated that the Xiong family were not landlords and that the matter should be corrected.

Subsequently, on July 25th the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau and its "Jiayu Public Security Re-Examination (79) No 4 'Case Re-Examination Report'" on Xiong Chuansui finally said, "According to testimony by old cadres of the land reform her father Xiong Junshi in a re-examination of the land reform movement actually was designated as a landlord. Moreover, the original 1955 residency registers record that the Xiong family was landlord class. Her father also was put under three years of surveillance in 1957 because he raised market prices. The record of this along with his confession all verify his landlord status. There actually was no change of status made on the residency registers in 1958. Because of this, investigations from many quarters have proven without question that Xiong Chuansui is without question from a landlord family and not from another class. An investigation has determined that she should be retained as a member of the landlord class and her baseless appeal should be rejected."

Why should an injustice that was just about to be resolved suddenly be "rejected"? As we understand things, the original cause of this problem Chen Zhengbi had become a branch chief in the county Public Security Bureau. He was the one who overturned the conclusion of the township police substation investigation and fired off the "Report" quoted above.

Repeated Appeals are Made

After Xiong Chuansui recieved the "Report" of the county Public Security Bureau she was thoroughly dejected, but she had faith in party policy and once more summoned up her courage to obtain the support of the school party branch and make another appeal to the Central Committee commission for investigating discipline and the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

After the leading comrade of the commission for investigating discipline received Xiong Chuansui's appeal, on 15 November 1979 he personnaly issued instructions requesting the Hubei provincial committee leading comrade to designate a special person to investigate the case. After making the investigation ordered by the provincial committee the leaders of the Jiayu county disciplinary committee felt that from the standpoint of the Xiong family's economic conditions three years prior to Liberation they certainly were not landlords, so they recommended that the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau quickly reverse the decision, but it refused to rescind the "Jiayu Public Security Re-Examination (79) No 4 'Case Re-Examination Report'."

In July of this year the Central Committee commission for investigating discipline once again asked the responsible comrades of the Hubei provincial committee in charge of political and legal work to instruct the Jiayu county committee for investigating discipline and the Jiayu Public Security Bureau to quickly handle the case of Xiong Chuansui's family status.

On September 20th the Jiayu county commission for investigating discipline wrote an official letter to the Hengyang municipal Second Middle School party organization saying, "In regard to the appeal from the teacher Xiong Chuansui we have completed our investigation: During the land reform re-examination Chengguan did not demarcate class lines. The family of her father Xiong Junshi was determined to be of landlord class in 1952 through the decision of the Chengguan township residency registers and the neighborhood cadres when they established the city and township registers. Comrade Chen Zhengbi, now the Public Security Chief of the county Public Security Bureau, was transferred to the Chengguan police substation in 1958 so it is not a question of his having changed the record because his proposal of marriage was rejected. According to the 1950 decision by the Political Affairs Council regarding the divisions of rural class status they are not landlord class. The county Public Security Bureau has already investigated this decision and made the correction. Please inform the person concerned."

Although this official letter did not give a fair decision to Xiong Chuansui it did demonstrate two points: (1) During the land reform re-examination Jiayu county did not draw up class lines. (2) Based on the economic conditions Xiong Junshi's family and according to the 1950 decision of the Political Affairs Council on the demarcation of rural class lines they should not have been classified as landlords. This proves that the so-called "Case Re-examination Report" written by the county Public Security Bureau on July 25th was a complete fabrication made up of fake materials to fool the superiors and oppress the inferiors and was an extreme error.

How Can We Countenance Crime by Police Officials?

Because Xiong Chuansui did not directly receive a formal case reversal from the county Public Security Bureau she was still rather uneasy and repeatedly made appeals to the central discipline commission. The commission again made phone calls to the leading comrades of the Hubei provincial discipline commission and urged them to investigate the handling of this matter. This being the case the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau had no choice but to write up a decision titled "Decision Regarding the Nullification of the 'Jiayu Re-Examination (79) No 4, Case Re-Examination Report'" to send to Xiong Chuansui. This was done on November 4th. The complete text is as follows:

"Regarding the many appeals by Xiong Chuansui, our bureau sent a special agent and the discipline commission repeatedly sent people to investigate this case. According to the 1950 Political Affairs Council decision on the demarcation of rural class lines, and based on the Xiong family's economic conditions and sources of income for the three years prior to Liberation, on July 12th we corrected the land reform policy decision which recorded their family as landlords. We have nullified the July 25, 1979 Jiayu County Re-Examination Report (79) No 4 which upheld the land reform classification of their family as landlords."

It must be said that the above statement by the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau is an improvement over the July 25th "Notification" which "upheld the landlord class status determined in the land reform" because this nullifies the errors of that report. However, what makes one so mad is that they still still continued to deceive people with lies. The county discipline commission did not officially report the re-examination conditions until September 20th, saying that the county discipline commission had investigated the matter and made corrections, but how could the county Public Security Bureau have made a decision according to this policy on April 12th? The official letter by the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau clearly states that, "Chengguan did not demarcate class lines during the land reform re-examination," but the county Public Security Bureau says that "the land reform recorded them as landlords." Now where did this come from? Even if they had demarcated class lines how could they have been classified as landlords? The classification of Xiong Chuansui's parents as landlords is in error and ought to be reversed.

The Public Security Department is in charge of enforcing the law so its units and workers ought to be models of lawful behavior. Nonetheless, Chen Zhengbi, who was a policeman and now is a branch chief in the Public Security Bureau, and the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau are not at all such models. Chen Zhengbi plotted to take revenge and knowingly altered a residency register to change the status of Xiong Chuansui's family from urban poor to landlord status, which brought over 20 years of suffering to the members of this family. This is criminal behavior! In her letters of appeal Xiong Chuansui many times asked for an investigation of Chen Zhengbi's responsibility in this matter. This is entirely correct. The comrades of the Central Committee commission on investigating discipline worked to help Xiong Chuansui and advised her to look to the future, saying that this was a problem from the past and that over 20 years had passed. At that time Chen Zhengbi was still young and errored, which must be changed. The case has been reversed and so the matter can be laid to rest. Even if this the situation, the culprit in the matter is still unenlightened and upholds his error. While working at the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau, Chen Zhengbi neglected party policy and ignored the instructions and urgings of the comrades of the Central Committee commission on investigating discipline and the provincial discipline commission in order to save face. He was finally forced to admit his guilt as perpetrator of the crimes of deceiving his superiors and oppressing his inferiors and manufacturing false evidence to prolong the resolution of this relatively simple case for over two years before a decision was reached. Where are those who make policies and take care of our laws? I hope that the Hubei provincial Public Security Office will severely prosecute this matter and then publish the result in the newspapers.

Editorial Comment: Regarding the Severe Prosecution of Criminal Law Enforcement Personnel

Ever since the Third Party Plenum a number of wrongful cases have been corrected with obvious success. However, it must be pointed out that much work remains in this area especially in mistaken cases between cadres and the masses, which so far are underrepresented in proportion to their number. The case of the teacher Xiong Chuansui is an example of this type of case.

The case of Xiong Chuansui was not complex. Her original family status was urban poor and the local substation then criminally changed it to landlord status. If Chen Zhengbi, originally a substation policeman and now branch chief in the Public Security Bureau, had immediately admitted his error, or if the leadership comrades of his units at the Chengguan local substation and the Jiayu county Public Security Bureau had upheld principles, been objective and carried out a thoroughgoing investigation of this matter, then it could have been cleared up in a very short time. Even after two years the matter was not corrected. The problem is that the original culprit has power and his immediate superiors willy-nilly are distorting and concealing his guilt.

This is no special instance. Many injustices involving cadres and the masses have long gone uncorrected simply because the guilty party is still in power and has the support of his superiors. Are they ignorant of the Law? Not at all. Some of them know the law and some uphold it. Some know the law and break it and some break the law even while enforcing it. They ought to see the light and quickly mend their ways. If they remain unenlightened then they can only be punished by our socialist laws.

Our readers are reasonable and believe that the perpetrator and other guilty persons in Xiong Chuansui's case of injustice will be punished with utmost severity.

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JIANG QING, 29 DEC 'GONGREN RIBAO' ARTICLE DISCUSSED

HK301246 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 30 Dec 80 p 1

[Unattributed "News Talk" column: "Some Persons After the 'Gang of four'"]

[Excerpts] Jiang Qing unscrupulously caused trouble in the court yesterday. People could see that she still maintained her features of the "Cultural Revolution," and heard the words of how the government authorities negated the "Cultural Revolution" and appraised Chairman Mao Zedong. These were included in procurator Jiang Wen's summation statement.

In his summation statement, Jiang Wen sharply refuted Jiang Qing, noting that she attempted to scare people off by saying that her trial was like "Xiang Zhuang performing his sword dance which was aimed to strike Liu Bang." Anyhow, the current appraisal of the modern "Liu Bang" was that all through his life, his achievements occupied a first place while his errors occupied a second place. The "Cultural Revolution" was an error. His error was firstly his leadership (no mention of his launching it) and secondly his negligence (for putting Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in important positions). This was, in fact, "a responsibility which needed no reticence." Now there is no reticence. His responsibility should in the future be more openly made known; and more should be disclosed.

The "Cultural Revolution" ended with the smashing of the "gang of four." Nevertheless, there are still repercussions and their pernicious influence. "In the first 2 years after the smashing of the 'gang of four,' there were still those who completely ignored the strength of the people and the decisive role of the masses in the struggle to smash the 'gang of four.' They continued to slander the 5 April movement as a 'counterrevolutionary political incident in Tianammen,' fabricate the personality cult and seize and kill outstanding youths who uphold Marxist truths. As a result, China, which has gone through 10 years of great calamity, has continued to waver at the crossroads of progress and retrogression."

The above passage was taken from an article published in yesterday's Beijing GONGREN RIBAO. Some persons were vividly portrayed in the article. Some of them were obviously those who were regarded as members of the "whatever faction" and have now been ousted from the Political Bureau.

Some of these persons for some time caused China to waver and hesitate in its steps. Now, people have painfully realized that petroleum production, which was for some time lavishly praised, will not only be wavering, but will decrease--probably for as long as 7 years. This poses an even more serious problem than the sinking of the "Bohai No 2" oil rig. Although the nature is different because it does not involve any human life, yet the country's prestige has been undermined and the national economy has been impaired. We probably cannot avoid carrying out an investigation and affixing the responsibility.

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CHINA ZHI GONG DANG HOLDS PLENARY SESSION 11-18 DEC

OW200530 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1412 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The second session (enlarged) of the seventh Central Committee of the China Zhi Gong Dang was held from 11 to 18 December in Beijing. The session examined and discussed the work report submitted by Huang Dingchen, chairman of the Zhi Gong Dang, on behalf of the Standing Committee of the party's Central Committee. After discussion, it also drew up an outline of Central Committee work for 1981. Through this session, Dong Yinchu [5516 1377 0443], Yang Chengzhi [2799 2052 1807] and Xiao Huan [5135 3562] were added to the Zhi Gong Dang Central Committee as additional members, and Ye Hongbao [0674 7703 1405], Han Chenglong [7281 2110 7127] and Zhang Kunlie [1728 2492 3525] were added as additional alternate members.

The session pointed out that over the past year the Zhi Gong Dang has done a lot of work and made certain achievements in helping implement the Overseas Chinese affairs policy, in encouraging its members to work hard on various fronts and in establishing ties and uniting with their relatives and friends residing in Hong Kong, Macao and foreign countries so as to have them show concern about the socialist modernization program being carried out at home and contribute to the early return of Taiwan to the motherland and to the great cause of the reunification of our country. New organizations of the Zhi Gong Dang have been set up in Shanghai and in key areas inhabited by families of Overseas Chinese, and more than 150 new members have been absorbed into this party from various localities.

The session called on the Zhi Gong Dang members to do a still better job in the new year and work with one heart and one mind under the CCP's leadership to build China into a highly democratic and civilized modern and powerful socialist country. They were urged to contribute to the early return of Taiwan to the motherland, to the great cause of the reunification of the country and to the work of opposing hegemony and preserving peace in the world.

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BRIEFS

DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION MEETING--A 10-day meeting held by the China association for promoting democracy to exchange its experience in serving the four modernizations opened in Beijing on 20 December. Nearly 100 members who work in the educational, cultural, publication, medical, scientific and technical fields are attending the meeting. Zhou Jianren, chairman of the association's Central Committee; Lei Jieqiong and Ge Zhicheng, vice chairman and secretary general of the association, attended the opening ceremony. Addressing the opening ceremony, Xu Boxin, vice chairman of the association's Central Committee, urged the members of the association to work harder hereafter and make new contributions to the motherland's modernizations and unification. Jiang Nanxiang, minister of education, also attended the opening ceremony. He thanked those who have contributed to China's education and four modernizations. The association marks its 35th founding anniversary on 30 December. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 20 Dec 80 OW]

NEW MARRIAGE LAW--Beijing, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--A "Propaganda Handbook on Marriage Law," compiled by the National Women's Federation, will soon be published in China. This handbook contains the "marriage law of the People's Republic of China," the "measures governing marriage registration" approved by the State Council, an article by Chairman Kang Keqing of the National Women's Federation entitled "Earnestly Study and Positively Propagate and Implement the New Marriage Law," and 10 lectures on the new marriage law transmitted by the XINHUA News Agency. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1215 GMT 19 Dec 80 OW]

JOURNALIST ZHU BOSHEN'S DEATH--Beijing, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--Zhu Boshen, a veteran Chinese journalist, died in Beijing on 9 November 1980 at the age of 77. Zhu joined the CCP in 1930. After liberation, he was engaged in people's diplomacy and scientific and technological information work. He suffered persecution by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique during the Cultural Revolution. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1308 GMT 11 Dec 80 OW]

JUDGMENTS ISSUING--Beijing, 5 Jan--The earliest date for the special court of the Chinese Supreme People's Court to announce its judgments on the 10 defendants in the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques may be on 8 January (Thursday). The date for announcing the court judgments may also be postponed until 10 January or an even much later date. [Text] [HK051110 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 5 Jan 81 p 1]

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BRIEFS

LIAONING PLA UNITS--In the past year, some 5,900 leading comrades at or above the regiment level of the Shenyang PLA units have gone to some 17,300 units, including local party and government departments, plants, mines, enterprises, communes and brigades, to solicit people's opinions, accept criticism and solve some 1,000 practical problems. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 26 Dec 80]

PLA NAVY TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS--Beijing, 30 Dec (XINHUA)--The PLA navy recently issued an order to commend and give cash awards to scientists, medical doctors and teachers who have made achievements in scientific research work. Among those who received top prizes were Zhang Yiping and Feng Dingguo, teachers of the navy's No. 1 surface ship school, who successfully designed and manufactured China's first radar signal recording instrument [Lei Da Xin Hao Ji Lu Yi 7191 6671 0207 5714 6068 6922 0308]. The instrument can be used for watching and other purposes. [OW031805 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1207 GMT 30 Dec 80]

ZHEJIANG PEOPLE'S AIR DEFENSE--The Zhejiang Provincial People's Air Defense Office recently held a discussion meeting in Jinhua on warning communications for the people's air defense work. The participants exchanged their experience in the people's defense against war and discussed the tasks for 1981. They unanimously held that while implementing the readjustment of the national economy we must not slacken our preparations against war, and that we must further prepare well against aggressive war in order to protect socialist modernization. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Dec 80]

ZHEJIANG ARMY-PEOPLE RELATIONS--The Zhejiang Provincial People's Government recently issued a circular on unfolding activities of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to military dependents. The circular calls on governments at various levels to effectively publicize the great deeds of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, military dependents and retired servicemen in the revolutionary war years and in the course of socialist construction, commend advanced units and people in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to military dependents, conscientiously help various PLA units to solve their problems, and launch a mass campaign to support the army and give preferential treatments to military dependents during the new year and spring festival period. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Jan 81]

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SOME VIEWS ON RECENT CHINESE POPULATION TRENDS EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 80 pp550-557

[Article by Vasile Ghetau: "Recent Trends and Views Regarding the Population of the People's Republic of China"]

[Text] The more than 5 years that have passed since the World Conference on Population (Bucharest, August 1974) have fully confirmed the validity of three ideas that were in the center of the discussions at the conference and that were expressed in unequivocal statements (and unanimously accepted) in the World Plan for Action in the Field of Population, the principal document approved by the conference: the rapid growth of world population, and especially the population of the developing nations, is reason for alerting and increasing the concern of governments for resolving the implications stemming from this growth; demographic policy is an attribute of national sovereignty, stemming from the multitude and variety of situations existing on our planet; the real solution to the population problem cannot be conceived outside the general framework of economic and social development and the achievement of a new international economic order. We feel that the political, economic and social changes that we have seen since August 1974 not only verify the justice of these three theses, but considerably increase their timeliness.

Since the 1974 estimate that there would be a population of four billion persons on earth, an additional one-half billion has been added. The aggravation of the international economic situation (the energy crisis and the unbelievable increase in the price of oil, financial disorder, and the severe economic recession in the Western world being the most significant elements), the stagnation or degradation of the fragile economic situation of most of the developing nations[1] and the accentuation of the economic gap, even if it does not have its origins (or solutions) in the demographic factor, cannot but be amplified under the conditions of this galloping demography.

The national and sovereign nature of demographic policies was even more strongly affirmed after the world conference on population. It is, actually, a natural trend that can be placed within the more general context of the struggle for consolidating national independence. Events have confirmed and are confirming that on all the continents, and especially in the developing nations that have only recently set out on the path to national independence, the formation of nations and independent national states, as well as their consolidation, represent an objective necessity and a factor for accelerating economic and social progress. The variety of objectives and material means of demographic policy, elements that in a way confirm the independent nature of this policy, represent only the expression of certain demographic, economic, social, geographic and other realities that are extremely varied from one region to another, from one country to another.

The third thesis emphasized at the Bucharest conference, solving the population problem within the general framework of the problem of development, is today accepted more than any other time, both in the developed countries and the developing nations. Significant changes have occurred in international demographic literature, with the balance of the studies centered on relationships of interconditioning between socio-economic factors and demographic phenomena and processes showing a truly impressive increase. It is felt that "in 1978, there was practically no government, in the developed countries or in the developing nations, that did not feel that control of the diverse parameters of the evolution of population would not constitute an element of vital importance for the success of development plans."[2] The field of demography has expanded considerably and its concerns are more and more oriented towards the place where it should have been all along: the center of the processes of economic and social development of a society.

An eloquent illustration of the three ideas especially stressed in the documents of the world conference on population and verified by later developments is offered to us by the experience of the most populous country in the world - the People's Republic of China.

Until very recently, information on the population of China was extremely limited. The "newest" data published by the most competent organ, the National Bureau of Statistics, was from 1960[3] and referred to the population by provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities in 1957. This data, as well as that published in 1957 for the period 1949-1956, were based on information from the first national census conducted in China after the proclamation of the people's republic, the 1953-1954 census, as well as information on the natural movement of population. The 1953-1954 census constituted, therefore, a basic element for any study of the population of China. The cause for this situation must be seen in the same factors that slowed the economic and social progress of the country in the second half of the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's.[4]

The lack of detailed information also coming from official cources brought about the appearance of an extremely large number of elaborate estimates made by national (governmental and non-governmental) and international specialized organs or by diverse specialists.[5] These estimates were based on the older official information that we have mentioned and use a large variety of methods, techniques and instruments for demographic analysis, extrapolations and projections. (From this point of view, they represent a convincing demonstration of the abilities and refinements attained by work in demography.)

World Population and The Population of the PRC: Estimates for 1975 (in millions)

Source of the Estimate	World Population	PRC Population	World Population Without the PRC
United Nations	3,968	839	3,129
U.S. Census Bureau	4,100	943	3,157
International Developed Agency (United States)	4,044	935	3,109
World Bank (1976)	4,033	897	3,136
Population Council (USA)	3,964	830	3,134
Population Reference Bureau (USA)	3,967	823	3,144
Environmental Fund (USA)	4,147	987	3,160
Worldwatch Institute (USA)	3,920	823	3,097
Center for the Study of the Community of the Family (USA)	4,017	897	3,120

Source: Dudley Kirk, "World Population and Birth Rates: Agreements and Disagreements," POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, New York, Vol 5, No 3, 1979 p 330.

For a summary analysis of the population estimates on the PRC, we chose the newest of the estimates considered to be the most representative. We also added the appropriate estimates for the world population, keeping in mind that these figures directly depend upon the estimates of the population of China.

Therefore, according to the estimates considered, the population of the PRC in 1975 was between 823 and 987 million persons. The difference (the spread of the variations) is 164 million persons or nearly 19 percent in relation to the average figure (886 million), a significantly high percentage also reflecting the considerably different views and estimates on the rate of growth of the population of China (in other words, on the evolution of the two components - birth and death rates).

The uncertainty on the size of the PRC population finds its direct correspondent in the variation of the estimates on world population: the relative spread of the estimates on the population of world is only two percent if we exclude the population of China, compared to approximately six percent if we include it.

We can, thus, conclude that the lack of official information on the evolution of population has led to the proliferation of estimates. Without making any reference to the precision of these estimates (we will do that later), we will mention that the difference between the lowest and highest figures is appreciable.[6] Paradoxically, however, the higher degree of uncertainty is accompanied by the quasi-certainty that major changes have already taken place in the evolution of the fertility of the PRC population.[7]

At the 1974 World Conference on Population, the PRC delegation rejected the idea of a world plan of action that would impose a uniformity, having in mind that the realities and demographic conditions are different from one country to another. Each government must be left to elaborate by itself its own demographic policy.[8] Referring to the situation in China, the Chinese delegation mentioned that the population does not constitute a problem in China under the conditions of socialism. Unemployment had been eliminated and, using merely 10 percent of its surface area, China is capable of feeding its entire population. In regions having high population densities, delaying marriage and birth control are encouraged, but on a voluntary basis. In a general manner, there is concern for the planned growth of the population.[9]

The recent years have marked significant changes in the political and economic affairs of the PRC, engaged in a new "long march" that has as an objective, as established by the 11th Congress and the December 1978 Plenum of the Communist Party's Central Committee, the transformation of China by the end of the century into a powerful socialist state by achieving the four modernizations: in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. Under this development strategy, the demographic variable is called upon to play a major role, as shown in the party and state documents.

In the report regarding the government's activities presented by Premier Hua Guo Feng at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress in February 1978, in addition to the tasks facing the Chinese people in the fields of economics, science and culture, special references are made to the demographic policy and its objectives: "Family planning constitutes a very important problem. The planned control of population growth contributes to the planned development of the national economy and the health of the mother and child. It likewise has positive effects with regards to production, work and education. We must continue to give it serious attention and seek to reduce the average annual rate of population growth in China to less than one percent during the next 3 years" (translated by V.G.).[10] Article 53 of the PRC Constitution, adopted at this same congress, mentions that "the state favors and encourages family planning."[11]

The second session of the Fifth National People's Congress in June 1979 was marked by the report presented by Premier Hua Guo Feng which makes more detailed references to the objectives of the PRC's demographic policy. After it points out that during the 1970's significant progress was made in controlling population growth, it notes that the rate of growth must continue to be reduced in order to accelerate the four modernizations and to improve the health and welfare of all the people. A consistent activity must be carried out on an ideological, educational and technical level, as well as in the field of health and child care, so that the population can practice family planning voluntarily, safely and effectively. After a series of economic measures are enumerated that are to be taken in order to reduce the size of the family, it fixes as an objective the attainment of a population growth rate of one percent in 1979 and its continued reduction to .5 percent in 1985.[12]

It is worth mentioning the fact that in the two documents numerical information is not given regarding the population of the country and the parameters of the natural changes in the population. Such information, as well as a documented economic motive for the need to reduce the population growth rate, are found in an article published in ZIARUL POPORULUI (RENMIN JIHPAO) [THE PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER], signed by Vice Premier Chen Mu Hua, the director of the Management Group for Birth Planning[13] of the Council of State.[14]

The firm control of population growth represents one of the ten important tasks in the effort to develop the national economy. Economic development must take into consideration the law of planned proportional development, a law which is applied not only to the production of material goods, but also to the evolution of the size of the population. Planned population growth is not a subjective and arbitrary decision, but a necessity required by the socialist manner of production.

Theoretically, the superiority of the planned socialist economy makes possible the regulation of human reproduction and ensures a balance between population growth and the production of material goods. But, for a long time this problem has not been well understood and was not studied, and population growth was not taken into consideration in economic planning, arriving at a situation in which population evolved in an uncontrolled manner. There are historical, economic and political reasons for this situation. And, there are demographic reasons. The population of China was 540 million in 1949 and it reached 960 million at the end of 1978. From the liberation of the country (1949), approximately 600 million people were born, with the percentage of those born after 1949 representing 63 percent of the total population. The growth of the population during the period 1949 to 1979 was 78 percent, which indicates an average annual rate of two percent. The gross birth rate was 40 percent in the 1960's and reached 18.34 percent in 1978 as a result of the measures taken after 1970. As a result, the rate of natural growth decreased from 23.4 percent in 1971 to 12.05 percent in 1978, a decrease estimated as rarely encountered keeping in mind the age structure of the population (the 0 to 20 age group represents 50 percent of the entire population).[15]

A rate of natural growth of 12 percent means an annual growth of 11.5 million people. Taking into consideration the fact that during the 1960's fertility had an especially high value, the number of women in the child-bearing age group will also be higher in the next decade and 22 million persons annually (11 million couples) will reach the age of marriage (23 years old for women and 25 for men). Even if all the couples adopt the norms of the official birth planning program (which is based on three principles: 1. delayed marriage: 28 years old for men and 25 years old for women in urban areas and 25 and 23 years old, respectively, in rural areas; 2. spacing births: the first child after the marriage and the second child after the first is at least three years old; 3. smaller families: two children), China's population will continue to growth for at least a half century until it reaches zero population growth.

During this period, the size of the population will increase by 30 to 40 percent. The new measures that are to be taken by the Chinese state (in some provinces they were already put into practice) call for attaining zero population growth in a much shorter period of time: by the end of the century. The strategy adopted calls for two stages: I. attaining a rate of growth of 10 percent by the end of 1979 and a rate of 5 percent in 1985; II. attaining zero growth in the year 2000.

In order to achieve these ambitious objectives, a law on birth planning is to go into effect at the beginning of this year, a law which, through a series of measures, primarily economic ones, is designed to encourage families to have one child.[16]

In the article signed by Vice Premier Chen Mu Hua, several details are also given regarding the manner in which a stationary population can be reached in the year 2000. Of the 17.4 million births in 1978, 5.2 million (or 30 percent) were born as the third child or more. If the percentage of these births could be reduced to half, the gross birth rate could be decreased from 18.4 percent in 1978 to 15.59 percent at the end of 1979. In the hypothesis that the birth of the third child or more will be eliminated completely by 1985, the gross birth rate would be approximately 13 percent and the rate of natural increase would reach approximately 7 percent. This level is higher than the one advanced in the party and state documents (5 percent), which means that in addition to the firm prevention of having three or more children it is necessary to stimulate couples to having only one child.[17]

What are the motivations for this demographic policy directed towards reducing the population growth rate and attaining a zero growth rate in an extremely short time?

We must not forget that we are talking about a population of nearly one billion people,[18] or nearly one-quarter of the world population. To make reference to the great natural wealth of China without taking into account this immense population and the perspectives for its growth under the conditions of a laissez-faire demographic policy would be, as Chen Mu Hua states, a great error. In other words, the motivation for China's demographic policy stems from the demographic and economic realities of China themselves and must be interpreted in this context.

Under the specific conditions of China, the efforts to develop the economy, to improve the standard of living and to create new jobs have become more difficult because of the rapid growth of the population. This effects the socialist development of the country. The problem of whether or not to control population growth cannot be reduced to a problem of having more or less children; it is a strategic problem which influences the development of the country's production forces, the achievement of the four modernizations and the transition from the building of socialism to communism. From the liberation of the country, the national economy developed impetuously. But, since the economic base from which it began was small and the population grew too rapidly, the growth of per capita production and per capita income is not great. During the same period, the economic rate of growth of the developed capitalist countries, overall, was not higher than in China. Instead, their economic base was stronger and the population grew at a slower rate. This explains why the growth of production and income per capita was more rapid in these countries.

It is felt that too high a rate of population growth effects the efforts to achieve the four modernizations because of three causal relationships: I. The slowing of rapid investments from capital; II. The reducing of the efficiency of efforts for the rapid growth of the scientific and cultural level of the entire country; III. The slowing of the rapid growth of the standard of living of the people.

Since the principal source of accumulating capital is the rapid development of industry and agricultural, and therefore national income, under the conditions of a given rate of growth of industry, agriculture and national income, the size and rate of growth of the population directly and considerably influences the volume and rate of capital accumulation. The cost of raising the 600 million children born after liberation to the age of 16 represents 30 percent of the total national income accumulated during this period. If fewer had been born, the opportunities of the state to accumulate capital would have been greater, without creating a crisis in the workforce.

The creation of an army of workers, peasants and intellectuals capable of mastering and handling modern science and technology requires a massive expansion of learning and education. And, the portion of the national income that can be allocated yearly for this purpose is limited. The number of those who must be educated as well as those whose level of culture and science must be improved is expressed not in tens of millions, but in hundreds of millions. Currently, six percent of school age children are not in school, 12 percent of the elementary school graduates cannot pursue middle school, over 50 percent of the middle school graduates cannot pursue high school and only 5 percent of the high school graduates go to institutes of higher education. One of the principal factors responsible for this situation is demography.

With regards to the causal relationship between the demographic factor and the standard of living, it is felt that the potential for improving the standard of living is determined by the relationship netween the rate of growth of funds slated for consumption and the population growth rate. During the period 1953-1978, the consumption funds increased by 180 percent. Since, however, the population grew during this same period by 67 percent, the consumption funds per capita increased by only one-third. On the other hand, 58 percent of the annual growth of the consumption funds was slated to cover the needs created by the population growth and only 42 percent was allocated to improving the standard of living.

Implementing the new directions of the Chinese demographic policy is influenced by the success of the following measures:

1. Strengthening the leading role of the party and including birth planning work in the work plans of the party organs at all levels;

2. Strengthening propaganda and educational work,

3. Adopting appropriate legislation and taking certain economic measures calling for the stimulation of behavior towards smaller families and penalizing families with a large number of children;

4. Training medical personnel, improving the quality of medical care in this field, and the production and spread of contraceptive devices;

5. Creating certain powerful and active birth planning units.

Placing the reasoning of the current demographic policy of the PRC at an ideological level, Chen Mu Hua mentions that, in the past, in criticizing the Malthusian theory on population, well-founded criticism at that, there was stress only on the role of man as a producer, arriving at that point since it was felt that the larger the population the better off it was, the more producers there were the better, more rapid and more effective the building of socialism would be. In this manner, however, there was an underestimation of the fact that man is also a consumer. Under the conditions of a relatively lower level of production, this second aspect has an especially significant impact. From what one man produces, an important portion goes to his and his family's consumption, with the remaining surplus for society being small. This is characteristic of Chinese society today. Marxism shows that the producers of material goods are those who have a sertain level of experience and qualification, being capable of using machinery and equipment to produce these goods. When a child reaches working age, he cannot fulfill the role of a modern producer without having modern knowledge and the technical training and qualifications required by modern technology. On the other hand, without having the modern machinery and technology he cannot, similarly, successfully fulfill his role of a producer of material goods and will continue to be a dependent person, that is, a consumer. The efforts that are being undertaken to control population growth precisely call for facilitating the accumulation of capital, improving the education of the people so they can use modern technology and increasing the level of professional and scientific qualifications that will permit the full useof the Chinese people's production potential.

Without a doubt, several remarks and conclusions are required.

The PRC's demographic policy is a study that has its origins in the demographic, economic and social realities of the country. Moreover, all the arguments advanced by Chinese specialists and politicians in order to explain and justify this policy outline its strictly national character. It would be wrong, in our opinion, to attempt to generalize and formulate postulates even for the simple reason that the great variety of the demographic, economic, social, geographic and other conditions, as well as the particular nature of the national strategies for development, preclude any attempts of this type. The failures of certain campaigns to limit births without including them within the specific conditions of a country and without introducing an endogenous aspect to the demographic factor in development programs offer a significant example in this regard.

The fourth demographic investigation into governmental policies (1978)[19] also shows the complexity and variety of objectives and means. According to this research, of 158 governments 36 opted for a rate of population growth higher than the one attained. We stress that these 36 governments belonged both to certain developed countries (13) and to certain developing nations (23). With regards to the birth rate (fertility), a dominant component in modifying the population growth rate, 22 governments (10 from developed countries) felt that their level was too low, and 17 of these took measures to stimulate the growth of the birth rate. In other words, the governments of these countries feel that a more sustained population growth rate is a positive factor for economic growth or for preserving "national identity."

The broad spread of contemporary demographic policy and the trends and changes encountered over the last 5 years confirm in a shining way the speech made by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the World Conference on Population: "Certainly, demographic policy and, in general, the problems of the development of the population must be analyzed in relation to historical, national and economic-social conditions in each country. Only by beginning with specific realities can conclusions be made that will lead to the just solution of the population problem. The demographic map of the contemporary world presents great diversity. On our planet, there are regions with high population densities, just as there are areas where the number of inhabitants, in relation to the area and existing resources, is still very low. Beginning with the fact that the population problem represents a determining factor for the progress of each people, each state has the sovereign right to promote the demographic policy and the measures which it considers most appropriate in accordance with its own national interests, without any outside interference."[20]

With regards to the new information on the population of the PRC, they will fill a large hole in the estimates of the United Nations, as well as other organizations and organs, on the population of our planet and its regional distribution. In a general way, it can be stated that this information will directly contribute to a better knowledge of recent trends and, furthermore, future trends.

Although the studies and articles we used make no reference to the source of the information and its reliability, limiting for the moment our knowledge of the status of the statistical information system on demographics in the PRC, a summary comparative analysis of the indicators at the national level with other information at the regional or provincial level[21] indicates a better coherence of the data and a considerable degree of detail.

Finally, leaving to the reader the evaluation of the reliability of the estimates in relation to the recently published official figures, we will merely mention the fact that the information on the level of the birth rate (18 percent) and the general death rate (under 7 percent) are far from the existing estimates.[22]

FOOTNOTES

1. See the World Bank, "Rapport sur le developpement dans le monde 1979," Washington, D.C., 1979, pp 12-20.

2. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, "Rapport concis de l-observation continue des politiques demographiques," Commission on Population, Vingtieme Session, 29 January-9 February 1979, E/CN. 9/338, 22 Dec 1978, New York, p 8.

3. Some information on the population of the provinces was published in the press or given on local radio stations in 1967-1968, as well as in two atlases published in 1972 and 1974 (cf. Y. C. Yu, "The Demographic Situation in China," "Population Studies" (London), Vol 32, No 3, 1978, pp 427-437).

4. "People's China," No 3, 1979, p 3.

5. For more detailed information on the main estimates see Y. C. Yu, op. cit., pp 437-438.

6. It must nonetheless be mentioned that some estimates of more recent data indicate a considerable agreement in the points of views and signs of a consensus with regards to the rate of growth. Here are these estimates (cf. Penny Kane, "China's Population - Consensus Grows," PEOPLE (London), Vol 6, No 2, 1979, pp 36-37):

Population of China - in millions

Author of the Estimate	1976	1977	1978
John S. Aird			
- minimum	938		
- maximum	968		
Judith Banister			
- optimistic		960	
- preferred		974	
Pi-chao Chen		957	
R. T. Ravenholt		910	921
Y. C. Yu			935-946
United Nations			950

The fact should not be ommitted, however, that the above estimates take into consideration some more recent information from Chinese sources.

7. United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs: "Concise Report on the World Population Situation in 1977. New Beginnings and Uncertain Ends," ("Population Studies," No 63), New York, p 38.

8. Pi-chao Chen, "The Chinese Experience," PEOPLE (London), Vol 6, No 2, 1979, p 17.

9. Jason L. Finkle, Barbara B. Crane, "The Politics of Bucharest: Population, Development and the New International Economic Order," "Population and Development Review" (New York), Vol 1, No 1, 1975, p 114 (footnote 51).

10. Hua Guo Feng, "Unite and Strive to Build a Modern, Powerful Socialist Country," PEKING REVIEW, No 10, 10 Mar 1978, p 29 (quoted in: "On Economic and Social Policy in China: A Report by Hua Guo Feng," "Population and Development Review," Vol 4, No 1, 1978, p 177).

11. Idem, p 179.

12. Hua Guo Feng, "Report on the Work of the Government," BEIJING REVIEW, No 27, 6 Jul 1979, p 20 (quoted in: "International Family Planning Perspectives" (London), Vol 5, No 8, 1979, p 94).

13. Our translation for Birth Planning Management Group.

14. We are speaking of the article: "To Achieve the Four Modernizations It Is Necessary To Control Population Growth in a Planned Manner" (RENMIN JIHPAO, 11 Aug 1979). We used an abbreviated version of the article: Chen Mu Hua, "Birth Planning in China," "International Family Planning Perspectives" (London), Vol 5, No 3, Sep 1979, pp 92-100 (Published, likewise, in "Family Planning Perspectives" (New York), Vol 11, No 6, Nov/Dec 1979, pp 348-354).

15. In our country, the proportion was 35 percent on 1 Jul 1978 (cf. the Central Directorate of Statistics, "The Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1979," Bucharest, 1979, p 55).

16. In cities, couples who have only one child and who pledge not to have any more (presenting proof that they are practiving birth control) can request a "sole child certificate" which gives them the right to a fixed allocation each month until the child is 14 years old. These couples have the right to a home with a living space equal to that allotted to couples with two children or they have priority for getting a place to live. The sole child will have priority for admission to schools and getting a job. Upon retirement, couples with one child will receive larger pensions.

In rural areas, couples with one child will receive supplementary income each month until the child reaches 14 years old, and the amount of cereal grain received will be the same as that given couples with two children. All couples, regardless of the number of children, will receive the same sized personal lot and the same area for building a home, in both cases the areas will be based on a family with two children.

At the same time, the law calls for taxes on couples who have more than two children (with the exception of cases where there are multiple births).

17. According to Pi-chao Chen's estimates (Wayne University, Detroit), the elimination of all third child births and the practice of behavior directed towards the "sole child" by 40 percent of the couples in urban areas and 25 percent in rural areas, over the course of several decades, will result in a decrease in the population of the PRC (cf. Pi-chao Chen, an introductory note and comment to Chen Mu Hua's "Birth Planning in China," "International Family Planning Perspectives" (London), Vol 5, No 3, Sep 1979, p 93.).

18. If in 1979 the figure advanced by official sources (cf. "Urban Collective Economy: Develop or Eliminate It?", BEIJING REVIEW, No 35, 31 Aug 1979, p 10) was 970 million and we accept an annual rate of growth of one percent in this year, the population of China would be around 980 million.

19. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, op. cit., in footnote 1.

20. SCINTEIA, 20 Aug 1974.

21. See: "Family Planning in Jutung, China," POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW (New York), Vol 4, No 2, 1978, pp 367-371; Roland Pressat, "Anti-Birth Measures in China," POPULATION (Paris), Vol 34, Nos 4-5, 1979, pp 908-909.

22. Information that came to us after writing this article (Roland Pressat, "The Reappearance of Chinese Statistics" POPULATION (Paris), No 1, 1980, pp 226-232, and "La croissance demographique: inquietude majeure en Chine," POPULATION (Paris), No 2, 1980, pp 441-443; Michel Cartier, "The Rebirth of Demographic Studies on the Population of China," POPULATION (Paris), No 2, 1980, pp 444-449), permits us to have a more complete picture of the population problem in the PRC. The importance given to the demographic factor in the modernization of the country could not omit the fields of research and education. The rehabilitation of professor Ma Yinchu and his appointment to the post of honorary president of the University of Peking (in September 1979, 20 years after the condemnation of his "neo-Malthusian" theses) have symbolic value in this regard. At the same time, certain research centers and groups have been created at the national and provincial level and higher demographic training has been stressed. Finally, Hua Gou Feng's speech at the third session of the Fifth Assembly of the National Assembly of the People's Representatives (Sep 1980) mentions that the objective of PRC demographic policy is to attain a maximum population of 1.2 billion in the year 2000, and stress must be placed on actions to convince the people and on ideological and political work, and not coercive means (LE MONDE, 9 Sep 80,p6)

8724
CSO: 2700

BISHOP INTERVIEWED ON CHRISTIANITY IN COUNTRY

OW241516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 24 (XINHUA)--Ding Guangxun, president of the Christian Council of China, said that he is satisfied with the revival of Christian activities in this country.

In an interview with XINHUA on Christmas Eve, Bishop Ding also warned against any attempts from abroad to split the Christendom in China by fabricating the existence of an "under-ground church" and an "official church."

Bishop Ding is a deputy to the National People's Congress and a Standing Committee member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

With the implementation of the government policy on freedom of religious belief in recent years, he said, Christians who were persecuted during the "Cultural Revolution" have been rehabilitated politically and the lack of churches and bibles is being overcome.

Around Christmas this year a number of churches are being restored on top of the 56 which have resumed their operations since September of last year, he said.

As a functionary of the World Student Christian Federation, Ding Guangxun worked in Shanghai, Geneva and Canada in his early years. He is now concurrently chairman of the three-self (self-administering, self-supporting and self-propagating) patriotic committee of the protestant churches of China.

"The Chinese People's Government has consistently followed a policy for freedom of religious belief," Ding Guangxun said. "Only the gang of four wanted to strangle religion."

Refuting allegations abroad that there are two kinds of Christian churches in China, one "official" and the other "underground," he said: "This is sheer fabrication." The government gives the churches no economic help except exempting them from housing and land taxes, he said.

The Christian churches in China are operating on the basis of self-administering, self-supporting and self-propagating, the bishop said. "They are churches with their own national characteristics and most of the Chinese Christians are patriots," he added.

The bishop pointed out, "Chinese Christians welcome friendly exchanges with Christians and Christian organisations in other countries. But he took strong exception to activities from abroad which are aimed at splitting the Christian churches in China.

Living in a quiet house in Nanjing, capital of Jiangsu Province, the bishop has a happy family with his wife, a professor at Nanjing University, and two sons, one studying in the United States and the other in a Chinese university.

Ding Guangxun has been president of the Nanjing Union Theological Seminary since 1953. He said that the seminary, which was closed down during the "Cultural Revolution," will reopen early next year with a first enrolment of some 40 students to be trained for priesthood.

CSO: 4020

FOURTH NATIONAL BUDDHIST CONFERENCE OPENS IN BEIJING

OW161602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 16 (XINHUA)--The fourth national conference of the Buddhist Association of China opened in Beijing today, with 250 delegates from all Buddhist sects in China attending. Representatives of the China Islamic Association and the Christian and Daoist groups extended congratulations at the opening session.

Zhao Puchu, acting president of the Buddhist association, said in his opening speech that, with the implementation of China's policy on religious freedom, the situation for Chinese Buddhists has improved considerably.

He said: "Many monks and nuns who were hounded from monasteries and temples during the 'Cultural Revolution' are now returning. The number of new monks and nuns is increasing and new respect is being paid to Buddhist religious practices."

He told the delegates that soon after the last conference of the association, in 1962, religious life was disrupted by "leftist" tendencies. The Buddhist association disappeared during the "Cultural Revolution" and began to revive only after the downfall of the gang of four.

Zhao Puchu said that in the past few years, the association has helped the government to implement its religious policy, restoring Buddhist academic research, training candidates for the priesthood and developing links with Buddhists overseas.

"With the support of the state," he said, "we have renovated some noted temples and monasteries, revived the Chinese Buddhist Theological Institute and set up the institute's first branch school. We have also done much work to preserve Buddhist culture and relics."

Initial success has been achieved in studying the scriptures engraved on stone tablets in Fangshan, the first volume of "Buddhism in China" has been published, and a museum of Buddhist literature and relics has been set up, he reported.

As for the future, Zhao Puchu said, the association will increase contacts and unity between Buddhists of all sects, nationalities and regions of China and continue the fine traditions of Buddhism so as to contribute to the country's major objectives during the 1980's.

Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee and honorary president of the Buddhist association, called on all believers, under the leadership of the people's government, to help build a powerful and prosperous China, to disseminate Buddhism and to work for the happiness of mankind and world peace.

He hoped they will "emancipate their minds, voice popular sentiments and raise constructive suggestions on the work of the association, the religious policy of the government and its implementation."

The delegates recited Buddhist scriptures in the Tibetan and Han languages at the opening of the conference. Later, the venerable Ju Zan, vice-president of the association, read out congratulatory messages from Japanese Buddhist and other friendship groups.

The venerable Zheng Guo, deputy secretary-general of the association, explained some revisions of the association's constitution.

The opening session was also attended by Zhang Zhiyi, deputy head of the united front work department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, and Xiao Xianfa, director of the religious affairs bureau under the State Council.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION ELECTS OFFICIALS

OW231250 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 23 (XINHUA)--Zhao Puchu was elected president of the Buddhist Association of China here today at the closing session of the fourth national conference of the association.

Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, vice-chairman of the national committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, and seven others were elected vice-presidents.

Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, was elected honorary president.

In his closing speech, vice-president Ju Zan of the association said that the conference had achieved fruitful results. During the eight-day meeting, he said, the delegates discussed questions that Buddhists had on mind, and put forward some constructive suggestions on the work of the association. He pointed out that this conference would contribute to carrying forward the fine traditions of Buddhism, helping the government implement the policy of religious freedom, and promoting national unity.

The conference adopted a resolution calling on all Buddhists of the country to unite closely under the people's government, cherish both the country and Buddhism, and strive for China's modernization.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BUDDHIST THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE REOPENS

OW221720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 22 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Buddhist Theological Institute, which was closed down 14 years ago, reopened at a ceremony here this afternoon.

Forty monk students dressed in saffron Buddhist robes attended the ceremony along with 250 delegates to the fourth national conference of the Chinese Buddhist Association being held in Beijing.

Ranging in age from 18 to 30, the students are required to take courses in the history and doctrine of Buddhism, language and literature and foreign languages.

The teaching staff includes senior monks with high accomplishment in Buddhist studies and teachers from other colleges. The institute's library is well stocked with books on Buddhism, history, science, philosophy and art and literature.

Housed in the 1,300-year-old Fa Yuan Monastery here, this institution of higher learning in Buddhism was founded in 1956. During the ten years from 1956 to the time when it was closed down at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, the institute trained 380 monks, most of whom are now members of local Buddhist associations or executives in well-known temples. Some of the trainees are engaged in Buddhist research.

One of them, a 47-year-old monk named Jing Hui, has been collecting materials for an anthology of biographies of some 200 Chinese Buddhists known since 1940. One-fourth of the work has been completed.

The venerable Jing Hui is also responsible for editing a series of books under the general title of "Buddhism in China" and a Buddhist journal. Covering the history, sects, theology and culture of Chinese Buddhism, the series is expected to run to a total of 1.4 million words.

Another graduate, Chang Hao, has been studying Buddhist scriptures engraved on stone slabs found in Fangshan County west of Beijing. Carved during the period from the Sui Dynasty (581-618) to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the engravings are valuable for studying the art of calligraphy and stone carving and Buddhism in ancient China.

Monk Chang Hao has also translated from the Tibetan into the Han language Buddhist works including "Exposition of the Madhyamika Sastra" and "Exposition of the Sastra of 400 Stanzas." He is now working on a dictionary of Buddhist terms.

One of the first graduates from the institute, the venerable Tong Yi has taken part in the investigation of cultural relics kept in caves in Xinjiang, Gansu, Sichuan and Shanxi. While inspecting some of the famous grottoes, he took more than 2,000 pictures of murals, paintings and carvings, copied several hundred paintings and drew 50 maps showing the layouts of the caves. All this is useful for the study of Buddhist culture and cave art in China.

CSO: 4020

BACKGROUND OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA HIGHLIGHTED

OW161558 Beijing XINHUA in English 1535 GMT 16 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 16 (XINHUA)--The fourth national conference of the Buddhist Association of China, which opened here today, marks a new stage of development of Buddhism in China.

Founded in 1953, the association held its second national conference in 1957 and its third conference in 1962.

Like all other religions in China, Buddhism suffered tremendous damage during the "Cultural Revolution." Normal religious activities have been revived since the fall of the "gang of four."

Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century. It has since exerted a great impact on the development of ideology and culture in this country.

After the fourth century, an increasing number of Chinese monks went to India to study Buddhist scriptures and many Indian Buddhist priests came to China to disseminate the religion, which was spread from China to Korea and Japan.

As a result of the mingling of Buddhism and Chinese thought and culture, native Buddhist sects such as Tiantai, Chan Zong and pure land appeared in China during the Sui and Tang Dynasties (581-907).

The mutual influence between Buddhism and the nature worship prevailing in Tibet gave rise to Lamaism in the eighth century, and the most influential and powerful sect of Tibetan Lamaism, the Yellow Sect, was founded by Zong Kaba in the 14th century.

After the founding of new China, the feudal system of exploitation and oppression within the Buddhist hierarchy was abolished with the support of the people's government.

In China, freedom of religious belief is guaranteed and the legitimate right of believers to perform religious services protected. Well-known monasteries and temples have been repaired and renovated by the people's government.

Buddhists enjoy political equality in running affairs of state. A number of Buddhists have been elected deputies to people's congresses or members of committees of the Chinese people's political consultative conference at various levels.

Since liberation, Chinese Buddhists have established relations with Buddhist groups and individuals in more than 20 countries. Delegations sent by the association have visited many countries and attended a number of international religious conferences, contributing to international friendship among religious circles.

CSO: 4020

PROMINENT BUDDHIST LEADER REHABILITATED

OW181702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 18 (XINHUA)--China today officially exonerated the venerable Xerab Gyaco, former president of the Buddhist Association of China, who died in 1968 at the age of 85 from persecution during the disastrous decade of the "Cultural Revolution."

The decision was announced by Xiao Xianfa, director of the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council, at a plenary session of the fourth national conference of the Buddhist Association of China here this afternoon.

Xerab Gyaco enjoyed high prestige both at home and abroad for his great attainments in the studies of Buddhism. After new China was founded, he served successively as a member of the Northwest Committee for Military and Political Affairs, vice-chairman of the Northwest Committee for Nationalities Affairs, vice-chairman of the Qinghai Provincial People's Government, a deputy to the first and second national people's congresses and a member of the Standing Committee of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In 1964 when China's policy on religion was affected by the "left" tendencies, Xerab Gyaco criticized the way the government handled religious affairs and was, therefore, repudiated and dismissed from his posts. During the early stage of the "Cultural Revolution," he again was subjected to cruel persecution under the ultra-left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and died in 1968.

Xiao Xianfa said: "Xerab Gyaco was a good religious leader of the Buddhist Association of China. He was an example of patriotism and devotion to his faith for all religious people in China. He was a patriot who cooperated and maintained friendship with our party and a friend of our party who gave forthright admonition."

He declared that the repudiation of Xerab Gyaco was wrong, that all false charges imposed on him should be overturned and that he should be rehabilitated.

Xiao Xianfa also praised other noted patriots in Buddhist circles. He said that they and those from other religions were part of the revolutionary and patriotic united front in China. Chinese Buddhists, under the leadership of the Communist Party, had made great progress in the course of socialist revolution and construction, he added.

Xiao Xianfa reiterated China's policy of religious freedom, saying that regular religious activities including reciting scriptures and holding religious services were protected by the government. Only activities violating the law on the pretext of religion would be stopped, he explained.

Xiao Xianfa then criticized certain instances of violating the government's religious policy. He mentioned the closing down of the Daming Temple in Yangzhou, in east China's Jiangsu Province, after Japan's lacquer statue of the celebrated Tang Dynasty Buddhist Monk Jian Zhen was shown there last April. "This was violation of the policy on religious freedom," Xiao Xianfa said. "The problem has now been settled after investigation."

Xiao Xianfa expressed hope that religious believers in China would rally round the people's government and contribute to the causes of making China a modern socialist state with a high degree of democracy and civilization, promoting the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the country, opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

CSO: 4020

CHINESE UNIVERSITIES TO AGAIN OFFER SOCIOLOGY COURSES

OW170254 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 17 (XINHUA)--Beijing University, Nankai University in Tianjin and other universities at major centers in China will offer courses in sociology in February, leading sociologist Professor Fei Xiaotong said today.

The study of sociology was suspended in China for nearly 30 years.

The professor said it is of pressing importance to train as many sociologists as possible in a short time. He expected the universities to turn out at least 200 graduates in the next five years, and these would serve as the core in reviving sociology in China.

Sociology was branded as "bourgeois" and "useless and reactionary" and courses were suspended at all Chinese universities in 1952. In 1957, Professor Fei was persecuted for articles in which he expressed disagreement with the ban.

The subject was a "forbidden area" until its rehabilitation in early 1979.

The professor said socialism needs sociology as much as the capitalist system does. He said it is important for dealing with social problems that exist in China today, such as unemployment, wages, housing, over-population, juvenile delinquency, education, and the relationship between the people and the administration.

These problems have a bearing on the people, he said, and relate to the stability and balance of society. He said systematic and comprehensive sociological research will help the government find reasonable answers to these problems and help improve and develop the socialist system.

The professor said the recent founding of the Institute of Sociology under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was a significant development. As director of the institute, he believed it will play an important role although, for the moment, it is short of experience, staff and facilities.

The institute will start its work in selected residential districts of Beijing, which he described as the "epitome of Chinese society" where the thinking, mood and demands of people from all walks of life can be found.

Later, the institute will choose some factories and rural communities as long-term study bases.

The professor said Chinese sociologists would give priority to questions affecting young people, especially schooling, crime, employment and marriage.

Professor Fei Xiaotong, now 70 years old, has studied sociology since 1930 and once studied in England. He says he is confident of the revival of the science in China. In the past two years he has made study tours of the United States, Japan and Canada.

CSO: 4020

SERIES OF LAW LECTURES BEGIN IN BEIJING

OW170801Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 17 (XINHUA)--A talk on law in China since 1949, the first in a series of 40 lectures sponsored by the Beijing Law Society, was given here today by society president Professor Chen Shouyi, dean of the Department of Law at Beijing University.

The series, intended to help upgrade judicial work in the Chinese capital, is being attended by 280 professionals, including law school postgraduates, university teachers, judges and attorneys.

The presidents of the Chinese People's Supreme Court and the Beijing People's High Court were invited to attend the first lecture.

Future lectures in the series, which is expected to last over a year, will cover theory of law and legal systems, ideological history of law, criminal, civil, constitutional and international law and the science of crime detection.

Xie Bangyu, deputy secretary-general of the law society, said today: "It is important to make ordinary people more aware of the law and we should also make greater efforts to upgrade the present practice of law."

He said most judicial workers have been out of practice for many years and are finding it difficult to take up the job again. About 80 percent of the judges in Beijing are new, he said, and they lack sufficient knowledge of the new laws introduced at the beginning of this year and basic law theory.

Professor Chen Shouyi, who gave today's lecture, is chief defence lawyer in the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing trial now nearing its end in Beijing, and a member of the Legislative Commission of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The lectures will be made into a series of books for national publication, the society said today.

CSO: 4020

ACADEMIC DEGREES COMMITTEE MEETING HELD

OW181552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 18 (XINHUA)--Degrees will be granted to qualified people in 10 major academic fields starting in 1981.

The three-day meeting of China's National Academic Degrees Committee which closed here this afternoon decided to issue degrees in science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, literature, history, philosophy, economics, law and education.

The degrees will be B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. Honorary doctor's degrees will be conferred upon outstanding Chinese and foreign scholars and public figures.

Foreign under-graduate and post-graduate students in China can also apply. The appraisal group will determine academic qualifications.

Applicants for a master's or doctor's degree must pass an examination, including an oral, and submit a thesis. The committee of examiners is to be chaired by professors. Special groups to judge in various academic fields will be established.

Three scholars on the academic degrees committee, Yan Jici, Zhang Wei and Fei Xiaotong, addressed the meeting on the importance of objective application of academic standards. The committee, which works under the State Council, is composed of 41 leading scientists and scholars in various fields.

Jiang Nanxiang, the committee's vice chairman and minister of education in his speech to the meeting said that there had been long discussion on granting academic degrees. The present regulations were based on a draft drawn up in the early 1960's and incorporated suggestions from some 50 research institutes and universities.

Vice Premier Fang Yi, chairman of the committee said at the meeting that the granting of academic degrees would "speed up the selection of qualified people," "improve education and academic levels," and "promote exchanges between Chinese and foreign scholars."

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CARRIES EDUCATION NEWS IN BRIEF

OW291210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 29 (XINHUA)--Xiamen (Amoy) University in Fijian Province has reopened its correspondence courses for overseas students after more than ten years' interruption. Between 1956 and 1966, the university offered correspondence courses for overseas Chinese in beginning and advanced Chinese language and traditional medicine. With a current enrollment of 498, the new program reaches overseas Chinese students, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and foreigners. The university hopes to open a correspondence course in acupuncture soon.

A research society concerned with education for the blind, deaf and deaf-mute has been set up in Beijing. Its members are interested teachers and researchers who wish to sum up their experience and find better ways of helping handicapped students in their studies.

The Institute of Journalism under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences recently held its first meeting to be attended by representatives of journalism teaching units, research units and the press. The group discussed theoretical problems in journalism.

The Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Education arranged advanced training courses in pedagogics, psychology and school administration for some 1,800 principals and party secretaries of primary and middle schools during 1980.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING TESTING 1970-1976 COLLEGE GRADUATES

OW280738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 28 (XINHUA)--Over 13,000 people who graduated from college during 1970-76 and are now working in Beijing science and technology institutions or factories took part in a city-wide higher mathematics examination today in the hopes of getting promoted to the post of assistant engineer.

Similar testing in physics, chemistry and foreign languages will take place on January 11, 1981.

The examinations organized by the Beijing Municipal Scientific and Technological Committee in accordance with State Council regulations on engineering and technical posts are being given at 360 sites.

The purpose of the examinations is to give these college graduates a chance for promotion as well as to encourage them to raise their knowledge to the levels of pre-1966 college graduates, according to Han Lin of the scientific and technological committee.

The Beijing testing reflects a nationwide effort to upgrade the qualifications of people who went through college during the Cultural Revolution, when China's institutions of higher learning were in sorry shape.

China has a total of more than 900,000 college graduates who graduated in 1970-76. Measures are being taken across China to raise their academic level and ability.

In Beijing, Han Lin said, the examinees come from more than 200 units. They entered colleges or universities by way of recommendation instead of through examinations and only studied for two or three years at school, their knowledge is insufficient and unsystematic, and their levels vary greatly since the examination system was abolished at the time.

Han Lin predicted that about 4,000 of the 13,000 young college graduates taking the citywide tests could pass.

"The testing can provide a set of concrete standards through which we can push people toward achievement," she said. "The idea is to try to pinpoint their weaknesses and correct deficiencies rather than to kick them out. These young people could be worthy successors to the cause of science and technology in China, if they work hard and efforts are made to upgrade them."

Those who fail in this round will be given another chance in the exams next year and the year after.

Following these tests, functional skill tests will be given by the units in which they work.

It is estimated that most of the examinees will attain the standard of assistant engineer during these three rounds of testing. Those who fail every time will be transferred to other jobs, according to the science and technology committee.

In August this year, the municipal scientific and technological committee and the Beijing Broadcasting Bureau launched a television course in basic sciences aimed specially at helping those whose education suffered in the Cultural Revolution.

Students followed the course full-time, according to Han Lin, and the units in which they work invited teachers from the major universities in Beijing to serve as tutors.

In tests given during the four-month course, 68.9 percent of the students failed the higher mathematics portion, 73 percent flunked physics, for the first time and 55 percent flunked for the second time and 56 percent failed the chemistry portion, Han Lin said.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING OPENS FIRST NIGHT COLLEGE OF LAW

OW131306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1248 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 13 (XINHUA)--Beijing Municipal Night College of Law, the first run by a municipality in China, was formally opened at a ceremony in a west Beijing meeting hall today.

Starting next Monday, the college will run 16 law courses, three political theory courses, three cultural courses and one elective course in foreign languages. It has 156 students.

Those who pass the graduation examination will be given diplomas and regarded as regular college graduates.

Wang Feizan, president of the college, who is also a vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of Beijing Municipal People's Congress, said at the ceremony: "The college will train legal workers who have a good knowledge of the law, are objective, fair, upright and are ready to devote their lives to the law."

The college is jointly run by the Beijing Judicial Bureau, the Beijing branch of the Jiusan Association, one of China's eight democratic parties, and the law department of Beijing University.

The students, 114 men and 42 women aged between 18 and 45, were chosen from over 1,000 applicants among legal workers in Beijing.

Jian Jingsheng, 25, a clerk at Beijing's intermediate people's court, who earned top marks in the entrance examination, said at today's ceremony: "It is important for me to get more knowledge. It is regrettable when one does not have sufficient knowledge to cope with his work."

Xiao Yongqing, vice-president of the college and deputy dean of the Department of Law at Beijing University, said: "Of the 1,800 legal workers in Beijing, only 12 percent have received college-level legal training. The rest are ex-servicemen with middle-school education. They lack sufficient knowledge to administer the law properly."

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING REFORMS DISCUSSED

OW250828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 25 (XINHUA)--How to develop a comprehensive nationwide plan for foreign language study in China, broaden language students' curriculum and improve language teachers' training and skills were the main concerns at a recent meeting of language education specialists held in Qingdao, east China.

Today's GUANGMING DAILY carries a report on the meeting, which was attended by representatives from 34 foreign language teaching units.

The paper says the specialists agreed it is necessary to develop a plan outlining the country's requirements regarding numbers and standards of foreign language school graduates.

Many specialists pointed out that language students in the past have concentrated on language alone, and suggested the curriculum should be expanded to provide a general education which includes science and the arts. They also suggested more elective courses and more free study time for language students.

Participants said the urgent demand for language teachers in China now requires a variety of teacher training programs for different school levels. Teachers could go through two, three or four-year courses, and some schools could offer four or five-year courses for highly qualified interpreters, researchers and language specialists.

Continuing education for language teachers, offering advanced degrees through examination and sending some young teachers abroad for further study were other recommendations.

Participants at the meeting also proposed that foreign language teaching should begin in the first year of middle school. Some suggested that foreign language institutes across the country become language centers offering good libraries, teaching materials and even electronic teaching aids.

The GUANGMING DAILY also reports that the Chinese Ministry of Education has invited 75 foreign teachers to retrain young English language teachers in 24 institutes and universities around China. They will conduct six-month courses, dealing with such things as teaching methods, linguistics, literature and technical English. It is hoped that some 5,000 teachers will benefit from these courses.

CSO: 4020

ARTISTS ASSOCIATION SPOKESMAN COMMENTS ON ART IN 1980

OW300712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 30 (XINHUA)--A spokesman of the Chinese Artists Association said today 1980 was a year of "vigorous thinking within the arts and of quick expansion of artists unions."

In a year-end press interview, 53-year-old Kan Fenggang, a secretary of the association, said he supported the 1980 trend of "opening up of long-shelved topics of disagreement."

Forums on "The Language of Painting Arts," "Re-evaluation of Realism" and "The Art of the Human Body" and nine conferences for painters and sculptors, art teachers, editors and researchers were held during the year.

Speakers had pointed to the intervention of commercial interests in art and demanded "a deeper understanding and more honest interpretation of life." They called for greater efforts to develop oil painting and other fields of fine arts that are relatively weak in China. Social responses to the influences of Western arts were also discussed.

Beijing saw an unprecedented number of art exhibitions in 1980, among them more than 20 national and multi-provincial shows, Kan Fenggang said.

His association had organised 13 trips during the year for painters to visit famous scenic spots and minority regions. A big new studio had been completed in the Beijing Botanical Garden for young painters who cannot afford private studios.

Five publishing houses are now specializing in fine arts, Kan said. Beijing's People's Publishing House of Fine Arts printed nearly 150 million books and drawings in 1980. A textbook of sketching techniques ran into 110,000 copies in its first printing.

Among the year's most valuable new albums were collections of classics from the Palace Museum in Beijing, the best works of great modern painters Xu Beihong, Qi Baishi, Li Kuchan, Li Keran, and the selected works of foreign masters.

Drawing lessons were revived in middle and primary schools, and school groups are taken regularly to art galleries and museums.

Three shows of new year pictures, scrolls and calendars are now running in Beijing's downtown shipping centre of Wangfujing. XINHUA bookstores have received complaints from buyers who say too many of the calendars and new year pictures are of film stars. Customers have asked for more traditional paintings in future supply.

Kan Fenggang said that in 1981 the Chinese Artists Association will give priority to helping young painters and promoting academic exchanges. "We have great expectations for new creative experiences," he said. The association has a membership of 1,845, of whom 715 joined in 1980. Most are below middle age.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PLAY ON CULTURAL REVOLUTION PRAISED

OW311250 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 31 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 31 (XINHUA)--Eighty-year-old veteran of China's film industry Xia Yan has high praise for a new Chinese film "Night Rain" which shows people's diverse reactions to an episode during the "Cultural Revolution."

The vice-chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and chairman of the Chinese Film Artists' Association said: "Of all the films on similar themes, this is effective."

The praise comes from one who has spoken out on many occasions since the downfall of the gang of four about the need to eliminate the hangover of the gang's influence in cinema art, although he agreed that there had been a general improvement in the past few years.

Xia Yan was speaking at a meeting called by the Cinema Research Institute and the China Film Library to assess the artistic achievements of "Night Rain."

A new production of the Shanghai film studio, "Night Rain" is set on a Yangtze River voyage from Sichuan to Wuhan during the Cultural Revolution. A poet named Qiu Shi who is condemned as a counter-revolutionary is being taken to a destination most likely on orders from the gang of four. One of the two escorts is middle-aged man who remains seemingsly neutral till the end of the story when he is shown helping the poet escape to safety. The other is a Red Guard, a school girl much poisoned by the gang. At first she finds the cabin in which they are staying too hot since all the other passengers are hostile to her. This prompts her to think things through and she comes to understand the poet better. Finally, she also helps him escape.

The 30 and more participants in the discussion agreed that the film was a far deeper presentation of the struggle against the gang of four.

One of the speakers was the poet He Jingzhi. He said: "The film makes one weep. But it gives one strength and aesthetic enjoyment. We need more films of this kind."

Today's PEOPLE'S DAILY carries two reviews. One critic sums up the artistic characteristics of "Night Rain" this way: conviction emerges from popular indignation; there is a sense of the good and beautiful amid a perilous situation; characterization is achieved with quiet elegance; and the implications of the theme are suggested through condensation of material.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CULTURAL RELICS PUBLISHING HOUSE BROADENS SCOPE

OW301224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 30 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Cultural Relics Publishing House has published 95 titles this year covering a wider range of subjects than in previous years. Titles are one-third more than two years ago. Included are more works on ancient science and post-liberation discoveries.

"Gansu Painted Pottery" and "Qinghai Painted Pottery" are of great value for studying human activity in China's new stone age in the northwest.

"An Album of Ancient Relics and Documents Connected With Astronomy" deals with 52 items ranging from the neolithic age to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Included is China's earliest extant work on the subject "Astrology Based on Five Planets" which contains a record of the movements of the Jupiter, Saturn and Mars from 246 to 177 B.C.

Also issued were books dealing with cradles of bronze culture, the first two volumes of the five-volume "Bronzes of Shang and Zhou Dynasties Unearthed in Shaanxi Province," and the first of the three-volume "Bronzes of Shang and Zhou Dynasties Unearthed in Henan Province."

Collections of archeological reports include "Excavation Report of a Han Tomb in Mancheng" (two volumes) and "Sui and Tang Tombs on Outskirts of Changan (Today's Xi'an)."

"The Yingxian Timber Pagoda," a book of great scientific value, deals with this eleventh century Shanxi Province octagonal ten-storeyed Buddhist pagoda which is 67.31 metres high. The State Council proclaimed it as one of the country's important cultural relics in 1961. The book contains 35 scale drawings and 142 photographs of the outside and interior. It was compiled by Chen Mingda, famous historian of ancient Chinese architecture.

Chinese painting and calligraphy are represented by "An Album of Famous Paintings of Song Dynasty," "Collected Paintings of Liaoning Provincial Museum (Sequel)," "Imperial Hand-carriage" by Yan Liben of the Tang Dynasty and "Spring Excursion of Lady Guoguo and Her Party," a handcopy by the art patron and painter, Emperor Hui Zong of the Northern Song Dynasty, and "Two Horses" by Ren Renfa of the Yuan Dynasty. Scheduled for issue in chronological order are "Twenty Specimens of Chinese Calligraphy, Rubbings From Stone Tablets in Longmen Grottoes" (chosen from among over 1,000 fine examples of the northern Wei over fourteen hundred years ago) and "Chinese Calligraphy: Liu Gongquan" (two volumes). Liu Gongquan was a famous Tang Dynasty calligrapher.

The first of the five-volume "Grottoes in China: Mogao Grotto in Dunhuang" will soon come off the press in Beijing. A Japanese edition has already been published in Tokyo. "Art Treasures of Dunhuang" was published this year in cooperation with the Hong Kong branch of the Joint Publishing Company.

In scientific research the publishing house has edited and published "Thirty Years of Archeological Work," a collection of 30 papers, with an appendix of major events in this field. Other books include "A collection of archeological papers on Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties," "Collected Papers on Ancient Chinese Weapons" as well as "Study of an Ancient Cadaver in Mawangtui Tomb No 1 of the Han Dynasty in Changsha," and books dealing with studies of textile fabrics, animal and plant specimens in this tomb and manuscript copies of lost ancient books written on Chinese silk (the first volume), found in tombs at Mawangtui. Another important book is "Studies of Oral and Written Language of the Nuzhens."

The publishing house has also printed two series of booklets, one on ancient monuments and relics and the other on revolutionary ones. Already published are: "Great Wall," "White Horse Monastery (one of China's earliest Buddhist monasteries)," "Xuan Zhong Monastery (the cradle of the Pure Land Sect of Buddhism in China)" and "Lugouqiao Bridge."

It is editor of "Cultural Relics," a monthly, "Revolutionary Relics," a bi-monthly, "Chinese Cultural Relics" (a pictorial) and prints journals of the Palace Museum, the Beijing Library and the Museum of Chinese History.

CSO: 4020

YUNNAN MINORITIES HOLD EXHIBITION IN BEIJING

OW190814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0758 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 19 (XINHUA)--An exhibition of garments and adornments of the minority nationality peoples living in southwest China's Yunnan Province is attracting tens of thousands of visitors every day in the Chinese capital.

The exhibition, which opened at the Beijing Natural History Museum last week, displays hundreds of pictures and samples of shoes, dresses, earrings, necklaces and daggers of exquisite design and elegant workmanship. The intent is to help explain the history, daily life, arts and crafts, culture and customs of the minority peoples.

Gao Zongyu, chief organizer of the exhibition, said, it is part of the effort to enhance mutual understanding among the people of various nationalities in China and to promote national unity. "It also provides a good opportunity for anthropological and enthnological research," he said.

Yunnan Province has the largest concentration of different minority nationalities in China. Of the 56 nationalities which have been identified, 22 live there, accounting for one-third of the province's total population. Before nationside liberation in 1949, these people still lived in a primitive state and only some had reached even the level of feudalism. But while great changes have taken place in their economy and culture over the past 30 years, many of their customs and habits have persisted.

Many of the minorities' lifestyles and traditions are reflected in the objects on display. The Bai people's blue sleeveless jacket worn over a white shirt harmonizes with the natural scenery of the place where they live--by the snowcapped mountains and blue waters of Erhai Lake. The moon-and-star patterned clothes worn by the women of Nasi Nationality symbolize their industriousness; legend has it that all Nasi men went out to war while the women did the farm labor, rising before dawn and returning home after dusk.

One of the most attractive items on display is the cockcomb hat worn by the women of Yi Nationality. According to a legend of this nationality, a monster wanted to take possession of a beautiful girl who was in love with a young man. It killed the young man, but when it chased the girl, a cock crowed and scared the monster away. The girl carried the cock to the dead youth, and the cock's crow brought him back to life. Later on, the girl made a hat in the shape of the cockcomb and the couple lived happily thereafter. The hat was decorated with as many as a thousand silver beads, blinking like the stars in the night sky, said to symbolize the night when the monster was scared to death.

Pictures on display show the tattooing patterns on men of Wa Nationality, the needled designs on the faces of Dulong women, and the head hoops, giant earrings, bracelets and necklaces characteristic of these minority people.

Also on display are pottery, primitive tools, poison arrows, hieroglyphs and musical instruments these minority people used before liberation.

CSO: 4020

CULTURAL NEWS ON PUBLICATIONS, OPERA

OW241211 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 24 (XINHUA)--A collection of more than 200 poems on China's 1911 revolution has just been published by the Changjiang Art and Literature Publishing House in Wuhan, Hubei Province.

"Poems on the 1911 Revolution" contains poems by over 50 revolutionaries from the democratic revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, many of whom were later involved in the revolution that brought about the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949.

The poets include Sun Yat-sen, Huang Xin (a military leader in the Sun Yat-sen movement), Qiu Jin (a woman revolutionary active at the close of the Qing Dynasty), Liao Zhongkai (Sun Yat-sen's assistant), He Xiangning (wife of Liao Zhongkai and formerly vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress and chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Marshal Zhu De (formerly chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC), and Dong Biwu (formerly vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee).

The book includes short biographies of each poet and the poems are annotated.

The Joint Book Company in Beijing has recently published "Notes on Wen Yiduo," which recounts the life of this poet, scholar and revolutionary who died in July, 1946.

The book includes historical data, poems and articles and stories from Wen Yiduo's life, mostly written by his colleagues, students, comrades-in-arms and relatives.

The Joint Book Company also plans to publish Wen Yiduo's "Annotations on 'Asking the Heavens'" and to reprint the "Complete Works of Wen Yiduo."

The China Research Society of Traditional Operas on Modern Themes has been set up in Nanjing.

The Society was formed by eight opera troupes from Beijing, Shanghai and Zhejiang, Hunan, Shandong, Henan and Shanxi provinces.

CSO: 4020

JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION SPONSORS FILM RECEPTION

OW271851 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 27 (XINHUA)--A new colour film "Legend of Tianyun Mountain," with the 1957 anti-rightist movement and rehabilitation efforts two decades later as its theme, was shown this evening at a film reception for foreign correspondents working in Beijing.

The All-China Journalists Association, which sponsored the reception, also invited the film cast--actress, scenarist and director--to meet the journalists.

Four characters are involved in the film: the young communist Luo Qun wrongly labelled a "rightist" but who devoted his whole heart to surveying for the country's resources, his friend Wu Yao who passed the verdict on Luo Qun and tried to obstruct the effort to rehabilitate him, Lou Qun's sweetheart Song Wei who broke with him under political pressure and later married Wu Yao, and Luo Qun's wife Feng Qinglan, the real heroine of the film, who married Luo Qun and assisted him to complete his work of research in hardships.

Lu Yanzhou, who wrote the original novel and adapted it into the film, came from Hefei of Anhui Province yesterday. He said this evening that his intention was to help people draw lessons from their experiences in life and help restore the values debased during the ten years of chaos.

When the film was shown in Hefei, he told the reporters, the young people attending the seven previews received it well. A young printer told Lu Yanzhou after seeing the film that "a person must have a purpose in life, like Luo Qun in the film."

The screenwriter said he was satisfied with the work of the two actresses.

Xie Jin, the director, said that the focus of the film was on bringing out what is best in people. The film was not intended to arouse a controversy over the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, a subject which, he added, could well be left to a newspaper editorial to deal with.

"Let there be more and more people like Feng Qinglan in our country. This is what I want to say through the film," he said.

Films of such themes in which people criticized their own mistakes were a sign of strength and maturity, the director stated.

When asked how she liked the part she acted in the film, actress Shih Jianlan said she "loved this character for its inner beauty, moral strength. She is like a candle which burns itself off to give light to others." Once a Shaoxing opera singer, the 30 year old actress felt her stage experience was useful. "The traditional opera is expressive in bringing out inner feeling, especially through the use of eyes," she said.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING STATISTICS BUREAU CRITICIZES COSTLY WEDDINGS

OW030527 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 2 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 Jan (XINHUA)--Beijing Municipal Statistics Bureau said today that young couples who married in the capital in 1980 spent an average of 1,554 yuan each on the wedding ceremony and on setting up house--equivalent to more than a year's wages for the bride and groom. Often, they had to borrow to pay the bills.

In a survey of 180 newly-wed couples, the bureau found that only 28 of them spent less than 1,000 yuan. Another 113 couples spent between 1,000 and 2,000 yuan and the remaining 39 spent more than 2,000 yuan.

About 21 percent of the money was spent on the wedding feast, sweets and cigarettes. About 33 percent was spent on bedding and clothes, and nearly 44 percent went on furniture and electrical appliances. One or two percent was used for other purposes.

The bureau pointed out that most of the young people earn less than 50 yuan a month, exclusive of bonuses. Often they spent beyond their means and had to borrow or rely on their parents for the money. On average, only 49.6 percent of the money they spent was their own.

The bureau said this sort of extravagance should not be encouraged. It said the practice of giving lavish feasts and sending expensive gifts had imposed a heavy obligation on the friends and relatives of bridal couples.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GONGREN RIBAO' REPORTS ON PROHIBITION OF FIRECRACKERS

OW131244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Chinese authorities, in a notice issued recently, call on passengers not to bring with them explosives or inflammable articles while travelling by train, bus, ship or plane, reports the WORKERS' DAILY today.

The joint notice of the State Economic Commission and a number of ministries related to transport, commerce and public security prohibits the production and selling of fire crackers filled with potassium chlorate, red phosphorus and realgar, fire crackers which instantly explode when knocked or struck.

The units producing or selling such fire crackers will be held responsible if accidents occur due to explosion. Those who brought them on the trains, buses, ships or planes will certainly be dealt with.

Over the past few years, the notice points out, numerous explosions and fires have broken out on trains, ships, buses and planes, causing serious casualties and heavy losses of public property.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

PHYSICAL CULTURE MEETING--Beijing, 22 Dec (XINHUA)--A national physical culture science report meeting was held 15-22 December 1980 in Beijing. It was attended by about 300 professional and sparetime physical culture science researchers from some 120 units in various provinces, municipalities and regions. The meeting received 621 papers, 280 of which were read at the meeting. Yang Jingren, vice premier of the State Council, attended and addressed the meeting. [OW290014 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1555 GMT 22 Dec 80 OW]

1980 FILM PRODUCTION--Beijing, December 27 (XINHUA)--China has produced 80 feature films and opera films this year, a 20 percent increase over last year, announced Chen Bo, director of the Film Bureau of the Ministry of Culture, to the Beijing-based foreign correspondents attending a film reception this evening. Between January and October, the regular cinema houses attracted a total of 4,500 million viewers, a slight increase over the same period of last year. The figure does not include those served by the mobile teams. This year's new progress, according to director Chen Bo, was made on the basis of what had been achieved in 1979, the year which saw a turning point for China's film industry after having overcome the catastrophes brought about by those ten chaotic years of the "Cultural Revolution." New advances have been made in the quality of the films and there is also a wider variety of themes and forms. Among other developments he mentioned, fifteen co-productions with foreign countries have been finished or are in progress this year. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1628 GMT 27 Dec 80 OW]

MINISTRY OF CULTURE EVENT--Beijing, December 26 (XINHUA)--A 1980 competition of new plays, operas, music and dance begins today with a play entitled "A Day in K City" by the Chinese Children's Art Theatre, which illustrates the theme of equality before the law. Sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the event will feature 13 performing troupes. They will give about 50 performances over a three-month period. The emphasis will be on contemporary themes. According to Wu Xue, head of the No. 2 Bureau under the Ministry of Culture, the competition is intended to promote exchanges among troupes in order to raise their artistic level. New outstanding playwrights, directors, actors, musicians and stage designers are expected to emerge in the process, he said. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 26 Dec 80 OW]

NATURAL MUSEUM ASSOCIATION CONGRESS--According to GUANGMING RIBAO, the first congress of the Chinese Natural Museum Association was held in Beijing recently. The congress elected Pei Wenzhong, noted paleoanthropoligist and curator of the Beijing Natural Museum, as chairman of the association council. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 18 Dec 80 OW]

NATIONAL YOUTH ART EXHIBITION--Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Nearly 580 young painters and sculptors entered their works at the All-China Youth Art Exhibition that opened here this morning. Visitors are invited to cast a ballot for the best work. An awarding committee will announce the results. This is the second of its kind ever held in China since the country's first national youth art exhibition in 1957. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 21 Dec 80 OW]

MARXIST THEORISTS--Beijing, December 30 (XINHUA)--"Marxism and Socialism" will be the central research theme of Marxist theories in China next year, the GUANGMING DAILY said today. This has been decided by the Chinese Society for the Study of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Works at a meeting in Guangzhou, south China. The project will cover the following topics of immediate significance to China: determining the purpose of socialist construction; contradictions in socialist society and their solutions; developing the socialist economy and culture; practising socialist democracy; preventing the communist party, as the leader, from becoming the ruler. The meeting also discussed preparation for the commemoration of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, which falls in 1983. The participants reviewed major world events of the past century, especially since the second world war, that influenced the development of Marxism, and the various tendencies that surfaced within the Marxist ranks. Attention was called to the study of European theories on communism and formulas of socialism. [Text] [OW300306 Beijing XINHUA in English 0255 GMT 30 Dec 80]

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS--Beijing, Dec 22 (AFP)--The Chinese Government has decided to allow all religious buildings, with the exception of those being used as factories or schools, to revert to their original religious functions again, an official spokesman said here today. The spokesman for the government's religious affairs bureau said that restoration work necessary to repair the many places of worship which were damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution would be carried out "gradually." The government decision was taken "recently" under the policy of religious tolerance currently being applied by the Chinese authorities the spokesman added. [Text] [OW231124 Paris AFP in English 1107 GMT 23 Dec 80]

CULTURAL NEWS BRIEFS--Beijing, December 21 (XINHUA)--Twenty local operas on contemporary themes, presented by 16 leading theaters in Fujian Province, have been entered in a provincial contest for the best script, performance, direction, music and decor. Guangdong held its 1980 provincial music festival this month with 830 songs and instrumental pieces, one-third of which were new compositions. A number of items are based on traditional music, with more modern melodies. Playwrights, directors, actors and actresses from Beijing's leading drama theaters discussed the role of the stage director, truthfulness of creative works, training new playwrights and encouraging new plays at a meeting called by the Art Bureau of the Ministry of Culture. They also exchanged views on the lack of artistic quality of some plays, and the tendency to present plays that "sell well" but do not have serious content. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0145 GMT 21 Dec 80 OW]

QI BAISHI'S PAINTINGS--Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA)--A selection of 108 paintings of China's best-known modern Chinese-ink painter, the late Qi Baishi, has been published in Beijing as a paper-back album. During the "Cultural Revolution," Qi Baishi's paintings were branded as feudalistic and petty-bourgeois and were banned. However, since the fall of the gang of four, there has been increasing demand for a popular collection of his works. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 3 Dec 80 OW]

MINORITY LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSES--Beijing, December 8 (XINHUA)--China is to set up publishing houses in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet to publish books in the local languages. The call for the new publishing houses was made at a national meeting of minority language publishers in Beijing. The conference, attended by delegates from 12 of China's provinces and autonomous regions, was sponsored by the State Nationalities Affairs Commission and the State Publication Administrative Bureau. The delegates discussed the training of more editorial and printing staff and mapped out a three-year plan for publishing new works in the Mongolian, Uygur, Tibetan, Kazak, Korean, Tai and Yi languages, including historical writings, folk and classical literature and textbooks, medical books and dictionaries. They also called on the government to provide more subsidies for minority language publishing and to improve the network for distributing books. China has 55 minority nationalities--about six percent of the population--and 19 of them have written languages. At present, the country has 17 publishing houses which have minority language departments staffed by about 1,000 editors and translators. [Text] [OW091019 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 8 Dec 80]

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHING HOUSE--Beijing, December 4 (XINHUA)--The People's Educational Publishing House, China's chief publisher of school textbooks, recently celebrated its 30th anniversary. In the past three years, the publishing house has compiled and published a complete set of texts for the ten-year school system, both primary and secondary levels. Draft copies were sent to technicians and teachers across the country for comment before publication, and the publisher also sent representatives to various areas to gather suggestions. Over five hundred scientific and engineering texts and education books for teacher's colleges were also published. Forty-five well-known scientists and professors acted as advisers in compiling the primary and secondary school texts, and 370 experienced teachers from colleges and universities served on editorial boards which supervised the writing of texts covering 14 basic subjects in science and engineering. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 4 Dec 80 OW]

HEBEI ARCHEOLOGICAL FIND--Shijiazhuang, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--Nine and a half counting rods made of animal bones and dating back 1800 years have been found in a tomb uncovered on a construction site on the outskirts of Shijiazhuang, capital of Hebei Province. The counting rods are 7.8 to 8.9 centimeters long and 0.4 centimeters square at the ends. A "Wuzhu" coin minted in the first century A.D. and a pottery model of a well-head were unearthed at the same time. Archeologists estimate that the counting rods date from the early Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220). The discovery of the Eastern Han Dynasty rods verified the account in records of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) that counting rods gradually became shorter and changed from being round to square. It also provides material for the study of the development of Chinese calculating tools. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0214 GMT 5 Dec 80 OW]

SPORTS COMPETITION--Beijing, December 28 (XINHUA)--1980 is a year of bumper harvest for Chinese sportsmen and women in their international competitions. This is the second year since the restoration of China's legitimate right at the International Olympic Committee. China sent its first team to the Winter Olympics. Apart from a boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics owing to Soviet aggression against Afghanistan, Chinese sportsmen and women participated in a series of contests of world calibre. [Excerpt] [OW281906 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 28 Dec 80]

CHRISTMAS CELEBRATIONS--Beijing, December 25 (XINHUA)--Mid-night mass was celebrated on Christmas Eve yesterday at the Church of St. Joseph and the Church of Immaculate Conception. Amid Merry Christmas music, Chinese and foreign Catholics attended a mid-night mass conducted by Bishop Yang Gaojian at the Church of Immaculate Conception and another by Bishop Fu Tieshan at the Church of St. Joseph. The Church of St. Joseph, located not far from business centre Wangfujing, was built in 1666. It was closed down and turned into a warehouse during the "Cultural Revolution." It was restored and repaired last month. Bishop Zong Huaide, chairman of the China Patriotic Catholic Association, and Bishop Tu Shihua held mass again today at the two churches. Christmas service was also held in Protestant churches here yesterday evening. At the same time, diplomatic envoys were invited to a Christmas party in the Nationalities Palace of Culture. [Text] [OW250208 Beijing XINHUA in English 0200 GMT 25 Dec 80] Beijing, December 25 (XINHUA)--Chinese Catholics and Protestants celebrated Christmas in a variety of activities today. A tea party was held here this afternoon jointly by the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, the National Administrative Commission and the Chinese Catholic Church and the Chinese Catholic Bishops College. In his speech, Zong Huaide, chairman of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, said: "I am pleased to see fellow Christians celebrating Christmas so happily." More than 4,000 Shanghai Catholics attended the pontifical mass in the Church of Saint Ignatius of Zi Ka Wei, which is the biggest Cathedral in China. Eighty-eight-year-old Bishop Zhang Jiashu, head of the Chinese Catholic Bishops College, officiated at the mass. Protestants and Catholics in Guangzhou attended the Christmas service and mass in the Xi'an Church and the Stone Room Cathedral respectively. [Text] [OW251634 Beijing XINHUA in English 1553 GMT 25 Dec 80]

HAINAN PAPER BANNED--Beijing, 2 Jan (AFP)--A provincial Chinese daily newspaper has again been banned to foreign readers after being freely available to them for a year. The newspaper is the HAINAN DAILY, published in the southern island of Hainan off the Tonkin Gulf opposite Vietnam. Beijing postal services gave no explanation for the move when they refused to renew subscriptions to the HAINAN DAILY for 1981. The newspaper which usually reached the Chinese capital a week late, was one of the richest in news items revealing the state of undevelopment of the Chinese countryside, observers said. The HAINAN DAILY abounded in accounts of superstitious customs and difficulties the regime had in doing away with them so that such practices would not drag the country's modernisation under. The newspaper also reported various clan fights, events such as sabotage against oil well installations, and lengthy rundowns on the development of smuggling goods illegally brought into the country by sea from Hong Kong. [Text] [OW020810 Hong Kong AFP in English 0803 GMT 2 Jan 81]

BOOKS ON TAIWAN--Beijing, December 23 (XINHUA)--Sixteen new books about Taiwan were published this year in Beijing, Shanghai and Fujian. One of the new books, "Motherland's Taiwan," gives information about Taiwan's political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. "Taiwan Economics" describes its agriculture, industry, transportation, foreign trade, banking and finance. Among the literary titles are "Selection of Taiwan Poems," which presents the works of 80 authors, "Selection of Taiwan Folk Songs" and "Taiwan Folk Legends." Novels by Li-hua Yu and Hualing Nieh, two Chinese-born American writers are also on the list. Hualing Nieh's "Taiwan Anecdote" and her novel "Shangqing and Taohong," and Li-hua Yu's novel "Palms Again and Again," describe the life of people from the mainland who now live in Taiwan. [Text] [OW231244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 23 Dec 80]

XINJIANG KAZAK-CHINESE DICTIONARY--China's first Kazak-Chinese dictionary has been published by the Xinjiang People's Publishing House. The dictionary, which will be put on sale soon, is expected to promote mutual understanding and cultural exchange between the Kazak and Han people. It will also enhance the development of China's multinational culture. [OW271315 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 21 Dec 80]

XINJIANG RURAL SAVINGS--Urumqi, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Bank savings by rural collectives and individuals in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region have increased substantially this year. Between January and November this year, deposits by people's communes and their subdivisions went up 24.5 percent over the same 1979 period, those of individual commune members by 86.6 percent, those of state farms and stockbreeding farms by 20.3 percent and those of workers on these farms by 22.6 percent. Ismail Amat (of Uygur Nationality), chairman of the people's government of the region, recently noted that the big increase in bank savings indicates that people of all nationalities in Xinjiang, an area of national minority groups, have earned more income and that the region's living standards have improved. The per capita income of peasants and herdsmen this year will be up by seven percent over last year, he said, thanks to increased production, raised purchasing prices for farm and sideline products and government tax remissions or exemptions. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 27 Dec 80 OW]

PLA THEATER ART EXHIBITION--Beijing, 7 Dec (XINHUA)--The first PLA all-army theater art exhibition formally opened on 8 December in the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum. The exhibition is sponsored by the Culture Department of the PLA General Political Department. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0127 GMT 7 Dec 80 OW]

TOURISM PERSONNEL TRAINING--Wuhan, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The China Travel and Tourism Bureau recently held a national discussion meeting on tourism workers' education in Wuhan Municipality. At the meeting, the responsible persons of tourism departments and tourism schools in 25 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions discussed matters concerning funds, faculty and teaching materials of tourism education. There are tourism schools for training hotel managers, clerks and workers in Shanghai, Jiangsu, Sichuan and Hubei. The Hangzhou University and the Dalian Foreign Language College offer tourism economy and Japanese-language tourist guides courses respectively. Secondary tourism schools have been set up in Tianjin, Beijing and Zhejiang. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0214 GMT 12 Dec 80 OW]

BEIJING PLANNED PARENTHOOD MEETING--Beijing Municipality held a meeting on 25 December to promote planned parenthood. Party committees at all levels are urged to continue to encourage family planning and deferred marriage and childbirth. This year Beijing's population growth rate has returned to approximately 9 percent from less than 2 percent in 1976 and this growth trend will continue for the next 8 years. Beijing's population already exceeds 8.7 million. As there are 770,000 young people of marriageable age in Beijing today, it will be difficult to keep population down to under 10 million at any time as instructed by the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee if measures are not immediately taken to control the population. During the meeting, Bei Jiefu, vice mayor of Beijing, urged that the CCP Central Committee's open letter be energetically propagated from now to the spring festival. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 25 Dec 80]

ANHUI NEWSPAPER--"FU XIAO BAO," a newspaper with glorious traditions, will resume publication on new year's day. The paper, first published on 30 September 1938, used to be a paper circulated within the political department of the fourth division of the new fourth army. It later became the organ of the party committee of the Soviet region in Henan and Anhui and the paper of the Changjiang-Huaihe Regional Party Committee and the Suxian Prefectural Party Committee. The paper was forced to suspend publication in July 1972 when the gang of four was on the rampage. The new "FU XIAO BAO" will be published every Wednesday, informing mainly peasants and grassroot cadres in the rural areas about the party's policies and scientific and cultural knowledge and reflecting their demands. [OW031315 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Dec 80]

SHANGHAI FRONT WORK--On 29 December the United Front Work Department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee held a meeting for leading members of various democratic parties, the Association of Industry and Commerce, the Nationalities Affairs Committee and religious organizations to greet the new year and discuss how to uphold the party's readjustment policies and strengthen political and ideological work. The leading members of various parties maintained that political and ideological work must be further strengthened in the new year and that the party's readjustment policies must be fully and firmly implemented. Zhang Chengzong, director of the United Front Work Department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, chaired and addressed the meeting. [OW031315 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Dec 80]

CHINA DEMOCRACY ASSOCIATION MEETING--Beijing 29 Dec (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the China Association for promoting democracy held a meeting to exchange experience on serving the four modernizations from 20 to 29 December in Beijing. More than 120 responsible persons of the association from 22 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended the meeting. Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang spoke at the meeting. He talked about the readjustment and reform of education at present and praised association members for their work in the educational field. Zhou Jianren, chairman of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, attended the opening ceremony. Ye Shengtao, vice chairman of the association's Central Committee, encouraged association members to educate the young into qualified socialist citizens. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1650 GMT 29 Dec 80]

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM SYMPOSIUM--The first national symposium to discuss the teaching of scientific socialism at party schools was recently held in Guangzhou. The meeting exchanged experience in teaching scientific socialism and discussed the nature of socialism, the superiority of socialism, socialist democracy and law, and subject matters and the system of scientific socialism to be studied. The meeting also exchanged opinions on compiling textbooks on scientific socialism and about forming a preparatory committee for the National Society of Scientific Socialism. The meeting was cosponsored by the CCP Central Committee Party School, the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee Party School and the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee Party School. Attending the meeting were 223 people from 117 provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party schools and departments concerned. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 30 Dec 80]

SHANGHAI STUDENT CRIME RATE--JIEFANG RIBAO reporters have learned from the Shanghai Municipal Public Security and Education Departments that the crime rate among students in Shanghai has declined since the beginning of this year, from 31.8 percent in May to 15.5 percent in November. It is the lowest figure since the start of the cultural revolution, but is still much higher than that before its start. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Dec 80]

LITERARY MAGAZINE--Beijing, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--"Literary Works and Contentions," a unique journal exclusively reproducing current controversial literary works and contentions and arguments spurred by these works, will come into being on 1 January 1981. Edited by the Chinese Society of Modern Literature, it is published by the Tianjin Beihua [one hundred flowers] publishing house. [OW041716 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0321 GMT 31 Dec 80]

HONG KONG PUBLISHING AGENCY--Hong Kong, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--The Joint Publishing Company, the Commercial Press and the Zhonghua Book Company will have a joint Hong Kong general administration office beginning 1 January 1981 to facilitate cooperation with foreign publishing houses. All of these three companies' branches in Hong Kong and overseas will be under this office's unified management. [OW041716 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1223 GMT 31 Dec 80]

SHAANXI PUBLICATION--Xian, 1 Jan (XINHUA)--"XIAN WANBAO" resumed publication on new year's day. The paper, warmly welcomed by the masses of Xian Municipality, was forced to suspend publication during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and later to change its name to "XIAN RIBAO." To meet the needs of the broad masses of readers, the paper resumed as an evening paper. After resumption of publication, "XIAN WANBAO" will be geared to the needs of grassroots units and the masses, with increased news on economic and cultural topics of great concern to the masses, and it will start such columns as "Xian Today," "The New Face of the Ancient City," "The Xian Market," "Friends of Youth," and "Mailbox on Life." [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0128 GMT 1 Jan 81]

1980 BEST-SELLING BOOKS--Beijing, 2 Jan (XINHUA)--A special study of China's economic problems by the noted economist Xue Muqiao was among China's best-selling books last year. It sold 2.1 million copies, indicating a rising interest in politico-economic subjects, booksellers in the capital said. "Be a Qualified Communist" and "Days with Commander Peng Dehuai" were also best-sellers. Peng Dehuai, minister of national defence in the 1950's, was persecuted to death during the Cultural Revolution. Others at the top of the popularity list were two general knowledge encyclopedias (a total of 6.63 million copies); the ancient classics "Pilgrimage to the West" and "The Biography of Yue Fei" (a total of 3.35 million); a selection of short stories by Mao Dun, a noted contemporary writer; the novel "C.I.D. Superintendent," by the young writer Wang Yaping, one of the few detective stories to appear last year; "Selected Novels from Taiwan"; and Chinese translations of Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe," Charlotte Wbronte's "Jane Eyre," Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice," and some foreign science fiction. Booklets on how to maintain T.V. sets, cassette recorders, refrigerators and on gardening are also selling extremely well. [Text] [OW030425 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 2 Jan 81]

NEW OPERA SOCIETY--Nanjing, 10 Dec (XINHUA) -- The Chinese Society for Studying Modern Operas was established in Nanjing Municipality yesterday. On 1 December, the Ministry of Culture called a meeting of eight local opera troupes from Shanghai, Hunan, Shandong, Shaanxi, Henan and Shanxi to discuss creation of more and better local opera plays on contemporary themes. A speech was delivered at the discussion meeting by Vice Minister Zhou Weizhi of culture. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1202 GMT 10 Dec 80 OW]

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 210

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CHINA REPORT

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CORRECT PARTY POLICIES HAVE TRANSFORMED RURAL ECONOMY

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 1, Jan 81 pp 2-5

[Article by Li Honglin [2621 3163 2651]: "What Type of Cat Do We Need?"]

[Text] An old question is again asked: "After all, what type of cat is a good cat?" This question arises in the same old place--the countryside.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee eliminated that leftist line which had led China into catastrophe, established a political line for the new period, and thus brought our country onto the road of scientific socialism. The most extensive beneficiary of the plenary session's line is the countryside. Wherever this new policy has been carried out seriously, production often has increased not by a few percent or by a little more than 10 percent but by scores of percentage points. Wherever the leftist line had played havoc, as soon as the trend was reversed, the outcome was markedly successful. In those so-called "three reliance" production teams--that is, "relying on loans for their production, relying on state-resold grain for their food, and relying on relief for their livelihood"--in just one year the situation had changed completely, and they were able to sell their surplus grain to the state. I have a family of relatives in the countryside in northern Anhui; every year in the past they have always sent me letters with bad news, and never once with good news. In 1979, it was a miracle that for the first time their letter conveyed the happy news of a bumper harvest during the serious drought. They had more than enough grain to eat and also money on hand. How could this happen? Because the Anhui Provincial Party Committee had resolutely carried out the political line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

It seems rather difficult for agricultural production to bring about miracles. During the period of the "Great Leap Forward," "satellites" were launched every day; however, most of them were phony. [At that time, numerous claims about high output were made and these were called "satellites."] Now, real miracles have come about. They are like black cats and white cats having caught rats right before our eyes: nobody can deny them. However, people talk differently about the same fact. Some say that it is a good cat which has caught rats, while others say that it is a bad cat because it does not have the right color. Still others make the prediction that this cat is an ill omen and will lead us to disaster.

The dispute over cats started in the beginning of the 1960's. At that time our country was in serious difficulty. There were two views on the adoption of measures for overcoming the difficulties. One held that no matter whether a cat is white or black, whichever one catches rats is a good cat. The other held that only a cat of the right color is a good cat, and that a cat of the wrong color is not a good cat even though it catches rats. The outcome of the dispute was that the first view was defeated.

Till the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was further development on this issue. Some people said: "We would rather have socialist grass than capitalist seedlings." As long as anything was said to be "socialist," even including grass, it must be good--and still moreso the case with cats. It was not important for a cat to catch rats. As long as the cat had the right color, it had to be a good cat! Indeed, this political line truly fostered a number of spotted cats with dazzling colors. These cats did not catch rats but made a lot of noise, and very loudly. Of course, they ate greedily. However, these cats did not like to eat grass, whether it was socialist or capitalist, they refused to eat either kind. They ate only meat, whether it was capitalist or socialist; they liked very much to eat both kinds.

At present, in our policy we have freed ourselves from the leftist line and have begun to see practical results. However, in theory the difference between right and wrong is still not very clear. After all, what type of cat is a good cat? If the difference is not made clear, our correct policy cannot be carried out smoothly.

The dispute in the early period of the 1960's was about overcoming difficulties at that time. This was a matter of expediency. At present, the question is not to seek expedient measures to overcome difficulties, but to sum up our past experience carefully and look for a scientific way to build socialistm. That "a cat must catch rats" is only a figure of speech. The "cat" refers to production relations, and "catching rats" refers to the development of productive forces. In fact, this dispute is a basic theoretical disagreement of one's attitude toward Marxism.

Productive forces and production relations are two inseparable parts of the same production process which are not assembled after they have been made outside the process. In the process, productive forces play the decisive role. Production relations are social relations which take shape in the process of production. A certain type of production relation is required for a certain type of productive force. Production relations which meet the level of productive forces constitute a powerful motivating force pushing the development of production. This is a Marxist theory. This theory also tells us that neither production relations that surpass the level of productive forces meet the requirements of production; both hinder the development of productive forces. To sum up, we have the following law: "Production relations must meet the level of productive forces."

This is to say that people cannot choose production relations as they please and, of course, still less can they invent or discard any type of production relations as they please. Production relations are social relations independent of the people's will.

The fact that a certain type of production relation exists is simply because there is an objective necessity for the production itself. In other words, its existence is for the sake of production, not for putting up an appearance or for using a name that is nice to hear.

Therefore, there is only one standard for judging the merits of any given type of production relation and that is whether it promotes or hinders the development of productive forces, and not whether it has a high-sounding name or a nice appearance.

With this conclusion, when we look back at these cats, things become clear. We needs cats to catch rats. After all, what type of cat is a good cat? Of course, it is one that can catch rats. A good cat can catch rats, and nobody should care whether it is black or white, big or small.

However, for many years this view was said to be "revisionist." It was even called "the theory of the unique importance of productive forces." As its antithesis, the so-called "Marxist" view which occupied the dominant position for many years may be called "the theory of the unique importance of production relations." Such a view came from the theory that production relations play the decisive role under certain conditions. The term "certain conditions" seems to imply special circumstances; however, in practical application it became a universal truth, because any action taken against objective laws could declare itself to have been taken because of "special circumstances." Of course, productive forces should determine production relations: this is the basic principle of historical materialism. There can never be any exception. With the addition of "certain conditions," it became an exception and could actually overturn the basic principle of historical materialism. In those years this was exactly what happened. "The theory of the unique importance of production relations" became orthodox "Marxism." The basic principle of historical materialism, founded by Marx and Engels, inadvertently became "revisionism." As a result, the term production relations became a matter of primary importance, and nobody cared whether or not production relations could meet the level of productive forces.

In socialist Cuba, agriculture should take the road of cooperative transformation. There is no doubt about this. However, to promote the development of productive forces, cooperative transformation is inseparable from the actual conditions in our country.

In old China, agriculture consisted of backward, small-scale production widely dispersed like the vast sea. A socialist economy means large-scale production. There is a process of development from small-scale production to large-scale production. Our country completed the cooperative transformation of agriculture very quickly and achieved great success. However, with respect to production technology and management, within a short period most of our rural areas could not prepare the groundwork to undertake socialist large-scale production. Naturally, problems were left for necessary solution. When these problems remained unsolved, the cooperatives were undoubtedly unsound.

Just as expected, in 1957 there was agitation among the peasants to withdraw from their cooperatives. At that time, there was no great effort made to consolidate the cooperatives economically by developing production so that a peasant could get more material benefits than by working on his own. On the contrary, stress was laid on politics, and a "mass debate on the struggle between the two roads" was lauded. After the "mass debate," there was indeed no more agitation. However, the cooperatives were not really consolidated by means of this struggle. Immediately afterward, in 1958, a further big step was taken toward "first, big; second, "publicly owned." This brought about the people's communes. The special feature of the people's communes was the so-called "government and commune merged into one," as if the government was the master of the collective economy. Thus started the gust of "communist wind."

These actions may be summarized as follows: they were an attempt to take the road of socialist by waging unceasing struggles politically and constantly changing production relations economically.

To strike down any opposition or suspicion against such actions, in 1959 an "anti-rightist opportunism" struggle again was waged. The target of this struggle was mainly the cadres.

Through the "mass debate" in 1957 and the "antirightist" struggle in 1959, all opposition to such actions was crushed inside and outside the party, and among the cadres and the people. Nevertheless, these political struggles had done nothing to give impetus to the productive forces, but instead had undermined them. Three years of difficulties were the real result of such actions.

In the early 1960's we carried out a whole set of measures to readjust production relations in the rural areas, including stopping the "communist wind"; we affirmed people's communes as a collective economy; and we put into effect such policies as "ownership at three levels, with the production team as the base." These policies may be expressed in a few words--that is, to help production relations in rural areas meet the level of productive forces. If we compare socialist transformation in rural areas with walking, then in the past it walked too quickly, with the result that production relations overtook the level of productive forces, and production relations had to turn back to meet the level of productive forces. At that time there was a saying that they should retreat fully," that is, back to the state of meeting the level of productive forces. This is true Marxism. These policies played a useful role in the rehabilitation of agricultural production. However, neither at that time nor afterward did they seriously sum up their experiences and learn their lessons; instead, they refused to admit their mistakes. Moreover, they "concealed their faults and glossed over wrongs," and shifted the main [excuse for the] cause of economic difficulties to natural disasters. Thus there was no correct theory to guide us in action, and things were done not very efficiently.

Beginning in 1962, class struggle was again launched on a large scale, and the struggle was carried on with increasing vengeance. Personal realtions became more strained than ever, and the attraction of the collective economy faded away. Therefore, it was necessary to step up the struggle in order to consolidate the collective economy. This was a vicious circle. Later, somebody invented a theory which sang its own praises but actually reflected only this vicious circle. The theory said that "if the capitalist road is not blocked, it will not be possible to march toward socialism." In its simplified version, it meant that "strong criticism will promote greater efforts." According to this theory, all means of improving the livelihood of the peasants were blocked and rejected by criticism; these included private plots, family sideline occupations, "to each according to his work," and country fair trade. Consequently, something unusual occurred. Those peasants who had made their living by farming generation after generation lost interest in agricultural production. Therefore, it became all the more necessary to "promote" [their interest] by means of "strong criticism." Under the great pressure of "strong criticism," indeed many peasants sweated profusely and made "greater efforts" for many years. Their "great efforts" plus state investments did produce results in the transformation of natural conditions and in turning out technical equipment for agricultural production. (Of course, they also made much ado about nothing. The project of "diverting the water from west to east in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province, is only one of the examples.) What a pity. Despite the great improvement in irrigation, mechanization, and other conditions, agricultural production never could get by. What was the reason? Fundamentally, the reason was that there was no economic motivating force.

What is the explanation for this fact? The explanation is that if production relations could not meet productive forces, then no matter how high-sounding the name and no matter how great the power used in carrying out mass criticism, in blocking "the road to capitalism," and in "promoting greater efforts," all these [efforts] would be useless.

How could production made an immediate change in the same village after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee? It was because the readjustment of production relations brought about the economic motivating force. As the saying goes: "You can't push a train forward." If a train has no motivating power of its own and must be "pushed" by outside forces, even though the train may be pushed forward a few feet by means of "the tactics of using a huge crowd of people," this after all is not a permanent solution. Production is an economic activity, and the collective economy is an economic entity that can be motivated only by applying the economic level so that it will go into operation by relying on its economic motivating force. This is a very simple truth. Unfortunately, for many years this truth was taken as "revisionism" and was bitterly criticized, so that it lost its ground. Only after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has this issue been settled.

Respect for the right of production teams to make their own decisions helps the collective economy become worthy of its name, and not a state-run economy or any other kind of economy. The introduction of the job responsibility system for production in various forms, including the fixing of farm output quotas for each household, is a way of operation and management that meets the level of the productive forces. It properly integrates personal interests with collective interests, and can arouse to the maximum the workers' enthusiasm for production. All this helps production relations to meet the level of productive forces, and therefore, brings about an economic force which greatly promotes the development of agricultural production.

Do these measures hold fast to the path of socialism? Yes, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held fast to the path of scientific socialism. Socialism is not some kind of perpetual, unchangeable pattern which the people have designed, but is a new social system which the workers, united, have created according to the realities of their country. The system itself is in the process of development. It is flexible, adaptable, and has strong vitality. In our country, the level of social productive forces is fairly low. On the condition that the public ownership economy holds sway over the whole country, there should be ways to have a multiple economy. In addition to various production responsibility systems with different degrees of public ownership, should be the presence and development of an individual economy which benefits production and people's living should be permitted and encouraged in cities and rural areas. According to the hackneyed ultraleftist view, this undoubtedly means the "restoration of capitalism." They do not understand that the different job responsibility systems are merely various methods of operation and management inside the collective economy. Even the fixing of farm output quotas for each household is one of the ways, provided that the extent of public ownership is very low. However, it does meet the concrete conditions of the productive forces in those areas, so that it can push forward the development of production. Even individual farming is also not the same as capitalism, because individual farming does not exploit others of their labor. Under the socialist economic system, and with the enforcement of correct policies, this individual economy will not go in the direction of capitalism but will help the socialist economy and be a supplement to it. At present, this individual economy is not yet a socialist economy of public ownership; however, it does promote the development of production, and therefore it contributes to the consolidation of the socialist system. With the development of productive forces, when there is the objective necessity and there are the necessary conditions, the individual economy will naturally go through a transition to a collective economy, and there will be a transition of economic management from a low degree of public ownership to a high degree of public ownership. Then, this will not mean a "transition to poverty," but will constitute a progress along the path of scientific socialism.

As for the kind of "socialism" which sounds good in speech but hinders the development of productive forces, we Chinese people have no such need of it. Though it is called "socialism," in fact it is false, and at best it is nothing. It has only a name but no substance, like a spotted cat which has beautiful fur but cannot catch mice. It is not only good for nothing but also a burden to keep. The Chinese people have endured untold sufferings from such kinds of cats and are determined to get rid of them. What we need is a cat that catches mice. Black or white, as long as it catches mice it is a good cat. This is the truth which our people have finally realized from our experiences of many years.

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LAST HALF OF CHEN DUXIU'S LIFE CRITIQUED

XIAMEN DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF XIAMEN UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 2, 1981 pp 86-94

[Article by Li Shuying [2621 3219 1260]: "Critique of Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] Following the Collapse of the Great Revolution [1924-1927]"]

[Excerpts] Recently historians have given considerable emphasis to study and commentary about Chen Duxiu. Numerous substantiated articles have been continuously published, and original materials have also steadily come to light. This is a manifestation of the increasing thoroughness of research into party history. A look at already published articles shows research and commentary to be concentrated largely on Chen Duxiu's early activities; research on this activities following collapse of the Great Revolution has still been fairly scant. Furthermore there has been no research linking the early period to the late period, and so there is no way to prepare a scientific and fair commentary on Chen Duxiu's whole life.

The history of Chen Duxiu during the late period extends from the collapse of the Great Revolution in 1927 until 27 May 1942, when he fell ill and passed away. These 15 years may be roughly divided into periods. The first period was from the collapse of the Great Revolution until his expulsion from the party (July 1927 to the end of 1929). The second period was the time of his arrest and jailing by the Kuomintang (early 1930 to 1938). The third stage was when he lived in seclusion at Jiangjin (1939-1942) [Sichuan Province]. Different appraisals exist about these three periods, requiring further discussion.

I. Wrong Line or Counterrevolution?

Collapse of the first revolutionary civil war resulted from betrayal at the time by a reactionary clique that had arisen in the allied Kuomintang, and the excessive strength of the combined forces of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique. At the same time the Communist Party was still in its youth and lacked experience, and Chen Duxiu, in his role as party secretary, carried out an erroneous line at a critical time.

After the collapse of the Great Revolution in July 1972, Chen Duxiu secretly returned to Shanghai. Though he had been dismissed from his Central Committee leadership position, he was still a member of the party. In a 1927 letter to the Central Committee, he noted that, "Though the Kuomintang cannot long rule and consolidate, for the present it is not about to collapse. Therefore, the time for us to use the power of the masses to mop them up and seize power has not yet arrived. Adoption of policies for action that are too early for events is more mistaken, and I recommend use of a slogan of 'four no's' (namely, no payment of rents, no tendering of grain, no payment of taxes, and no repayment of debts) to take the place of the slogan of 'land to the tiller,' as a simpler and more concise way of arousing the peasant masses." During the uprising in Guangzhou, he wrote another letter to the Central Committee in which he held that "whether the Guangzhou insurrection succeeds or fails, we must do this. There is no doubt whatever about it." This showed an attitude of support. Though Chen Duxiu no longer held a leadership post, he still stood with the party.

As the resolution developed more deeply, the split between Chen Duxiu and the party and Communist International became sharper and sharper. The Communist International directly invited Chen Duxiu, Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], Luo Zhanglong [5012 4545 7893], Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3447], and Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115] to attend the Sixth Party Congress in Moscow during June 1928. Chen Duxiu urged the other four to attend while refusing himself to go. This demonstrated that Chen Duxiu had a passive attitude about organizational relationships.

In October and November 1929, the CCP Central Committee's Politburo made a series of resolutions (namely resolutions about opposition to opportunism within the party and about the Trotskyite opposition faction, and about cancellation of Chen Duxiu's party registration). It made a rather comprehensive criticism of Chen Duxiu's organizational and political mistakes. Major problems may be summed up in the following four ways.

1. Failure to adopt a correct attitude about the question of responsibility for collapse of the Great Revolution.

Granted that Chen Duxiu recognized in words that the collapse of the 1927 revolution resulted from opportunism, yet on the question of responsibility, he held that, "We should very frankly and very objectively recognize that in the past and at the present time, opportunism came from the international, and the international should bear responsibility." A meeting held that the Politburo should bear major responsibility. Chen Duxiu was general secretary at the time and should have borne major responsibility, yet Chen Duxiu only acknowledged that, "The youthful Chinese party did not yet have the ability to discover theories or decide policies. As for blindly carrying out opportunistic policies without the slightest understanding or ability, this is a responsibility that Chinese party leadership organizations should bear." He regarded himself as an implementer yet he used, "youthful," "blind," and "without the slightest understanding or ability" to explain away the mistakes that he himself had made. Without doubt, this was very wrong.

2. Following collapse of the Great Revolution, a split existed in the Central Committee of the party on the questions of the situation, the character, and the tactics. Chen Duxiu held the nature of the Chiang Kai-shek regime to be a "purely bourgeois regime, and the Kuomintang purely a political party of the bourgeoisie." For this reason, though he acknowledged that a "revolutionary high tide could naturally come again," he, in fact, denied the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social

character, and the need to carry out anti-imperialist and anti-feudal missions, abolishing all illegal struggle and seeking to carry out legal activities. Such a mistaken conception of the situation, the character, and the policies of the revolution was clearly divergent from the thesis that had been repeatedly put forward ever since the Seventh Central Committee Meeting.

3. Acceptance of the Trotskyite point of view politically, and carrying out factional activities organizationally.

Chen Duxiu's views of the reasons and responsibility for collapse of the Great Revolution, of the circumstances, and of the nature of revolutionary tasks and tactics following collapse of the revolution were very close to those of Trotsky, though he did not understand that at the time. During the summer of 1929, students who had studied in the USSR and had accepted Trotsky's point of view were continuously returning to China, bringing Trotskyite books with them. Chen Duxiu's ideology underwent a great change. He said, "after a year of deep thought and careful consieration," "I firmly believe that if either I or some other comrade had been able at the time to have had a deep perception such as Comrade Trotsky had about international opportunist policies, and had argued so resolutely as he,... such a disgraceful collapse of the Chinese revolution would not have resulted, making the party as politically bankrupt as it is." Subsequently, Chen Duxiu further rebuked Comrade Stalin and the Communist International, opposed the theory of building socialism in one country, criticized the foreign policy line and policies of the USSR, and opposed the policy of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party during the period of the first revolutionary civil war. He also attacked the Chinese revolution's correct advocacy of the need to go through a national democratic revolutionary stage of opposition to imperialism and feudalism. On 15 October 1929, the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee issued, "Resolutions on Opposition to Opportunism Within the Party and to the Trotskyite Opposition Faction," which noted that "Comrade Chen Duxiu must immediately submit to the decisions of the Central Committee and accept the Central Committee's warning to work under the line of the party and stop all anti-party propaganda activities." Mericing attention here is that the Central Committee had already issued a warning to Chen Duxiu at this time, that it still termed Chen Duxiu a comrade, and pointed out that Chen Duxiu, "is not only purposely stirring up discussion of the party, but is also carrying out their small organization activities." Nevertheless, though Chen Duxiu sympathized with Trotskyite ideas at this time, he did not formally participate in or openly organize Trotskyite organizations.

4. There was a divergence on the Chinese Eastern Railroad question, which sharpened contradictions and resulted in the Central Committee categorically making the decision to abolish Chen Duxiu's party registration.

Following the "12 April" counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in 1927, the Kuomintang purified its ranks and became anti-communist internally, and became pro-imperialist and anti-USSR externally. At the end of 1928, Zhang Xueliang's [1728 1331 5328] "change of flags" strengthened Chaing Kai-shek's forces. At the time, the USSR government had not yet put into effect the first manifesto on China, which it had published on 25 July 1919 (namely abolition of all unequal treaties and all special privileges provided for between Czarist Russia and China, including future "unconditional return to China with no compensation whatsoever" of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, etc.). The Chinese Eastern Railroad was nominally under joint control of China and Russia, but they monopolized rights to the railroad, in fact, Chiang Kai-shek had taken the opportunity to use armed force to take over the Chinese Eastern Railroad, impelling Zhang Xueliang into the first line against the Soviet Union and making Zhang more subordinate to himself. Under these circumstances, Chen Duxiu did not agree with the Central Committee's raising of the slogans of "Support the Soviet Union," and "Protect the Soviet Union," but sent a letter to the Central Committee recommending adoption of the slogan, "Oppose Kuomintang Harm to the Country." In terms of how properly to handle the relationship between internationalism and patriotism, Chen Duxiu's views were not entirely lacking redeeming merit. However, at that time, leadership of the Central Committee was in the hands of "leftist" opportunists. In "On the Views of Comrade Saweng [2320 5040] [phonetic] About the Question of the Chinese Eastern Railroad," Wang Ming said repeatedly that he wanted to carry out a "determined struggle" with Chen. Consequently, the divergence between Chen Duxiu and the "leftist" opportunist on the issue of the Chinese Eastern Railroad was the most direct reason for his expulsion from the party.

Judging from the above four situations, I believe Chen Duxiu had no correct perception of the error of his own opportunistic line. Politically and ideologically, serious divergences with the CCP Central Committee existed, and he put forward numerous erroneous views. Organizationally, there were small group factional activities. As the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee noted, opposition to Chen Duxiuism was entirely necessary at the time. However, it was deficient in the way it was done, "too much emphasizing individual responsibility, supposing that simply by striking out against people who had committed errors, the problems could be solved." Moreover, in the resolution there was another formulation, namely that the group of capitulationists of the period of the first Great Revolution period, as represented by Chen Duxiu, had now become pessimistic and had lost hope about the future of the revolution, gradually changing into liquidationists. He had adopted the reactionary Trotskyite standpoint,...and had united with reactionary Trotskyite elements to establish a small anti-party organization, as a result of which there was no choice but to expel him from the party, after which he degenerated into counterrevolution. How should the contradiction between these two be viewed? I believe that the Yan'an rectification emphasized summarization of the lessons of the erroneous "leftist" lines followed on three occasions, the erroneous "leftist" line of Wang Ming, in particular. On the question of Chen Duxiu, inasmuch as history has already rendered a decision, and since the matter bears on the Communist International and the USSR, there have been no renewed deliberations.

II. Chen Duxiu Participates in Organization of Trotskyite Faction, But Does Not Defect to the Enemy Nor Become a Traitor to China

Chen Duxiu himself admitted to having participated in a Trotskyite organization, and he also denied the same. Some documents and articles are also a little confused about the time when Chen Duxiu sympathized with Trotskyite views and his own organization of a Trotskyite faction. Actually, Chen Duxiu had adhered to Trotskyite views from an early date, and his participation in the organization of a Trotskyite faction occurred after his expulsion from the party. Between 1 and 3 May 1931, the Chinese Trotskyite faction held a unified conference for which Chen Duxiu became the Trotskyite faction organizational secretary. Naturally, this was one of the serious political mistakes of Chen Duxiu's life. After 1930, Trotskyism had changed fundamentally. It was no longer a political faction of the proletariat but rather, "7 or 8 years earlier, Trotskyism had been one such political faction of the proletariat, albeit an anti-Leninist party and consequently an extremely wrong political faction; nevertheless, it was still considered to be a political faction." The separate organization that Chen Duxiu established following his expulsion should be regarded in the social life of China as having been a political faction that was neither Kuomintang nor Communist Party.

In a political resolution issued in the name of the Standing Committee of the Trotskyite faction in May 1932, Chen Duxiu noted that "Our tasks must be the organization of and participation in volunteer armies of the workers, peasants, and urban poor, and to resolutely raise high the banner of opposition to Japan and opposition to the Kuomintang..."It must be admitted that Chen Duxiu unswervingly advocated opposition to Chiang and resistance to Japan. In October of the same year, Chen Duxiu was arrested and jailed by the Kuomintang for the crime of "endangering the republic."

The "leftist" opportunists represented by Wang Ming termed Chen Duxiu's arrest as "an opportunity for the liquidationists to go more firmly hand in hand" with the Kuomintang, "the ruling class using the tactic of detaining Chen Duxiu as a means of discussing together with Chen an attack on the Chinese revolution." Many fair minded people at the time begged to differ with this point of view. Had Chen Duxiu been arrested and jailed because of his opposition to Chiang and resistance to Japan and "endangering the republic," or was it "to go more closely hand in hand with the Kuomintang?" This was a principle that had to be clarified. We can conduct an analysis from the following several standpoints.

1. Words and actions prior to imprisonment. Following the September 18th Incident [seizure of Shenyang in 1931 by Japanese invaders], in an article published by Chen Duxiu in the third quarter issue of HUOHUA [Spark] titled, "The Broad Road of the Movement for Resistance to Japan and National Salvation Now," Chen supported a boycott by the people of the entire country of Japanese goods, and called for a declaration of war against Japan and opposition to Chiang Kai-shek's policy of no resistance. He also pointed out that "In order to declare war on Japan, in order to realize a national revolutionary war, and in order to win victory in a war against imperialism, only resurgence of the third revolution in China and use of a revolutionary mass regime to replace the counterrevolutionary regime would succeed. (This revolutionary mass regime to be implemented through a nationwide meeting for opposition to Japan and national salvation, or through a national congress, or through a Soviet)."

2. Attitude following arrest by the Kuomintang. Chen Duxiu had been arrested in the public concession in Shanghai, and following his arrest, he "damned his mistreatment in the Shanghai detention house, and persisted in talking unreasonably saying efforts should be stepped up to take back the concession" [from European powers]. The "Xian Incident" [the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek] of 12 December

1936 made "Chen Duxiu simply as happy as a child celebrating New Year's." He Yingqin hoped to win him over, and asked for his autograph. Chen Duxiu wrote, "Armies may make a person captive, but no one can imprison a person's will." Released from jail, Hu Shi and otherw wanted him to join a national defense congress, but met with flat refusal.

3. Demeanor during trial. In court, the judge asked Chen Duxiu, "Why did you want to overthrow the national government?" Chen replied, "This is a fact, which cannot be denied. The reasons are three: (1) The present Kuomintang government is ruled by bayonets and the people have no rights of speech; even members of the Kuomintang have no right of speech. This is not according to the principles of democratic rule. (2) The Chinese people are already extremely poor, but warlords and bureaucrats know only how to concentrate money and put it in imperialist banks. The people are so distressed, they do not have food to eat. Such was the situation when Korea was subjugated. (3) The people of the entire country are for resistance to Japan, but the government retreats step by step. The 19th Route Army offered resistance in Shanghai, but the government would give them no aid. The so-called long war of resistance is nothing more than the four words, long war of resistance; there has never been any resistance. In view of the three points mentioned, the people have a duty to oppose this government, which contravenes the three principles of the people and has no civil rights in fact." Chen Duxiu inspired awe by upholding justice in court, and demonstrated a strongly serious and principled stand in resisting Japan and opposing Chiang.

Finally, the Kuomintang sentenced Chen Duxiu to 13 years in prison and forfeiture of civil rights for 15 years. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, as a result of appeals by the party, Chen Duxiu was released from prison in August 1937 after having spent a total of 5 years there. No data shows that he bowed his head or bent his knees under threats or enticements, or that he became more intimately linked "hand in hand" with the Kuomintang, to become a traitor to the revolution. The party understood this situation.

Following his release from prison, Chen Duxiu indicated a desire to undertake work under the leadership of our party, and he made contact through Lo Han [5012 3352] with the party's Central Committee. Numerous comrades also expressed an attitude of welcome. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that "As Trotskyites, Chen Duxiu and Lo Han had advocated opposition to Japan." On 19 March 1938, Ye Jianying [0673 0494 5391], Bo Gu [0590 0657], and Dong Biwu [5516 1801 2976] gave Chen Duxiu three conditions for returning to work under the leadership of the party. "(1) Public renunciation and resolute opposition to all Trotskyite theories and activities; public declaration of a break in relationships with Trotskyite organizations; and admission that past participation in the Trotsky faction had been a mistake; (2) Public announcement of support for a national united front policy of resistance to Japan; (3) Demonstration in action of the sincerity of this support. When Dong Biwu went to meet Chen Duxiu, he again expressed hope that he would earnestly practice the conditions that the Central Committee had put forward, and publicly announce as soon as possible his own political attitude. Chen Duxiu very much had the bad habits of old scholars and doctors, and was rather reluctant to publicly admit his own errors. We should honestly point out that before Chen Duxiu went to prison, he was a member of the Trotskyite faction. This is a fact.

But after coming out of prison, he had, in fact, divorced himself from the Trotsky faction's organization. In 1939, Chen Duxiu wrote a letter to Trotsky in which he criticized the policies of the Trotskyites saying, "Such a closed-doorist, ultra-left small bloc (in which dissenting elements are a rare exception) naturally has no hope of developing; even if it were able to develop, it would be an obstacle in the way of the Chinese revolutionary movement." Between 1938 and 1940, "Trotsky wrote letters asking Chen Duxiu to go to the United States, but he refused."

After coming out of prison, Chen Duxiu did not continue in Trotskyite activities, and the party extended its hand to him. But, in the end, he did not return to the party. I believe there were three reasons why.

First, at that time the USSR was just beginning the struggle against the "alliance between the rightists and the Trotskyites." In 1938, XINHUA RIBAO [New China Daily News] published an article linking the struggle in the USSR to China, and Chen Duxiu could not avoid becoming an object for struggle. In fact, as early as December 1937 at a Politburo meeting, Wang Ming had vilified the proper contact between the party and Chen Duxiu. He shouted, "We can cooperate with anything in resistance to Japan,...but we cannot cooperate with the followers of Trotsky. In China, we can cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek and the anti-communist agents under his control, but we cannot cooperate with Chen Duxiu."

Second was the premeditated frame up done by Wang Ming and Kang Sheng [1660 3932]. They flew the banner of resolute support for the Communist International, but used it as a club to beat people. The 28 January and 8 February 1938 issue of JIEFANG [Liberation] carried an article by Kan Sheng titled, "Root Out Spies of the Japanese Invaders and the Public Enemies of the Nation, the Trotsky Gangsters," which termed Chen Duxiu a " Chinese traitor."

Kang Sheng's article was full of holes and irrational. For example, following the "18 September" incident, Chen Duxiu was already behind bars, so how was he able to represent the Trotskyite organization in talks with spy organizations of the Japanese invaders? In another instance, it was said that if Chen Duxiu's Trotskyite organization would "not obstruct Japanese agression against China," Japan promised him payment of 300 yuan monthly, while in the same article it said that the "Japanese invaders would subsidize the Trotskyite gangster, Zhang Mutao [1728 1970 7118], with 50,000 yuan monthly, and wanted him to organize a so-called "New Party" to counter the Communist Party and to destroy the national united front against Japan." Considering that Chen Duxiu's status was doubtlessly higher than that of Zhang Mutao, why was Chen Duxiu so cheap in the eyes of the Japanese invaders? This was hard for people to believe. Wang Ming's and Kang Sheng's frame up of Chen Duxiu was the result of a base political plot to connect Chen Duxiu, the international anti-right faction and the Trotskyite alliance struggle so that Chen Duxiu, though he hoped to return to the party, would almost certainly be unable to do so. The facts have been shown that Chen Duxiu had not degenerated into a traitor against China, and this fabricated and ridiculous piece of history must be settled.

III. Dejected, Living in Seclusion and Cut Off From the Party, But By No Means Counterrevolutionary

After suffering the aforementioned setbacks and attacks, Chen Duxiu's mentality underwent very great change. Henceforth, he adopted an attitude of opposition to Chiang and resistance to Japan, but without "playing up to the Communists," and he gradually became dejected and withdrawn. He no longer took part in factional political activities, but rather mostly engaged in the annotation of writings, published some articles on current political topics, and lived a life of poverty. On 27 May 1942, he succumbed to illness at the age of 63.

The several tens of political essays he published during this period contained political views, which may be summarized in the following manner.

1. Continued advocacy of resistance to Japan, opposition to German and Italian fascists, and approval of the establishment of a national united front to resist Japan, and an international united front against fascism.

In an article titled, "The Question of Political Parties During the War of Resistance," which was published in April 1938, he noted, "Today when the nation faces a crisis in survival or destruction, all political parties and factions, no matter whether in power or in opposition, must, if they believe the welfare of the people to be higher than the welfare of political factions, unhesitatingly avoid controversy about fundamental policies involving victory or defeat in the war of resistance and devote their full energies to a war of national liberation." He approved establishment of a united front of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists, saying, "A halt to the many years of civil war by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the face of the crisis to the nation, and military cooperation in the war of resistance is a matter about which there can be no question." In another article, he opposed united ideological beliefs as a condition for cooperation between the parties in the war of resistance, advocating that there can be only one slogan to make parties cooperate and unite and that is "resistance to Japan to save the nation from extinction."

He firmly opposed the war of agression launched by Hitlerite Germany. He said, "'annihilation of Hitler's Nazi followers' must be the overall goal of the common attack by all peoples. Only when all other struggles have a positive role and no negative role in this overall objective can they have progressive significance."

At the time the view of the Trotskyites held that both parties to the war were imperialist and reactionaries, and they wanted adoption of a program of collapse of the present government in order to obtain arrival of world revolution. Chen Duxiu opposed this view, feeling that it would only benefit the Nazis.

2. Opposition to dictatorial fascism, but a muddled distinction in principle between the USSR and German and Italian fascists.

Before the USSR declared war on Germany, he regarded the treaty signed between the USSR and Germany as being the same thing as the Munich policy of the British and French. Once the Soviet Union went to war, his attitude changed, and he wrote, "For the same reason, we do not stand for the USSR's adoption of defeatism, although no facts make us believe that for the fate of human freedom the follower's of Stalin's party are any better than the followers of Hitler's party."

He did not sufficiently credit the power of the Soviet Union. He said, "When the war is over there can be only two opposing leading blocs that are entirely independent and not under the control of others, the United States versus Germany or Great Britain versus the United States. The people of all other countries can only become subordinate to the blocs led by these two leading groups in the name of alliance or full cooperation. Not only will the present productivity of the USSR make it unequal to the task of being a leading bloc, but it has long since departed from socialism."

3. Overlooked the right of leadership in the united front to resist Japan

He emphasized that the welfare of the nation is greater than the welfare of any political party or faction, but he did not understand that only when the united front against Japan was under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party could full victory in war be won against Japan. He kept talking about unity, but not about struggle. He said, "This alliance has been quite effective after several months in the war of resistance. But at the same time the undercurrent of friction between the two parties gradually floats toward the surface. This is something everyone knows, and something that cannot be denied." He felt the reasons for the friction to be: "On the one hand the Kuomintang has been unable to cast aside its attitude of calling for surrender [of the Communists], and on the other hand the Communist Party has been unable to candidly stick to its own political advocacy in the war of resistance in making political accommodations and promises on every matter; consequently this has aroused a priori suspicion on the part of the Kuomintang in both political attitude and in propaganda matters that Communist actions do not accord with their words, and all frictions gradually increase daily." Therefore, he advocated that the Communist Party and all other parties positively support the war of resistance to Japan. "Today when the nation is at last gasp, parties in opposition should give support in word as well as in deed to the government's war of resistance to win victory. There should be no planning to conserve one's forces or taking advantage of misfortune to do damage one to another." Had things been done as he proposed, that would inevitably have meant taking the same old disastrous road to defeat as in the Great Revolution.

4. Depreciation of the role of people's war, and maintenance of a pessimistic attitude toward prospects for victory by the people

He believed that "true guerrillas," had a special function in pinning down and harrassing the enemy during war; nevertheless if in the war of resistance "guerrillas and guerrilla warfare tactics were overestimated, the enemy would be helped unconsciously to occupy more easily the large cities and main transportation and communication arteries of the entire country, and even though the guerrillas might extend into every rural village and small city in the country, or even evade the enemy's forces and establish in out of the way places some pitiful border area governments, the country must still be counted as having been lost! Without large cities, there is no country."

He slighted the importance of the people's armed forces under our leadership, not supposing the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army to be major forces, instead pinning his hopes for victory in resistance to Japan on the Kuomintang's conventional forces. In Chen Duxiu's view, the outlook after the war was if not a revival of semi-colonialism then a slide into colonialism. This was because he lacked a true understanding of the Soviet Union and was unable, as well, to correctly estimate the anti-Japanese strength of the leadership of the Chinese Communists; consequently, he held a pessimistic attitude toward post-war China.

During his late years, Chen Duxiu's ideology was extremely contradictory. He had characterized himself as a "lifelong opposition faction," who had spent his whole life exploring without being able to find a proper political home to which he could repair.

The aforestated circumstances show that in his late years Chen Duxiu was an advocate of resistance to Japan, yet as a result of political setbacks, extremely contradictory spiritual vacillation, dissatisfaction in his dejection, living in isolation yet not linking loneliness, he expressed numerous wrong opinions and divorced himself from the revolutionary trend. This was the inevitable result of loss of correct theoretical guidance and being cut off from the revolutionary organizations. However, he never degenerated into counterrevolution, and to unfairly exaggerate his dejection, dissatisfactions, and erroneous statements, etc. as making him a "traitor to China," or a "counterrevolutionary" is an attitude that does not seek truth in facts.

In an overall sense, Chen Duxiu's life was one of great accomplishments and great errors. During the May 4th [Chinese political and cultural movement of 1919], and the period of founding of the party, he made major contributions. During the first revolutionary civil war's latter stage, he committed the error of following a rightist opportunism line. Later, he went from an erroneous line to sympathy for Trotskyism, engaging in and organizing anti-party factionalist activities. This was the great mistake of his life. During the last half of his life, he staunchly opposed Chaing and resisted Japan. His attitude of resistance to Japan was active, but his fundamental attitude toward the USSR and toward Stalin was wrong. He perservered in opposition to Chiang, but he also spoke and acted against the Communists. He followed a tortuous path his whole life long, and it may be said that though Chen Duxiu was a good Marxist, and was not a "traitor," or a "counterrevolutionary," he was a party leader who made grievous errors, but also a democratic radical with patriotism.

9432
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GUANGDONG PARTY LEADER SPEAKS ON IMPORTANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by Wang De [3769 1795]: "Do a Good Job on Party History Research To Promote Glorious Tradition of the Party"]

[Text] On this solemn commemorative occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, on behalf of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, I want to extend my warm congratulations to the academic seminar on the history of the party and the inaugural meeting of the Guangdong Society of History of the Chinese Communist Party attended by our Guangdong provincial comrades dedicated to work on the history of the party. I also want to salute comrades devoted to research on the history of the party and thank them for being able to come here to attend these meetings even though they must travel long distances.

Sixty years have passed since the founding of the CCP in July 1921. During these 60 years, under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people have worked hard, advanced wave upon wave and heroically struggled to defeat the Japanese aggressors, drive U.S. imperialism out of the country, bury the Chiang dynasty, overthrow the 3 big mountains which weighed down on the backs of the Chinese people, found the great People's Republic of China, and win a great victory in the new democratic revolution. The CCP has also led the people in the new democratic revolution. The CCP has also led the people in healing wounds caused by the war, in restoring the national economy, in carrying on the great socialist revolution and construction, and in building China into a socialist power with initial success in achieving economic prosperity.

The history of the CCP should highlight its efforts to lead the Chinese revolution in advancing from one victory to another under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Chinese revolution followed a tortuous road and has been crowned with hard-won victory. Following the Opium War of 1840, the Western capitalists used gunboats to open the door to China, thus gradually reducing it to a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Many Chinese with advanced ideas embarked on a search for the truth of national salvation at a cost of blood and lives. Some tried to save China through the development of science and industry. But practice proved this idea unfeasible and unable to save China. "The salvos of the October Revolution marked the beginning of the transmission of Marxism-Leninism to China," bringing a silver lining to our country, and inspiring the Chinese people to see the day of victory. Marxism spread quickly to China in the wake of the October

Revolution. In 1979, the patriotic "4 May" Movement broke out, clearing the way for the training of cadres in Marxist ideology essential to the birth of the CCP. In 1921, the CCP was born to bring a new look to the Chinese revolution. Through protracted revolutionary struggle, our party produced Mao Zedong Thought by integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and applied it to solve a series of problems in the Chinese revolution and to guide the Chinese revolution and construction on a march from one victory to another. Mao Zedong Thought is the result of the collective wisdom of the entire party membership, guiding our cause to victory. Practice shows that without the CCP, there would have been no new China; Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a banner of victory and can be constantly enriched and developed through the revolutionary struggle.

Today, our great motherland has reached a great turning point in history. Under the leadership of the CCP, the people throughout the country are embarking on a march toward the grand goal of the socialist modernization. Our future is boundlessly bright. In connection with this solemn commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, we must concentrate on conveying to the public the information on its great contributions to the cause of liberating the Chinese people and the socialist cause, the superiority of the socialist system, as well as the truth that "without the CCP, there would have been no new China" and that "only socialism can save China." We must also carry forwared the CCP's excellent tradition and style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and criticism and self-criticism. We must closely rally around the Party Central Committee, and unify our political thinking behind the Party Central Committee. We must uphold party leadership, the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must share the same concern with the party, play a positive role in achieving the far-reaching objective of the socialist four modernizations program and strive to fulfill the great ideals of communism.

In connection with the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, our Guangdong provincial comrades devoted to research work on the history of the party are meeting here to open this academic seminar on the history of the party and formally inaugurate the Guangdong Society of History of the Chinese Communist Party. This is indeed a very significant event. Such meetings have been suspended for many years. Since the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has attached great importance to research work on the history of the party and its compilation, thus greatly boosting the morale of our comrades working on the history of the party. I want to take this opportunity to present some views on the research work on the history of the party for the benefits of interested comrades.

1) Our comrades working on the history of the party must pay enough attention to the problem concerning the research work on the history of the party as it is a very serious and difficult task.

Since its founding, the CCP membership has grown from several tens to 38 million. The CCP has spent the past 60 years traveling over a difficult and torturous road, surviving 1 test after another and building a shining and brilliant record, something rarely seen in the history of the international communist movement. We must conscientiously study the history of such a great party, sum up its experiences and lessons, and educate the entire party membership and the people throughout the country including party members and people in Guangdong in the history of the party and the revolutionary tradition. We must consider this task absolutely necessary. This is a glorious but difficult mission. If we can present to the public a highly scientific document on the party true to the historical facts, we can help the people further gain an insight into its greatness, glorious tradition and correctness, exhibit firm faith in its leadership, further restore its prestige among the masses of people, and inspire its members and people throughout the country to redouble their efforts to build their great motherland under its leadership.

Sixty years have passed since the founding of our party. We must fully understand that the research on the history of the party is an important and urgent task. For many years, we still cannot provide the public with a relatively accurate document on the history of the party. This is indeed a very serious problem. Before the "Great Cultural Revolution," manpower was mobilized by Guangdong Province to study and gather the information needed in the compilation of the history of the party's organization and activities in this province. The compilation was suspended after drawing criticism from people who mistakenly considered this work an attempt to give publicity to Guangdong and certain personalities and events there. When the "gang of four" was in the heyday of their power, and many old comrades were under attack and tortured, the compilation of the history of the party was made more difficult than ever. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and since the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has listed the research work on the history of the party as an important item on its agenda. The time is now ripe for us to intensify our research on the history of the party. We must consider the research on the history of the party and its compilation to be a long-term plan and a problem to be faced by generations to come. We require that the history of the party be compiled based on historical facts. We must pay attention to its accuracy, scientific and ideological qualities.

2) Those in charge of the compilation of the history of the party must be faithful to the historical facts and seek truth from facts.

The history of the CCP should highlight the Chinese people's great victories in the new democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and construction under its leadership. A compilation of such a multifaceted, glorious and splendid history requires us to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, uphold dialectical and historical materialism, pay tribute to historical facts and seek truth from facts. Like any other scientific documents on history, the history of the CCP must deal with time, places, figures and events accurately. They can neither be distorted nor misplaced. Time and places cannot be misstated. Historical figures and their activities should be evaluated objectively, comprehensively, properly and scientifically. There were many soul-stirring legendary heroes who came to the fore during the long period of the Chinese revolution. When we write their autobiographies, we must evaluate them accurately, and command their contributions to the evolution. In dealing with the historical events, we must pay attention to their historical backgrounds. We cannot curry favor with any influential historical figures. Nor can we distort the roles played in history. For example, in order to achieve the purpose of deceiving the people, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted the historical fact by describing the 1928 rendezvous of the forces led by Comrade Zhu De and Mao Zedong in Jinggangshan as a rendezvous of forces led by Lin Biao and Comrade Mao Zedong. Such distortion and adulteration of history cannot be tolerated. In the future, we must follow an accurate and scientific approach in the portrayal of the true features of historical events so that the schemes of careerists and conspirators to tamper with history will stand no chance of success.

However, we must be faithful to the historical facts and seek truth from facts. To this end, we must intensify our investigations and study and gather information from many different sources including those from historical data, newspapers, journals and the archives of the enemy and puppet regime. As soon as all detailed information is available, we must process it in such a way that everything false will be discarded, everything true will be retained, trash will be thrown away and things essential will be selected. Our primary task is to clarify historical facts and derive from them laws governing the development of history. Only in this way can the history of the party which is to be compiled, survive the tests of history and scrutiny of all authorities and become a truly scientific document. To achieve this end, however, calls for hard work, and a series of investigations and studies. We cannot rely on collections of a single person and totally trust what he says because, through the recollection of the long past, he must say something wrong and may say something right. We must gather information from various sources, listen widely to their suggestions, and repeatedly verify their authenticity. Only in this way can we be faithful to the historical facts, and present to the public a scientific document on history. In this connection, a little sloppiness will cause trouble.

3) An urgent task is to rescue vital information on the history of the party. Many old comrades inside and outside the party personally watched the events take place in the 60-year-old history of our party, and still remember them clearly. These historical facts which could not be printed in book form or by newspapers and journals during the official wartime are buried deeply in their hearts. If we delay our action to gather and process this vital information, they may carry it to their graves once they join the list of ghosts headed by Marx. For this reason, we must take prompt measures to dig up this vital information and process it. We must fulfill this glorious mission assigned by the party to collect this precious asset which is indispensable to the history of the party. We have already suffered a loss of too much time caused by the perverted conduct of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who alleged that the history of the party must "serve the struggle between two lines." In addition in order to deliberately distory this history of the party, they even went so far as to accuse those old comrades who made faithful contributions to the history of the party of being "counterrevolutionaries" and "capitalist readers." At that time, there was no such thing as the freedom of academic research. Comrades devoted to research on the party's history fell victim to slanderous attacks and lived in danger of being persecuted. Many old comrated were tortured to death. Others have died of illness one after another. The number of old comrades who are still alive become fewer and fewer as time goes on. Among these few old comrades who are fortunately still alive today there are former participants in the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars with their age ranging from the seventies to the eighties. Their days in this world are really numbered. In view of this, our present urgent task is to gather this vital information from these comrades on a crash basis. I want to

take this opportunity to call on units in charge of the research on the party's history and comrades interested in this work to focus attention on this problem without delay and regard this as an important task to be accomplished by the party.

The branches of our party in Guangdong occupies a very important position in the development and growth of the CCP. During the great revolution, Guangdong was a stronghold of the party in carrying out its activities. From there was started that earth-shaking strike in Guangdong and Hong Kong, and the first peasant training classes given by the Guangdong-Guangxi Party Committee. The sixth peasant training class began to enroll students from all over the country with Comrade Mao Zedong as its chief lecturer. The Northern Expedition also started from Guangdong. Many leading comrades of our party such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation were once active in Guangdong. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the War of Resistance against Japan, and its liberation war, the branch of the party in Guangdong was very active and can provide a lot of information in this connection. For this reason, the research on the party's history and its compilation in Guangdong will be a difficult and preponderous task. I hope that comrades working on the party's history in Guangdong Province will emphasize particularly its activities in Guangdong in their research on its history.

Finally, I wish that comrades will score greater successes in reseraching the party's history and will make greater contributions to the four modernizations program.

(Editors note: This article is a recorded speech by Comrade Wang De, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, at the inaugural meeting of the Guangdong Society of History of the Chinese Communist Party and the academic seminar on the history of the party held in Guangzhou.)

9574
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'SOCIALIST MORALITY' VITAL TO INDIVIDUAL, SOCIAL INTERESTS

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Shangren [1728 1424 0088]: "Adhere to the Moral Principle of Collectivism"]

[Text] The specific requirements set forth in the "five stresses" and "four beauties" with the aim of practicing civilized courtesy in an all-round way should be met by all means and should command equal attention from the public. However, it is significant to note that "laying stress on morality" is the central theme and the main objective of the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities, as well as a starting point in the right direction.

The talk about morality contains the following two aspects: the aspect of fostering correct moral ideals and concepts and the aspect of putting such morality in action. Correct moral ideals and concepts can be fostered through the strengthening of moral education and training which induces people to uphold party leadership and the socialist system and to become patriots and citizens of rectitude and honesty, while moral acts can be performed through work, study, daily activities, and social contacts. In this way, the people can be induced to lay stress on courtesy, sanitation, order, beautiful styles of language and good behavior. Anyone who emphasizes morality in thinking and action can be called a civilized man.

The basic objective of moral education is to make people understand the basic moral principles and to help them handle properly the relationship between the individual and social interests. The basic principle of proletarian morality is collectivism. This principle is determined by the socio-economic conditions. After capitalism was replaced by socialism and the system of private ownership was replaced by the system of public ownership, the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" was adopted. In accordance with this principle, workers can now obtain their means of livelihood from among the social products. In this way, a form of relationship between individuals and society based on an almost common economic interest has been established to tie individuals to collectives and to make collective interests and the destiny of individuals indivisible. In this case, individuals must be concerned with collectives while collectives are obliged to protect individuals. Consequently, devotion to the people's interests will be praised and individualism dedicated to private interest will be hated by the people in society.

The socialist system is designed to unify the interests of individuals and society behind their common cause. But this does not mean that the contradiction between the two categories of interests has been resolved. In social reality, one must realize that our present productive forces at their present low level still cannot create material wealth to satisfy fully the needs of individual interests while on the other hand, some people under the influence of the tradition of selfishness still prefer to base any dealings between individuals and society on their private interests. They still want to be granted special privileges, to fatten their private gain at the expense of public interest, and to seek profits at other people's expense or that of social interests. This contradiction between the interests of individuals and society needs to be resolved through the application of the moral principle of collectivism.

The moral principle of collectivism requires us to yield individual interests to social or public interests and to subordinate individual interests to social interests when the two categories conflict. Does this moral principle deny the individuals their interests? No. This principle calls for resolving the conflict between the interests of individuals and society on the basis of collectivism, in order to unify the two categories of interests behind their common goal. It is inimical to the socialist morality if we split individual interests from that of society, if we set the former against the latter and if we denounce the former in favor of the latter. We must uphold the moral principle of collectivism, and rationally adjust the relationship between the interests of individuals and society. On the one hand, we must develop production and on that basis do everything possible to raise the standards of material and cultural life for the people so that they will come to truly understand that only by protecting and developing the social interests can the individual interests be satisfied. On the other hand, we must display the spirit of hard struggle and heroism in the service of social and people's interests and must make people understand that the individual interests cannot be put on a par with or ahead of the social interests. Of course, there are many categories of socialist morality including social morality shared by all mankind, morality characteristic of socialism, and morality for people of all trades and professions working at different posts. In a country like ours, everyone must observe the basic principle of morality, integrate individual interests with social interests and short-term interests with long-term interests, and put social interests above all else. Only in this way can we constantly consolidate and develop the socialist system as a reliable guarantee for realizing the four modernizations program in our country.

9574
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PARTY AND STATE

MAO'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, CONSTRUCTION HAILED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Advance Triumphantly in the Direction Indicated by the Party--Marking the 60th Anniversary of the CCP Founding"]

[Text] Six decades ago--in July 1921--spring thunder reverberated throughout the land and marked the rise of the Communist Party in China. From then on, there has been a beacon, a helmsman, a nucleus, and a direction from which the Chinese revolution and revolutionary ship could start a triuphant voyage to bring hope to the suffering Chinese people.

Today, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, an event of great significance in the history of our party, is being convened triumphantly amid the solemn celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. We warmly acclaim the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" unanimously adopted by this session, and wholeheartedly support the reelection of the principal leading members of the Central Committee and the election of additional members to the committee. The successful conclusion of this session will have a very significant role to play in strengthening the collective leadership of the Central Committee with Marxism as its base, as well as its unity, in further illuminating the course of continuing advance in work for our socialist cause and our party, and in ensuring the full implementation of the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenum.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is a historical resolution and a Marxist document. Applying dialectical and historical materialism as a guide, this "resolution" accurately sums up events of great historical significance of the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution"; analyzes in a scientific way the party's correct and erroneous guiding thoughts concerning these events as well as the subjective and social factors leading to such mistakes; realistically evaluate the historical role of the great leader and great teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution; and fully expounds the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the Party's guiding thought. This will certainly have a great and far-reaching impact on the effort to unify the thinking of the entire party, the entire army and the people throughout the country and their struggle to fulfill their new historical mission with one mind and one heart.

"The rise of the Communist Party in China is a tremendous event that shocks the heaven and shakes the earth." In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the CCP founding and in studying the resolution on historical questions, we review the past with a feeling of pride and look to the future full of confidence.

After being defeated in the Opium War of 1840, China with a long history of feudal society was reduced to a semicolonial and semifeudal society. Through a long, dark period, the Chinese people carried out a series of heroic and unflinching struggles against imperialism and feudalism. Although the peasant movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Boxers movement, and the 1911 revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, a great forerunner of the democratic revolution, dealt a series of blows to the enemy, they all failed to solve any basic problems concerning the Chinese revolution. Why? The most fundamental reason is that they were not led by such advanced political parties as the CCP armed with Marxism-Leninism. The picture of the Chinese revolution remained gloomy until the Communist Party came into being to brighten its prospect. Subsequently, the party led and rallied the people throughout the country to win a great victory, the result of 28 years of hard struggle, for the new democratic revolution which led to the founding of the PRC, to complete the process of transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, to score a series of great successes in socialist revolution and construction through a difficult, complicated and tortuous struggle, and build our country into a socialist new China taking an initial step toward prosperity. During the past 6 decades, practice has verified the CCP as the only party capable of proposing and implementing the correct revolutionary program and policies, and faithfully representing the people's interests. History testifies to the truth that "without the Communist Party, there would have been no new China or victory for socialism in China." History dictates that the Communist Party has had no alternative but to assume the leadership for the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction in China.

The theoretical basis guiding our party's thinking is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought resulting from the application of Marxism in China is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP, a product of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and a scientific conclusion drawn from the Chinese people's experiences in the revolutionary struggles. Comrade Mao Zedong made the most outstanding contributions to the great cause of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The history of our party which spans 6 decades shows that Comrade Mao Zedong deserves to be called a great Marxist, and a proletarian revolutionary with achievements second to none. Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific guiding ideology conforming to China's conditions, the most invaluable assets to our party. The banner of Mao Zedong Thought will be upheld forever by our party as a banner of victory.

Our revolution has not been smooth sailing. During the protracted struggle, our party committed mistakes and suffered frustrations. This was something that could not be avoided during the difficult and complicated crusade for the revolution and construction. Such mistakes and frustrations were fleeting phenomena in history while our party's victories and revolutionary advances are inevitable results of history. Never before has our party covered up its mistakes. Nor has it lost its courage openly to expose and correct its mistakes including those committed by its leaders. The CCP armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought has proved completely capable of correcting its mistakes. As a matter of fact, our party has relied on its own strength to correct every mistake it committed and has drawn lessons from mistakes so that it can grow more mature and stronger than ever. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee represented a thorough and successful effort by our party to correct all mistakes committed during the 10-year civil war, and to shift itself onto the track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, ideologically, politically and organizationally. The current Sixth Plenum has fulfilled a historical mission to rectify the party's guiding thought, an achievement which will be written into history. This shows that our party is a serious-minded party with a sense of responsibility to the people and a party of great vitality. We communists will take the same Marxist attitude toward victories and frustrations and achievements and mistakes. We will be neither carried away by our achievements nor disheartened by our mistakes. We will never be intoxicated by victory. Nor will we lose confidence after suffering frustrations. We are reviewing what happened yesterday for the purpose of winning new victories today and tomorrow. We always look forward with confidence, focus our attention on the future, and move forward with courage while grasping the present moment to carry forward achievements, correct mistakes and heal wounds.

With the passage of 6 decades has come a great new turning point in history. With the emphasis of its work shifting to socialist modernization, our party is guiding the people throughout the country on a march toward the goal of building our country into a modern socialist power enjoying a high level of democracy and civilization. Our objective is to realize the socialist modernization, to blaze a trail to modernization in a Chinese style, to build a high level of democracy and civilization and simultaneously to improve the socialist economic and political systems. This is a new and great undertaking. This undertaking is so significant and difficult, its scope is so large, and its accompanying reforms are so far-reaching that it is comparable to any revolutionary struggles undertaken by our party in the past. It is clear that only the CCP can assume the responsibility for fulfilling this great cause. The socialist modernization can never be realized in China without the Communist Party's leadership. This is why we are required to uphold and strengthen party leadership and build the party so that it can lead this great cause to success in a better way.

In building the party, priority must be given to the ideological building of the party. We must follow the party's fine tradition by using its historical experiences to educate its members and cadres as part of its ideological building program. A successful program to educate the cadres in the party's historical experiences was completed [illegible]1 and 1945 when the central leading organs and senior cadres participated in historical discussions under the rectification movement under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. This study of historical experiences was instrumental in achieving the ideological and political unification of the party unparallelled in history, and in ensuring success in turning the Seventh Party Congress into a congress of unity and victory and the thorough implementation of the party's correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, and in getting the party's ideological and organizational fronts well prepared to win the War of Resistance Against Japan and the liberation war. At this crucial moment in history, a conscientious study of the resolution on historical questions adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the application of the party's historical experiences to educate party members and cadres are of great practical significance and far-reaching historical significance to the party in its efforts to help all its members raise their level of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, understand correctly and resolutely implement the party's Marxist line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenum. It is also a significant step in making the entire party and the people throughout the country achieve unanimity in thinking, understanding and actions, in inspiring their revolutionary spirit and morale, and in bringing the great cause of the socialist modernization to a successful conclusion. Leading comrades of party organizations at all levels in Hebei Province must first organize themselves to study this document well and must consider this their most important task at present. They must also work out plans to organize and lead party members, cadres and the masses to study the resolution and communique of the Sixth Plenum and conscientiously grasp this task well as a key link in pushing all other work forward.

The party of today has grown out of the party of yesterday. Only by studying the party's past experiences can we understand more accurately and more profoundly the line, principles and polciies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. During the past 2 years, an excellent situation on the political and economic fronts rarely seen since the founding of the PRC has developed in our country, and our belief in the superiority of the socialist system has been further confirmed. The line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenum are correct as certified in practice. The complete correctness of the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenum has been fully confirmed by the Sixth Plenum from the theoretical point of view and on the basis of the party's past experiences, as shown in its resolution on historical questions. We must conscientiously study this resolution, and analyze historical experiences scientifically. Only in this way can we understand clearly what is right and what is wrong in history, uphold what is right and correct what is wrong, develop those good things under the new situation, avoid acting blindly, strengthen our political consciousness, unify the thinking of party members, cadres and the masses behind the guidelines of the Sixth Plenum, single-mindedly look forward, engage in the four modernizations with one mind and one heart and make all our work move forward triumphantly in a direction indicated by our party.

Party organizations and party members in Hebei Province have made significant contributions to the great cause of our party and are proud of their revolutionary tradition. Hebei was one of important base areas where our party carried out its revolutionary activities during the early stage of its development. Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Dong Biwu and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation were once active in Hebei. After the party was founded in 1921, under its leadership, the workers movement gained momentum in Hebei Province. During the first revolutionary civil war, Hebei was one of the provinces swept by the national peasant movement. During the second revolutionary civil war, the Hebei party organizations led the masses of workers and peasants to rise heroically to join forces to take the road of armed struggle and open up important revolutionary base areas after the pattern of the Jinggangshan revolutionary base area founded by Comrade Mao Zedong. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the party led the Hebei people in their persistence in the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy line, thus adding new strength to the armed forces against Japan and expanding the liberated area. During the liberation war, our regional forces in central China smashed each encirclement attempted by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and finally made a triumphant breakthrough. Our people's army units continued to deal blows to the enemy troops while fighting in north and south China, thus paving the way for the liberation of Hebei Province. Since liberation, the party has led the people throughout the province in embarking on the socialist revolution and construction and has achieved brilliant successes in this field. During the protracted revolutionary war, party members in Hebei Province distinguished themselves by cherishing the lofty revolutionary ideals, by demonstrating a high revolutionary morale, by fearing neither sacrifices nor hardships, by heeding the party's orders in all their actions and by serving the people's interests. Today, during our great march toward socialist modernization, we must preserve and carry forward this glorious tradition and strive to make contributions to the rehabilitation of the Chinese nation and the grand cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrades, the smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques which means the removal of a gigantic obstacle on the road of our advancement, and the convocation of the Sixth Plenum at which its historical experiences have been summed up have cleared the way for our party to move forward more vigorously than ever. In response to the call of the Sixth Plenum, we must hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, rally more closely around the Party Central Committee, continue to display the spirit of the foolish old man who removed mountains, and show determination and courage to overcome difficulties and march toward the goal of socialist modernization.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SOVIET COMMENTS ON CHINA'S NAVAL CAPABILITIES

Moscow ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 4, Apr 81 (signed to press 6 Apr 81) pp 63-68

[Article by Captain 1st Rank V. Kozhin and Captain 1st Rank I. Vasin, candidate of military science: "The Chinese Navy"]

[Text] In pursuing its policy of the militarization of China and establishment of its hegemony throughout the world, the Beijing leadership considers its armed forces, of which the Navy is an independent branch, as the basic means for achieving these aggressive aims. The Navy was established at the end of 1950 and by now, foreign military specialists believe, is among the largest in Asia.

According to the Western and Chinese press, the Chinese Navy has the following main missions: combat enemy naval forces, support ground forces operating in coastal sectors, defend the coast against landings in coordination with the other branches of the armed forces, protect sea lines of communications and in addition, conduct reconnaissance, carry out amphibious landings and participate in realizing plans for expansion on the sea. The Chinese seizure of the Paracel Islands (January 1974) marked the beginning of the practical utilization of the Navy to realize Beijing's territorial claims, including in the South China Sea where large oil reserves were discovered.

The chief of the Navy is also a deputy defense minister. He is responsible for the status and development of the Navy, organization and conduct of operational and combat training of ships, units, formations and staffs, recruiting and ideological influencing of personnel, supply of arms, and for construction and defense of military coastal facilities. The commissar heading the Navy's political directorate is equally responsible for the activity of the Navy and its combat readiness and personnel morale and psychological state.

The Chinese Navy has three fleets (the Northern, Eastern and Southern), naval aviation and coast artillery.

Organizationally, the fleets consist of submarines and surface ships (cutters), naval bases and naval regions. Each fleet has its own zone of operations, within the bounds of which it carries out daily activity, organizes its protection and organizes the defense of the offshore islands and coastal facilities. Thus, the Northern Fleet (Qingdao is the main naval base) is assigned the waters of the Yellow Sea and the Bohai Gulf; the Eastern Fleet (Shanghai) has the East China Sea and the strait zones connecting it with the Sea of Japan and the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean; the Southern Fleet (Zhanjiang) is assigned the South China Sea, Gulf of Tonkin and the outlets to the adjacent seas.

Judging by the data of the reference MILITARY BALANCE, the Chinese Navy has under 250 combat ships of the main classes, about 800 combat cutters and over 100 auxiliary ships for various purposes that are distributed between the three fleets. A considerable number of them are of American, Japanese, British, Canadian and Australian construction from the period of the forties to the sixties. In design, they are obsolete, have substantially exhausted their service life and are in need of modernization, and a certain number are to be withdrawn from use in the next decade.

The fleet's nucleus and main strike force, according to the estimate of foreign military specialists, consists of the submarines (86 ships). The most modern of them are considered the two nuclear torpedo "Han" type. The rest are diesels, the majority of which were built according to foreign designs of the fifties to sixties. They are obsolete and do not fully meet the requirements imposed on this class of warships.

The "Ming" type (two) diesel submarines and the nuclear ones are of native Chinese design and construction. According to the foreign press, the "Ming" type ships were placed into operation in the years 1974 to 1975. Their surface displacement is 1,500 t and submerged is 1,900 t; length is about 76 m; armament is six 533-mm torpedo tubes. The crew numbers 75. The nuclear ships were built, judging by the reference JANE'S, in the years 1974 to 1977.

The Chinese command is paying much attention to the development and construction of submarines of their own design that would be close to modern models. The appearance in China of the first nuclear ships of national construction is evaluated by foreign military specialists as a serious step on the path to raising the combat capabilities of its fleet.

The Chinese surface navy consists of URO [guided-missile] destroyers, guided-missile frigates, frigates, escorts, ASW ships, landing ships and minesweepers.

The guided-missile destroyer class (12 ships) includes the "Lūda" type (8, fig. 1 [not reproduced]) of doemstic development and the "Angshang" type (4) of foreign construction in the forties, modernized and reequipped by the Chinese at the beginning of the seventies. The "Lūda" destroyers were put into operation in the seventies. Their total displacement is 3,750 t; length is 131 m; width is 13.7 m; draft is 4.6 m; top speed is 30 knots; armament: two three-container PU [launchers] for PKR [antiship missiles], two 130-mm, four 57-mm and four 25-mm twin guns, and two depth-charge throwers. The crew numbers 200.

Guided-missile frigates (11): five "Jianghu" type ships and two "Jiangdong", built in the second half of the seventies from Chinese designs, as well as four frigates assembled in the fifties from assemblies and sections supplied from abroad and reequipped into guided-missile ships in 1971.

The "Jianghu" and "Jiangdong" guided-missile frigates have a total displacement of 2,200 t; length 103 m; width 12 m; draft 4 m; speed up to 28 knots; armament: guided missile system (on the "Jianghu") or SAM's (on the "Jiangdong"), 100-mm twin gun, four 37-mm twin guns, four depth-charge throwers.

Frigates: five "Jiangnan" ships constructed in the years 1967 to 1969. Their total displacement is 1,600 t; length 90.8 m; width 10 m; draft 3.9 m; top speed 28 knots; armament: three 100-mm guns, four 37-mm twin guns, two 12.7-mm coaxial machineguns, six depth-charge throwers (including two rocket launchers), and two bomb release slips. The crew numbers 175.

As the foreign press reports, in the escort and ASW ship class, there are 12 escorts of foreign construction from the forties to the fifties, including Japanese (the types "Nanchang," "Hueian," "Changbai," "Wuchang" and "Shenyang"), Canadian ("Guanzhou"), British ("Kaifin") and Australian ("Zhnogxing"), as well as 45 ASW ships (24 of Chinese construction of the "Hainan" type and 21 of foreign production). The "Hainan" type ships have a standard displacement of 360 t, length of 60 m, and speed of 24 knots. They have gun and ASW armament.

The most numerous class of ships in the Chinese Navy, according to the reference MILITARY BALANCE, are the missile, torpedo and patrol ships (about 800 ships) intended to counter surface ships and landings of an enemy, as well as for patrolling coastal waters. The greater part of these ships are of foreign production (delivered in the sixties), and the rest were built in China based on foreign designs ("Svtaou" type) or domestic design. Built in national shipyards are PT boats with hydrofoils of the "Huchuan" type (displacement 37 t, length about 22 m, speed 50 knots) and the patrol ships "Shanghai-1" and "Shanghai-2" (displacement, respectively, 100 and 120 t, length 36.6 and 38.8 m, speed up to 30 knots).

All the landing ships are mainly of foreign construction. Included among them are the former American tank landing ships of the types LST (15) and LSM (15), as well as landing ships (11) built in the forties. Installed on some are gun systems of various calibers and models, and on others, launchers for NUR [unguided missiles] and minelaying facilities. Several "Yulin" type tank landing ships with a displacement of 1,500 t, as well as the "Yunnan" type landing ships (300) with a displacement of 300 t have now been constructed from Chinese designs.

Besides these landing ships, the Chinese command has the capability of also using a considerable number of junks and ships for coastal and river duty.

The fleet's minesweeping forces include 37 basic minesweepers (20 "Fushun" type of domestic design and 17 of national construction based on foreign models) and up to 100 auxiliary minesweepers reequipped from fishing trawlers and other ships. The ships are armed with guns, depth-charge throwers and various types of sweeps.

The navy's auxiliary forces include over 100 ships of various classes. Among them are floating bases for submarines and PT boats, dry-cargo transports, tankers, rescue ships and tows for various functions. The main part of the auxiliary ships are of foreign construction.

Naval aviation was established in 1952 based on foreign aircraft. Gradually improving, it has now been transformed into a major naval arm capable of carrying out missions in the interests of the fleet.

According to the reference MILITARY BALANCE, the Chinese naval airforce has over 800 combat and auxiliary aircraft and helicopters grouped into three bomber (mine-torpedo) and six fighter air divisions, separate units and subunits. The main organized combat unit is the squadron.

The bomb (mine-torpedo) divisions have torpedo and mine carrying aircraft (over 100). The fighter divisions have the F-4, F-6, F-7 and F-9 fighters (about 550). Reconnaissance aviation has no more than 20 obsolete aircraft. Auxiliary aviation subunits include trainers and transports as well as liaison aircraft and helicopters.

A large part of the naval aviation fleet was manufactured abroad in the fifties and sixties, and the rest are modified models of national production of recent years. All aircraft and helicopters are shore based. According to the estimate of Western military specialists, naval aviation, even though it has a considerable fleet of aircraft and an impressive combat composition, has limited capabilities for supporting naval forces and combatting enemy submarine and surface forces, especially at distant approaches.

Coastal artillery has existed in the Navy since its organization. The long extent of the coasts, and the presence of a considerable number of convenient harbors, naval bases, ports and other facilities on the coast predetermined the need for this arm. The basis of the coastal artillery, according to the reference JANE'S, are artillery battalions and regiments as well as separate batteries. They have guns of various calibers (from 76.2 to 180 mm) and a small number of shore-to-ship missiles. The coastal artillery guns were made by the Chinese largely from foreign models,

Judging by the foreign press, the Chinese Navy also has antiaircraft artillery subunits and units intended to establish air defense systems for harbors, ships and staff bases, major ports and other facilities. They have antiaircraft guns (from 37-mm to 85-mm) of domestic and foreign manufacture.

The coastal and antiaircraft artillery subunits and units are distributed between the naval regions. As a rule, they are positioned close to major and important facilities on shore, supplying their defense, and they also cover strait zones and offshore islands located within the effective range of fire. In executing their missions, naval coastal artillery coordinates closely with the ground force field and antiaircraft artillery positioned in coastal areas.

According to the reference MILITARY BALANCE, the Chinese Navy has 360,000 men, including 30,000 in naval aviation and 28,000 in coastal and antiaircraft artillery.

Naval personnel recruitment is based on the "Decree on Questions of Military Service" of 1978, by which the system of combining military obligation with recruitment of volunteers was introduced. Under this system, all male citizens between the ages of 18 to 49 have a military obligation. The length of active duty in the Navy is 5 years, and for voluntary enlistment it is 15 to 20 years. A considerable number of the junior commanders and specialists are serving voluntarily beyond the required period. Mid-level commanders are primarily graduates of military schools and academies and higher civilian institutions who have gone through military training in special schools.

Senior and top-level commanders are replaced with people who have extensive practical naval service and have completed the Naval Academy or short-term academic courses.

The Chinese Navy has a rather elaborate system of military training institutions that basically supply the needs for command cadres. Among the most well-known institutions, according to the reference JANE'S, are: the Naval Academy, established in 1950 (Dalyan), the Military Academy (Nangking), the School of Coastal Artillery, Radio Specialists and Rear Support (Shanghai), the Naval Air Academy (Shanghai and Qingdao), and the Submarine Schools (Lushao, Yulin and Qingdao).

Military Training. Judging by the American journal PROCEEDINGS, in recent years the Chinese command has stepped up activity to improve the combat training of naval units and formations. Joint exercises with the different naval arms have been held, and naval exercises have been held in the South China Sea. During them, special attention was paid to the questions of organization and control of operations by ship formations, coordination of the naval arms and the Navy as a whole with other branches of the armed forces, and to practicing the missions of combatting enemy submarines and surface ships, supply of materials and equipment to ships at sea (fig. 2 [not reproduced]) and others.

Prospects for Development. As the reference JANE'S reports, further development of the Chinese Navy presupposes increasing its strike power through placing new types of warships and aircraft into service (primarily, nuclear submarines, destroyers with guided missiles, guided-missile frigates and missile ships) and equipping them with modern armament. Much importance is also attached to modernizing ships, obsolete models of weapons and combat equipment both through domestic capabilities and with the assistance of Western countries. Having decided to expand cooperation with the imperialist states, the Chinese are counting on obtaining from them models of modern systems of naval armaments, communications and navigation equipment, and advanced technology to modernize their Navy. However, for the time being, Beijing's efforts in this direction have not met success, and as foreign military specialists note, China will have to rely on its own resources and capabilities now. Therefore, in their opinion, in the near future, one should hardly expect any significant buildup in ships in the Chinese fleet or substantial increase in combat capabilities of the naval forces as a whole.

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SURVEY OF PROFUSION OF LONG NOVELS PUBLISHED IN 1980

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[Article by Zhang Jiong [1728 3516]: "A Brief Survey of Long Novels of 1980"]

[Text] As modern historical poems, long novels, with numerous characters, complicated plots, and nearly all-inclusive artistic descriptions, have earned an important status in literature. They are like the peonies in a flower garden or like buildings that particularly attract people's attention. In the increasingly thriving literary garden of our new era, along with the blossoming, exuberant, short and medium-length novels, the harvest of creation of long novels has become richer year after year. In the first 3 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," nearly 170 long novels were published, and the year 1980 alone saw the publication of as many as 90. This latter year exceeded any other year since the founding of our state in the number [of novels published]. It is very pleasing that, in the case of these long novels that came off the press in 1980, not only did their subject matter and style exhibit variety, but there emerged a large contingent of talented new writers along with them. Although they were trying out their talent for the first time in this realm of creation, they missed no opportunity in providing a historical epic of broad vision to the readers with their singular sensitivities and keen observations as well as their generous depth of thought and artistic characteristics.

The Chinese people are well known to the world for their long history. In the hoary territory of our motherland, countless militant and magnificent dramas of history have been staged, and many, many heroic and moving historical personalities and tales have been produced. All of these could very well have been turned into rich subject matter for literary creation, including the creation of long novels. But since the founding of our state, creations along these lines have not been well developed because of various reasons. The historical play "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office" was subjected to a criticism that it did not deserve and the 10-year catastrophe followed immediately thereafter; historical subject matter became even more of a "taboo area." During the past few years, this "taboo area" was done away with, but the pouring forth of historical long novels one after another occurred as a salient phenomenon only in 1980.

Depicting the contradictions and struggles of personalities in various classes and various strata with broad scenarios of life, doing their best to sum up the social historical outlook of an entire era, and placing emphasis on praising the people's heroic undertakings in resisting aggression and resisting oppression and exploitations: these are the common characteristics of the year's historical long novels. Among these works, "The Starry Grass," "The Wind Rustles," and "The Breach on the Gold Cup" especially attract attention.

"The Starry Grass" is the energetic product of young female writer Ling Li [0407 0500] which reflects the Nian rebels' resistance against the Qing House in the later period of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. It was written through 10 long years and 7 revisions. Although only Volume I has been published, it has already given people a strong feeling of tremendous momentum and impassioned vehemence because of her clearly depicted, myriad characters, abundantly legendary, moving plots, and sinewy yet gracious, bold yet refined pen. The author of "The Wind Rustles," Jiang Hesen [5592 0735 2773], has long engaged in literary research work. This work is Part I of his "Record of the Eruption to Heaven," in which he depicts the uprisings of Wang Xianzhi [3769 0103 5347] and Huang Cao [7806 1560]. Its structure is magnificent, its content is solid, the plots of its stories are full of complications, and its characters are marked with freshness and vivacity. The author's writing is also more experienced, graceful, neat, and fraught with national flavor. Xu Xingye's [1776 5281 2814] "Breach on the Gold Cup" takes as its subject matter the wars between the Song Dynasty and the states of Liao and Jin and generally depicts the great evolution of this historical storm. All three of these novels pay rather much attention to the authenticity of history. They merge broad knowledge with imagination, on the one hand, and they closely grasp details and situations full of historical characteristics in their artistic creations on the other, so as to depict and bear out the given images of their characters. Thus they really seem to present anew to us those scenarios of life already of the past. They do indeed provide the value of enabling us to know history. Besides, whether it is a case of a dusty fight on the battlefield with clashing iron horses and gold spears, or of sweet love between young lads and lasses with the playing of the silver lyre and the jade flute--whether it has to do with a strategic city or great metropolis, or a remote village or store in the wilderness--all, from members of the nobility to plain folks, are vividly described by a versatile pen.

Among the long novels of historical subject matter, there are also "Bloodshed in 1898," which carves out the image of Tan Shitong [6223 0843 0681] (by Ren Guangchun [0117 0342 2797]); "The Storm of 1900," which reenacts the incident of 1900 (by Bao Chang [7637 2490]); Volume I of "Cao Xueqing [2580 7185 3830]," which depicts the childhood of Cao Xueqing (by Duanmu Hongliang [4551 2606 5584 5328]); "The Moon of Qin Times," which reflects the internal struggles of the Qin House and its collapse under the impact of peasant uprisings (by Liu Yazhou [0491 0068 3166]); "The Divine Lamp," which praises the heroines in the Boxer Movement (by Feng Yicai [7458 7535 2088]); etc. These, too, reenact the social scrolls made up by numerous characters in various historical periods. Among them, some are outstanding because of their possession of veritable, rich historical data, some are winsome because of more romantic imagination, but all cannot help be described other than as works with definite ideological and artistic attraction.

The life and struggles of our people after they entered the 20th century, especially the stormy excitement of the period of the democratic revolution, are still preserved in the memories of the old generation. Subject matter in this regard makes up a considerable proportion of the long novels of 1980. The series of long novels of this year almost constitutes a chronology, from the fermentations of the 1911 Revolution until the triumphant establishment of the People's Republic of China. Through the depiction of the development and evolution of the characters' fortunes, relationships, and dispositions from various aspects, they quite vividly reenact the diverse genres of Chinese society in the first half of this century and the roughness and tortuousness of its revolutionary path, thus castigating the long darkness of the old world on the one hand and praising the undaunted pursuit of brightness by the revolutionary people and their vanguards on the other hand. This also is undoubtedly a harvest in a very important aspect of literary prosperity in the new era.

First of all, we should mention the work "Right Underneath the Red Flag" left by Lao She [5071 5287]. This autobiography, in the form of a long novel, was never completed because of the persecution the author suffered during the 10-year catastrophe. But this manuscript of 80,000 characters left to us has already drawn an authentic scroll of our society from the end of the last century up to early this century and has touched on the basic contradictions of that period. The latter two volumes, "Freedom" and "Dawn," of Ye Junjian's [5509 0689 0256] trilogy "The Earth" also came off the press in 1980. Through the depiction of personalities of various urban and rural classes and strata in the midstream region of the Changjiang from the 1911 Revolution to the time around the "4 May" movement, the novel reflects China's internal and external contradictions at the time and the Chinese people's turn from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. Although the work's portrayal of the personalities' character still lacks depth and liveliness, it is very good at calm narration and succinct sketches. Lu Di's [7120 0966] "Waterfall" also generally reflects the era after the 1911 Revolution. With the tortuous process through which the main character Wei Buping [7279 2975 1627] grew into the revolutionary warrior of the proletariat as its theme, it unfolds the stormy scene from [the time of] the "Down With Yuan Shikai [5913 0013 0418] Movement" to the second civil revolutionary war. Although its structure appears rather lax, its situational descriptions and factual narratives are often presentable and richly endowed with a southern flavor. Only Volume I of the whole book, "The Long Night," has been published, and it stops at the fermentations of the great revolution of the early 1920's.

The mighty great revolution ending in failure, with Communists burying the corpses of their companions, wiping the blood from their bodies, and marching anew toward their unswerving struggles--these are the most heartrendering and also most moving chapters in the history of the modern Chinese revolution. Yang Qianru's [2799 4960 1172] "Umbrella" (Volumes I and II) and Peng Hui's [1756 1979] "The Endless Changjiang Keeps Rolling" both reflect the waves of this period of life. The former places emphasis on writing about the path followed by intellectual youths, whereas the latter stresses the growth of revolutionary workers. Both take the ebb and flow of great revolutionary waves in Wuhan as their background and vividly depict various contradictions and struggles in Chinese society around the time Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei reneged on the revolution. Both authors are equipped with personal experience in the life of that period; their depiction of characters gives an abundant impression of authenticity. Their writing is plain and refined, and the indigenous character of their languages is quite distinctive.

Among the long novels reflecting social life and our party's underground struggles during the period of the second revolutionary war is Yan Guopei's [6768 0948 1014] "The Whirlpool." This is Volume I of the author's Changjiang trilogy. With contradictions between the Nationalist and Communist parties and the Changjiang navigation capitalists in the eastern Sichuan region as its warp and woof, the novel broadly depicts local warlords, ringleaders of secret societies, agents of military intelligence, Japanese spies, church ministers, native landlords, and colorful characters of the like, and warmly applauds stories about the hard and dangerous struggle of Li Ming [2621 2494] and other Communists and about the anti-Japanese and national salvation movements on the part of the vast ranks of the masses of people. Its writing is smooth and pertinent, and its characters are rather genuinely portrayed. Its plots are also quite bewitchingly and movingly told.

Among the long novels, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation are used by many writers as their subject matter. The works of 1980 make up quite a proportion in this regard, and they have also broken new ground in terms of subject matter and style. Although the writings of Zhou Yiliang's [0719 7535 5328] "Ji Hongchang" [0679 7703 2490] and Chen Lide's [7115 0500 1795] "The Grievance About the Great Wall" are different and their styles are not the same, they both use General Ji Hongchang's stories as their raw material and endeavor to sculpture his heroic image. Yang Mo's [2799 3106] "Dawn in the East" writes a song of praise for the intellectuals who, after the Lugouqiao incident, marched toward unity with the workers and peasants and kept up their difficult struggles against Japan in cities and in the countryside. Li Zhun's [2621 0402] "The Huanghe Flows Eastward" (Volume I) takes as its background the Kuomintang troops' breaching the Huayuankou Dam and creating a thousand li of inundated countryside in 1938. Through stories of the peasants in the Huanghe flooded region leaving their homes and struggling for their lives, it sculptures the images of Xu Qiuzhai [1776 4428 7872], Li Mai [2621 7796], Wang Pao [3769 6410], Lu Wu [5663 0063], Liang Qing [2733 2532], and others in a series of toiling rural people of distinctive character, praises the qualities of industry, wisdom, resilient self-control, and mutual assistance on the part of the Chinese people, and vividly reflects various social contradictions in Kuomintang-controlled areas. The novel's language is neat, beautiful, and full of national flavor; its portrayal of personalities is penetrating and indicative of the author's cultivation of skills. In addition, there are "Ten Years of Storms" (by Li Mengyan [2621 1322 1484]), "Heavy Snowflakes Flying" (by Xu Yu [1776 2700]), "The Story of Two Dragons" (by Yang Ming [2799 2494]), "The Silver Beach Full of Fire" (by Shi Ying [4258 5391]), "New Biographies of the Heroic Sons and Daughters," Followup Collection (by Kong Que [1313 0628]), "The Deep Winter" (by Gu Ligao [0657 4539 7559]), "Qimeng Mountain Is Fine" (by Wei Shuhai [7614 2885 3189]), etc.--all of which depict anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek struggles in various areas. Some of these works are quite characteristic in terms of the angle from which their subject matter is adapted and in terms of their artistic depiction. For instance, Mu Qing's [2606 7230]

"The Tomb Tablets in Youlinli" tells the story of a group of vagrant children who, upon the liberation of a certain city in the Northeast, elevated their consciousness with the help of the revolutionary fighters and participated in the struggle against special agents. Its plot is bewitching, and its language is plain yet full of deeply genuine and provocative sentiments. Also, Wu Yinyi's [0702 0936 2496] "Chronology of the Pear Garden," through the rough experiences, comedies, and tragedies of Sichuan opera performers after the triumph of the war of resistance, reflects the darkness of the old society and the people's resistance and struggle from that approach. But its tone is rather lighthearted and humerous, hence creating a special style. Among works with military subject matter, "Autumn and Spring of Hebei and Shandong" (by Guo Minglun [6753 2494 0243] and Zhang Zhongtian [1728 6850 1131]) takes as its background the anti-Japanese struggle in the Hebei-Shandong border area. It endeavors to portray commanding generals of both the enemy's side and our side, and reflects their discrepancies during strategic and tactical decisionmaking activities. "The Great Battle of Huaihai" (by Han Feng [1383 7364]) reenacts the historic battle, with its narrative attention also concentrated on how headquarters commanders made decisions in their tents to determine victory or defeat far away, thus depicting a series of genuine historical personalities in succinct and brief language and with a roundly coherent structure.

In comparison, those works reflecting revolution and construction during the socialist period still appear to be rather weak among the long novel creations of 1980. But we should also not overlook the newly achieved results. First of all, publication of Volumes III and IV of Zhou Erfu's [0719 5079 1788] "Morning in Shanghai" finally made this long novel depicting the difficult process of the socialist transformation of industry and commerce complete. It provides us with the complicated picture of the 1950's in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie both united with and struggled against each other. And through Hu Kao's [5170 5072] "Duel Melody" people also see a vivid portrayal of certain political movements during the early days after the founding of our state. Cheng Shuzhen's [4453 2885 5271] "College Days" and Kang Caiping's [0073 1752 1456] "The Small Iris" describe life in the institutions of higher learning in the 1950's and 1960's, respectively. They have molded the images of a generation of a certain type of youths and certain high intellectuals. In addition, Feng Lingxi's [7458 5376 2784] "The Mysterious Songbuer" narrates the story of a scientific survey team which in the early 1960's went deeply into the Songbuer Desert to carry out survey work; it describes quite vividly the miraculous scenes in the desert area. "Daughters of the Sea," written jointly by Wu Deyong [0702 1795 3057] and Che Jixin [6508 0679 1800], uses delicate strokes to sing praises of stories about the people of the islands who dedicate themselves to the building of socialism. It has molded the vivid images of a contingent of young women from fishing families and presents the strong flavor of island life.

Among the long novels reflecting the socialist period, those making up the greatest proportion and also arousing strong response and reaction among the vast ranks of readers are mostly those works that depict from different angles the society which was made up of various personalities whose destinies fluctuated during the 10-year turmoil. A good number of these [novels] are rather outstanding in their exploration of new subject matter and in their portrayal of personalities, as well as in the development of their plots. Zhou Keqin's [0719 0344 5367] "Xu Mao [6079 5399] and His Daughters" is lyric in its writing style, fresh and plain in its language, and authentically communicative in its portrayal of personalities. Through the depiction of Xu Mao and his daughters and sons-in-law, the novel vividly reflects the evolution of social relations in our countryside and the mischiefs of leftist thinking in the 1970's. Among the long novels published in 1980 which reflect life in the countryside, it is indeed a profound work with due merit and fortitude that describes the days of the 10-year period. Mo Yingfeng's [5459 2019 6265] "A Poem About the General" is another outstanding work. With concentrated political excitement, it portrays the sturdy image of old General Peng Qi [1756 0366] in his fight with Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their ilk. It also clearly depicts youths with different characters, such as Zhao Daming [6390 1129 2494], Peng Xiangxiang [1756 3276 3276], and Chen Xiaopao [7115 1420 3517]. The author is very good at structuring tortuous stories. His language is healthy, smooth, and also delicate, and his descriptions of situations and things are full of vitality of life and colors of the day. "Record on Breaking the Walls" coauthored by Chen Dengke [7115 4098 4430] and Xiao Ma [5135 7456], through a description of the 9-month experience of An Dong [1344 2639], secretary of a municipal party committee, in getting out of prison and entering it again, reflects the drastic struggle between the two lines in our social and political life in 1975 and provides contours of the spiritual outlook of various personalities in the cities and the countryside. Although the novel's structure is rather loose and lacks depth, its scenarios are broad and its turn of the pen is usually swift. Thus it clearly preserves the imprints of the particular time and gives people the feeling that, despite the prevailing heavy darkness, brightness is nonetheless ahead and no one can really vanquish the people. Li Ruqing's new product "The Winter Bud" takes the 10-year turmoil as its background and praises the victory of unflinching persistence in scientific research and the fighting spirit of the main character Fang Fang [2455 5364] in her dedication to the four modernizations. Hao Ran's [3185 3544] "Love for the Mountains and Rivers" and Liu Yazhou's [0491 0068 5297] "Taking a Bride and Getting a Husband" both narrate stories of love between men and women in the countryside and reflect the contradictions and disputes of general implications when the four pests held sway, but each [novel] has its own characteristics. Apart from these, "Blood-Tinged Love," coauthored by Li Xianjuan [2621 1288 1227] and Yang Ying [2799 7336]; "Come Back, Souls!" coauthored by Wang Xinji [3769 2450 4764], Tao Zheng [7118 2973], and Tian Zengxiang [3944 1073 5046]; Mu Qing's [2606 7230] "The Autumn in Which No Harvest Was Allowed"; Shi Min's [1102 2404] "The Sea, the Thoughtful Sea"; and "Love and Hate," coauthored by Cui Wei [1508 1550] and Niu Yuda [6873 1342 1129] also provide vivid portrayals of the stormy changes on various fronts in the 10-year turmoil from different approaches.

Here I should also especially mention young writer Ye Xin's [5509 6580] creations. In 1980 he successively published the long novels "Our Generation of Young People," "The Wind Is Cold and Strong," and "Wasting Time," which reflect intellectual youths on their paths of life when sent to the mountains and the countryside. Ye Xin himself was an intellectual youth sent from Shanghai to settle in the mountainous region of Guizhou at the end of the 1960's. He was familiar with the life of his companions, his writing is graceful, and he is good at the delicate portrayal of psychological states and the bewitching deployment of stories. From his long novels, people can see a gallery of personalities of a whole younger generation who fared through different fortunes of life. Although the theme of his works still lacks depth, they do show a healthy, inspiring strength encouraging people to strive forward.

Another pleasing phenomenon about the long novels of 1980 is that there are new achievements in the reflection of the life and struggles of brotherly minority nationalities. In describing the "Yakesa" during the anti-Russian war in the reign of Kangxi, Xie Kun [6200 7649] and Wang Feisha [3769 7378 3079] expose realistically Tsarist Russia's cruel plunder of brotherly nationalities such as Daguan'er in our Heilongjiang drainage area, and also the history of the defeat of the aggressors under the counterblows of Qing troops and the people of various nationalities. Wang Shengnong's [3769 4141 6593] "Ferocious Fighters," in turn, describes the war of the people of the Daguan'er and Hezhe nationalities in their renewed resistance and attack against Tsarist expansion in the reign of Xianfeng. It saliently depicts the moving image of the patriotic hero Batu'er [1572 0956 1422]. Reflecting subject matter such as this is another work, "Soul of the Black River" (by Lo Guoshi [5012 0948 1102] and Liu Dihua [0491 6611 5478]. The conceptual framework of all these works is rather broad, and their plots are quite bewitching and tense: scenarios on the grassland, national habits, bravery and vehemence on the battlefield, the dignity and solemnity of the palace...all invariably vividly reappear from their pen--beguiling people and exciting people. In depicting modern subject matters, Zhang Xiangwu's [1728 0686 0582] "Storm in the Great Desert" reflects the story of the people of Mongol and Han nationalities in launching their sharp and drastic struggle against reactionary landlords, cattle owners, and armed bandits under the support of our troops during the early postliberation period. Xiangbien Jiaco's [7100 6708 0857 2238] "Gesang Meiduo" in turn sings the hearty praise of slaves of Tibetan nationality who supported the Liberation Army in its march into Lhasa, and who thereby became revolutionary fighters. The author's use of the Han language is proficient, smooth, and also fresh and rich; this is quite a feat.

Even more noteworthy about the long novels of 1980 is the fact that more works reflecting the life of overseas Chinese have come to be published. "Two Kinds of Americans" by lady writer Wang Ying [3769 3853], who has already passed away, follows with a neat, smooth pen the struggle of a Chinese couple attempting to return to the motherland. It portrays the different expressions of the officials of the immigration office and ordinary Americans. Hong Yonghong's [3163 3057 1347] "Prisoners on the Sea" and Hong Sisi's [3163 4828 4828] "Strange Encounters in a Foreign Land" in turn expose the story of how Chinese laborers were sold to America in the early days and suffered blood-and-tears hardships, and how they ultimately rose in struggle. In addition, American lady writer Nie Hualing's [5119 5478 3781] "The Mulberry Is Green and the Peach Is Red" and Yu Lihua's [2456 2746 5478] "Seeing Palms Again, Seeing Palms Again" were also published for the first time in the mainland of the motherland. Both books were representative works which made [their authors] known in their early years. While their specific subject matter is different, they both express the trying situations of Chinese wandering in America and their strong nostalgia for their motherland and their relatives. The writing styles are to a definite extent influenced by the modern [writers] of the West, yet they each exhibit creative features of their own.

In this short article, it is of course impossible for us to list one by one all of the long novels published in 1980. But from the incomplete survey above, it is already not difficult for us to see the results achieved by the long novels of that year. When we read these works, there seem to appear right before our eyes the long river of history surging with waves, the land of the motherland exhibiting all its charms, and countless personalities of the past and present who most certainly are sufficient in number to make up a long, long gallery winding and extending beyond what one's eyes can absorb all at once. Although the ideological and artistic level of these works is by no means even, we should nonetheless affirm that their ideological content in all of them is healthy or relatively healthy and beneficial to our effort to educate the people with the spirit of patriotism, socialism, and revolutionary heroism. At the same time, insofar as their genuine reflection of reality is concerned, the overwhelming majority of all these works do afford a hard-to-come-by perceptivity and meaning. And quite a few among them can well enter the list of fine long novels since the founding of our state--whether in terms of their ideological depth or of their artistic success.

9255
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UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 81 p 3

[Report: "President Fan Xuji [4636 4872 4614] of the Jiaotong University of Shanghai Discusses Several Problems Concerning the Readjustment and Reform in Higher Education"]

[Text] Comrade Fan Xuji has engaged in higher education for 40 years. Not long ago he went on a tour to investigate some institutions of higher learning in the United Kingdom, France and West Germany, and also surveyed education in the United States. He told reporters: We have our own national circumstances. Ours is a socialist country. In running education we cannot copy the experience of others. We must follow China's own way but the experience of other countries can be used. He combined the realities of our country, drew on the beneficial experience of other countries, and made some suggestions for the reform of our higher education. Some of his propositions are being tested at the Jiaotong University of Shanghai.

Reform Teaching Methods, Foster Students' Intellectual Capacity

He said that for many years our teaching method has been "spoonfeeding." Teachers put on one-man shows in the classroom, emphasize "solving problems right in the classroom" and overlook self-teaching by the students. This spoonfeeding way of teaching is unfavorable in fostering the students' intellectual capacity. Particularly with the relatively high standards for enrollment at the Jiaotong University of Shanghai in recent years, if teachers still conduct their classes in the old way, teach too many details or straight from the book and repeat the contents of teaching materials, students will of course have no interest. How teachers and students can enliven teaching and learning and commonly place themselves in enthusiastic thinking and pursuit of knowledge is a problem that needs to be resolved in earnest. Some teachers at the Jiaotong University of Shanghai have done experiments in this aspect. Some adopt the method of "self-teaching, proficiency in giving explanations, and more practice." By allowing students to prepare their study through self-teaching before class, teachers can simplify classroom teaching, elucidate basic concepts and key materials and use only half of the original time. Emphasis is given to the selection of typical examples for analysis so that students can draw inferences about other cases from one example. This allows ample time to ask questions and inspires leading students to conduct discussions. At the Jiaotong University discussion sessions are organized beginning with the physics course. There are four sessions in physics each week, one of which is a discussion session that is carried out gradually in the early college years. One teacher in ship structural mechanics is experimenting in giving students the right to use their initiative in seeking knowledge. In class, students are given two basic points. One is the purpose of the lesson, the problem to be solved and how to apply it. The other is the ideological line along which the problem is to be solved. With these the students will have the overall situation in mind, display initiative under the teacher's explanations and guidance and become seekers of knowledge. What was originally a relatively difficult lesson students now learn with ease. Regardless of their individual characteristics, among some institutions of higher learning in the United Kingdom, France and West Germany, the one common feature is still giving play to the student's enthusiasm and developing their ability to work independently. In the United States at the University of California at Berkeley, calculus has 132 class hours of which 66 are for lectures and 66 are for discussion. In physics a quarter of the time is spent on discussion sessions and combined with laboratory at the same time. This way students do not passively receive knowledge but they think actively and are able to obtain good results. Our calculus course has 160 class hours totally taught by the teacher and is still considered to be insufficient. This must be changed. Teachers also cannot passively respond to questions, answering when there are any and not answering when there are none, but they should set problems for students to solve. Cambridge University in the United Kingdom has over 30 peripheral colleges. Students are recommended by teachers of these colleges for enrollment. These teachers continue to guide students in their study after they are enrolled. Their method is to understand learning conditions, present problems for students to solve and promote the intensive study of problems by the students themselves.

Fan also believes that practical ability cannot be ignored in fostering intellectual capacity. Attention must be given to two aspects. In doing experiments emphasis must be given to developing self-initiative. With the exception of some required experiments, in their laboratory sessions students of other countries are allowed to select their problems, and with the consent of the teachers they can draw up laboratory plans, choose their own apparatus and operate on their own. Our laboratory classes must be improved. We cannot merely let students follow readymade arrangements to prove theories. The laboratory classes at the Jiaotong University of Shanghai are now being improved. For example, the electrical engineering department offers experiments of a design nature and the physics department is starting the construction of intermediate laboratories, providing students with a place of activities for independent experiments. Practical experience in the factories, graduation projects and other links should be restored and improved and not be abolished. Actually, although the school timetable does not include a factory training plan, at some universities in other countries, students must go to the factories during the summer vacation. West Germany puts even greater emphasis on the practical link. The relationship between the factory and school is very close. Some large facilities and even workshops in the schools are endowed by factory owners. This cooperative relationship between factories and schools has played a positive role in making the industry of West Germany prosperous. Our own experience also proves that it is a great contribution to the construction of the four modernizations if research units draw up contracts and carry out cooperative scientific research. There are also benefits to mutual cooperation in learning from each other's strong points to offset one's weaknesses and develop scientific techniques. The Jiaotong University of Shanghai is strengthening this aspect of work. Last year the number of cooperative scientific research projects was 47.9 percent and the outlay was 23.7 percent of the total.

Foster and Select Talents While We Confront the Majority

He believes that the scope of knowledge in undergraduate education should be a little broader. Undergraduate education is essentially still laying a strong foundation in science, acquiring appropriate and specialized knowledge, and developing one's special skills according to concrete conditions even after graduation.

Institutions of higher learning must face all the students but must also pay great attention to the "development of talents," teach students according to their aptitude, adopt practical measures, give play to the learning potentials of students of excellence so that they may progress even faster. We must no longer use the method of "simplifying in one stroke," suppressing the development of their intellectual capacity. This is being tested in several departments of the Jiaotong University of Shanghai. They have adopted the method discussed and jointly recommended by course instructors, classroom teachers and advisers who determined a number of excellent students. One way to develop them was to offer elective courses. Last term, 33 courses were offered and this term there are 55. Another way is to operate interest groups. There are now 33 different such groups, some of which study foreign languages, some repair apparatus and make models, and some study particular books. Under the guidance of the teachers, one person makes a report and everyone participates in the discussion. In time, talents will be discovered. Until by the 3d year, a group of even more outstanding students will be selected. The department will arrange for those with relatively higher academic standards to work as instructors and will establish a teaching plan for each outstanding student, open the laboratory to them, allow them to borrow books and gain access to the reference rooms just as graduate students do, purchase books or provide laboratory expenses for them under the direction of instructors, and even allow them to change specialities or take elective courses in other departments or schools in accordance with their strong points. The determination of "the best of its kind" must be examined and approved by the school. All experimental points of the departments pay special attention to carrying out ideological and political education, teaching them not to be arrogant and impulsive so that they may live among the masses.

The School Must Function Primarily in Teaching and Combine It With Scientific Research

Key schools and colleges must engage in scientific research in order to develop science and technology. Scientific research must combine with teaching, which will favor raising the scientific and technical level of teaching. For many years the separation of teaching and scientific research has been incorrect. Jiaotong University of Shanghai, by advocating that teachers should have two concurrent jobs, mainly teaching to foster talents for the motherland but also engaging in scientific research to produce results, can then fit the present situation in the development of science and technology. Otherwise it would be difficult to bring new knowledge and techniques into teaching and it might be too late to incorporate them. Those who engage in scientific research must also engage in teaching.

Teachers must take on graduate students when engaging in scientific research. This usually brings greater results than when they do it alone. Taking on graduate students does not mean doing the problems and then asking the students to repeat them the same way. That is still the method of instilling. The teacher mainly should demonstrate the methods of research. It is not possible for the teacher to be wiser than the gradiate students in every way and it is not surprising if the teacher is not as good as his own graduate students in certain respects. The pupil can surpass the teacher. To foster a mentality, teachers and graduate students should jointly explore new knowledge, techniques and problems, and strive to create new discoveries and inventions.

Develop Inter-Disciplinary Studies and Open New Spheres of Learning

Comrade Fan Xuji thinks that students, with the consent of their teachers, should be allowed to cross disciplines in accordance with their special skills or the direction their specialities develop. Not only can they cross disciplines within their departments but also with other departments.

According to the practice of the Jiaotong University of Shanghai there are three ways to develop special fields of study. One way is to set up inter-disciplinary fields such as the bio-medical engineering field set up by our Jiaotong University in cooperation with the No 1 Medical College of Shanghai. The two schools jointly recruit students and offer courses. Both schools have their own bias. The Jiaotong University learns medicine on the basis of engineering while the No 1 Medical School learns engineering on the basis of medicine. The two schools jointly foster talents in medical apparatus and instruments as well as talents in the application of new engineering techniques in medical treatment such as the use of computers to diagnose illnesses. The mechanics department of Jiaotong University and the electronic computer field successfully created a manipulator which is already able to perform two kinds of motion. After a worker of a certain factory in Shanghai had his armed severed in an accident at work, such a manipulator was attached to him and now he can work as a warehouseman. Another way is to run schools with a diversity of forms, operating study courses or short-term training courses for the scientific and technical staff of factories or research institutes. New special fields of study can gradually begin through these courses. The Jiaotong University has already operated 8 different types and 12 terms of special and training courses including business management and vibration. Those who come to learn have a considerable amount of basic knowledge in science and technology. Some come to update what they know. New knowledge and techniques are taught. New teaching materials can be compiled after a course is taught once or twice, and new fields of study can begin shortly. The third way is to "use science to foster engineering." Special fields in engineering recruit graduate science students and those in science can also recruit graduate engineering students. For example, the physics field can recruit graduate students in computer or data science. New courses and specialities are created through such a linkup. He thinks that if subjects do not keep in touch, the significance and function of the comprehensive engineering college will be lost. Once interdisciplinary studies develop, people with the same goal gather together and exchange research findings with each other. A large number of elective courses is made available and many research problems are raised. Naturally this gives rise to cooperation inside and outside the school. Such a scene is very heartening.

Stress the Outfitting of Computers and Popularize Their Use

The development of electronic computers has promoted the growth of all branches of learning, even causing changes in the direction of research in some of them. It can be said that the outfitting and use of computers symbolize the modernization of education. Computers enable us to use the dispersion method to solve very complicated computations. Combining mathematical and physical models to do analog experiments on the computer takes the place of constructing certain large-scale laboratory facilities. This is truly a great savings. Computers can also provide the necessary means for processing data in experiments as well as upgrading designs. Clearly, the use of computers in the sphere of teaching transforms teaching and scientific research in the schools. Institutions of higher education must emphasize fully the development and use of such modern means of teaching and scientific research. This is a very important problem. Regardless of their special fields of study, most Chinese graduate students in the United Kingdom, France and West Germany work with computers. Universities in these countries were widely equipped with computers 10 years ago. Many computer centers at key institutions are linked to regional or national networks. In some schools there is a terminal for every 30 to 50 university students. After class they either go to the library or the computer room. The Jiaotong University of Shanghai is striving to move in this direction, with the gradual expansion of libraries, trial use of computers to search for data, trying out open-shelf reading among students, fully utilizing existing small computers before setting up computer centers, and vigorously popularizing and developing the application of computers in teaching and scientific research.

Correctly Treat the Relationship Between the Introduction of Technology and Self-Reliance

Comrade Fan Xuji pointed out emphatically that in order to do well in our country's educational undertaking we must base ourselves on self-reliance. We must learn what is advanced in the West but we must not copy it blindly. We have learned a bitter lesson in this. We should now pay attention to not losing the beneficial things we have learned in the past--the spirit of integrating theory with practice--on account of the emphasis of "all-round education." Engineering students must still go to the factories to obtain practical experience and must still attend engineering design courses. He thinks that redundant hiring of large numbers of foreign specialists to teach should be improved. Hired specialists must be small in number and outstanding. There are specialists for quite a few disciplines in our country and many foreign journals can be utilized. Organizing specialists inside our country to teach can save some funds for the state. He also thinks that the standard of undergraduates at our key universities does not appear to be lower than that in other countries. From now on it is not imperative to select and send students abroad to study beginning with the freshman year in college. These problems should be studied and improved in the readjustment and reform of higher education.

There is also the real problem of combining with our socialist system when learning foreign things. Western countries use the method of "hiring at a high price" to recruit qualified personnel. Heads of schools rely on prestige to solicit contributions from society. This is not what we should learn. In one respect, we must have a personnel system that is rational and suitable to the conditions in our country. In another respect, we must rely on ideological and political work to increase the socialist consciousness of the broad masses of teachers and scientific and technical staff, advocate working with a will to make the country strong, study assiduously, help each other, organize cooperation, and serve the construction of the four modernizations. Running schools must rely on the spirit of working solidly and using the result to produce talents and achievements which will gain people's trust and social prestige, and not pursue esteem with a mere name and without any real work. He said: In any case, we must base ourselves on self-reliance, learn from the strong points of others to make up for our weak points, give full play to the superiority of socialism, unite and cooperate, help supply each other's needs, and jointly advance for the early realization of the four modernizations of the motherland.

9586
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COOPERATIVE GROUPS ORGANIZED FOR TEACHING BASIC COURSES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 81 p 3

[Report: "Nine Institutes of Higher Learning Directly Under the First Ministry of Machine Building Form Cooperative Groups for the Teaching of Basic Courses"]

[Text] Since last January, 9 institutes of higher learning directly under the First Ministry of Machine Building, including the Hunan University and Hefei Industrial College, have offered 15 basic and basic technical courses and have formed cooperative groups to coordinate them.

Led by the institutes with relatively more favorable conditions the cooperative groups organized informal discussion activities. Participants included the comrades in charge and chief instructors of teaching and research sections as well as scientific research personnel. The essence of these activities was to formulate a teaching program in accordance with the unified program that would suit the real needs of institutions under the First Ministry of Machine Building to exchange experiences in teaching each course and to study the problems in strengthening practical links. Some groups even invited teachers with more teaching experience and attainments in learning to explain certain chapters and sections of each course. Other groups organized the compilation of new teaching materials, guides and exercise books. At the time the cooperative groups for basic courses in electrical engineering held informal discussions at the Hunan University, the participating chief instructors and laboratory staff of the nine institutes of higher learning personally performed all the required experiments. Ultimately they compiled and published for the students A Guide To Courses On Basic Experiments in Electrical Engineering.

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PARTY AND STATE

CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP OF PARTY EMPHASIZED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 81 p 4

[Article: "Practice Brings Us Greater Confidence"]

[Excerpt] Today there are still many comrades who have exhibited little confidence in party leadership and the future of the four modernizations. This is a problem that deserves our attention. These comrades have failed to conduct an accurate and adequate evaluation of what the entire party and the people throughout the country have done and achieved under the leadership of the party Central Committee. They always feel that "what has been done is negligible" and "the step forward is not big enough." For this reason, they always look to the future with a feeling of uncertainty. At work, they always feel dispirited, demonstrating a lack of the vigor expected of revolutionaries.

Why do some comrades lack a correct understanding of the current situation regarding the four modernizations? An important factor is the underestimation of the serious damage to the party and state in the political, economic and ideological fields caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the inadequate understanding of the long prevailing leftist mistakes and the impact of the new left-deviationist adventure that took place 2 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," and the inadequate assessment of the difficulties we now face in settling these problems and in carrying out the four modernization program. We often use such terms as "incurable" and "problems accumulate like mountains" to describe the political, economic and social problems we face. It is unrealistic to expect that so many problems that have accumulated over the years be resolved in a matter of a few days. Comrade Zhen Yun once said: As communists, who has ever thought of doing less and not more and who has ever thought of lagging behind? But whether we can achieve what we want and whether we can double our pace cannot be determined by our subjective wishful thinking alone. More important is the fact that we must take into account the actual conditions and measure our pace of progress on the basis of available energy and resources. This deserves to be called a Marxist approach to seeking truth from facts. An assessment of what we have done since the Third Plenum on the basis of this approach will reveal that we are not lagging behind in work, we are moving very fast; and what we have achieved is not small but great. This understanding is also an approach conforming to reality.

There is another important factor that has led to an inaccurate assessment of the current situation by some comrades: They are unwilling to analyze, fully and specifically, some problems that exist in our work and workstyle, and therefore, they cannot distinguish the mainstream from its tributaries; thus they can see only tangible problems that exist but overlook the active efforts that are being made to solve them with good results. Looking back on the party's workstyle, we will realize that unhealthy workstyles do exist within our party, thus tarnishing its image, lowering its prestige, and weakening its fighting strength, This is something that deserves our great attention, and a trend that should be conscientiously reversed. But a realistic review of these problems will reveal that the unhealthy tendency is not so widespread as to affect all or the majority of party members; special privileges are not so universal that they have been granted to all or the majority of cadres; the majority of party members and cadres are men of moral integrity devoted to serving the people. No one should regard specific local phenomena as universal phenomena or the situation in specific regions as the overall situation. Nor should anyone view problems that exist among some party members and cadres as something that affects the party as a whole. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the past 2 years, consistent efforts have been made to overcome this unhealthy tendency; our party's workstyle today is a great departure from what it was during the 10 years of catastrophe, and even differs more or less from what it was more than 2 years ago; this workstyle has become a trend continuing to move in the right direction. Therefore, the bad workstyle that has affected some people within the party should not be allowed to spread to others so to prevent all of us from losing confidence in the leadership of the party as a whole or courage to move forward. We should evaluate the problem concerning the party's workstyle in much the same way as we evaluate problems in work.

We must build up confidence before trying to score successes in our careers. Those with misgivings, a wavering attitude, and overwhelmed by pessimism are persons who often want to beat a retreat in the face of difficulties. Persons with this mentality can achieve nothing whatever they do. They are not qualified for participation in the extremely difficult and great cause of socialist modernization, an undertaking unparalleled in history. At every crucial moment in the history of our revolution, the party always considers it a duty to pass on to the masses the truth about our bright future, our present difficulties, our achievements and existing problems. The party also wants to refute statements full of pessimism and disappointment by means of reasoning and by citing facts to help the people build up their confidence. During the Jinggangshan period, Comrade Mao Zedong made known his thesis that "A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire" in order to repudiate the gloomy view that "the red flag flying days are numbered." During the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan, in the face of the swaggering and cocky Japanese agressors, some people who did not dare to resist them spread the view that "the War of Resistance Against Japan is doomed." In response to this idea, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a series of well-known articles analyzing scientifically the strengths of the enemy and ourselves, pointing up the belief of certain triumph in the War of Resistance Against Japan. In his address to the Seventh Party Congress, entitled "The Foolish Old Man Who moved Mountains," Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly admonished the entire party and the people throughout the land in the certain triumph of the revolution." A review of this historical experience reminds us of the necessity to constantly analyze the situation in order to achieve a correct understanding of it. This process of analysis and gaining knowledge has been instrumental in unifying the revolutionary ranks and inspiring us to march forward confidently toward victory. Earlier, I reviewed some work we have done since the Third Plenum. Although this review is far from specific and comprehensive, it is sufficient to enlighten us to the fact that today another great epoch in the history of our party since the Zunyi meeting has been ushered in for the party Central Committee, that our cause is advancing triumphantly and our future is infinitely bright. All our comrades must strengthen their confidence, coordinate with one another, and play an active role in pushing our great socialist modernization program forward.

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STUDY OF DOCUMENTS EVALUATING MAO'S ROLE IN REVOLUTION URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Study Documents Well, Unite As One To Look Forward"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is an event of great historical significance that has taken place at a time when the people throughout the country are jubilantly celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. This is another very important conference in the history of our party that has taken place since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a conference calling for summing up experiences and uniting to look forward, a new milestone in the endeavor of the party and state to bring order out of chaos, carry on our cause and forge ahead. During the Sixth Plenum, a "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" was adopted, principal leading members were elected and reelected to the Party Central Committee. Such actions entirely conform to the common aspirations of the entire party, the entire army and the people throughout the country, reminding us that our party has fulfilled a historical mission to rectify its guiding ideology. The facts show that our party has become more mature and stronger; our cause is gaining momentum and strength.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the Sixth Plenum is an important historical document pervaded with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This resolution contains a brief but concise review of the 28-year history preceding the founding of the PRC, a realistic summation of basic experiences and lessons our party has drawn from its endeavor over the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC to lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country to embark on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and a scientific evaluation of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. The document further clarifies the correct path to socialist modernization conforming to Chinese conditions. This resolution results from labor that cost us dearly. It is a realistic, convincing and inspirational document, a reflection of the collective wisdom of the party, full of imposing ideals as well as objective realities. The document is an important basis for our party and state to distinguish right from wrong and unify our thinking, and an important weapon for us to unite as one to look forward, and to carry on our cause and forge ahead. Comrade Hu Yaobang's "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the CCP" is a detailed account of the militant course taken by our party over the past 60 years as well as its basic experiences during this period, illuminating the direction in which our party is building itself into a strong elite force for the socialist modernization program.

It is indeed a programmatic document on strengthening party building for this new historical period. The publication of the "resolution" and "speech" will certainly have a great role to play in educating, inspiring and mobilizing the people throughout the country. At present, a task facing our party oraganizations at all levels is to organize, and provide effective and conscientious leadership for, a movement to study the three documents--the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," the communique on the plenary session, and Comrade Hu Yaobang's "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the founding of the CCP."

At every crucial turning point, the party as a whole has initiated a study movement to sum up its historical experiences, to unify its thinking and to raise its level of Marxism. This has become a tradition of our party. An example is the rectification and study campaign that took place in Yanan from 1942 to 1945. The current study movement centering on the study of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is another large-scale drive to study theory, principles, policies and historical experiences or a widespread Marxist education campaign in the history of the party. All leading cadres and members of our party must correctly sum up historical experiences through this study as a basis for unifying our will, coordinating our steps, uniting us as one to look forward, and to serve the four modernizations program wholeheartedly. To guide the organization of this study through to success should be regarded by the entire party as a central task to be fulfilled in the second half of this year. Our present task is to read these documents thoroughly and grasp their essence, to understand their contents. Our party's leading cadres at all levels must first do a good job in this field by learning more and better than others. This is the key and crucial point of this study movement. All leading cadres are required to read these documents conscientioulsy and thoroughtly until they can grasp their essential contents and spirit and essence. They must concentrate on grasping the guiding ideology of the "resolution." For example, they must uphold the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought as the significant guiding ideology of our party, realistically evaluate the matters of right and wrong and merits and demerits of the past 32 years following the founding of the PRC, and use this as a basis for unifying the thinking of the entire party and for uniting the nation to look forward.

This study is a form of profound ideological education. In the course of study, we must concentrate on major issues and on issues of substance, and dovote ourselves to studying them repeatedly. We must refrain from quibbling over peripheral issues or certain individual phrases. Nor should we engage in any mass disputes over specific historical issues of right and wrong in specific units and localities.

Different opinions may be expressed through this study. This is something normal in every sense. We must encourage comradely discussions on an equal footing as a step toward unity. Every party member must solemnly defend and implement the "resolution" and observe discipline. No one is permitted to spread and statements inconsistent with the spirit of the "resolution" among the masses.

In the course of studying the doduments conscientiously, the party's leaders at all levels must make successful efforts to organize party members and the masses at the grassroots units to study them. Although methods for learning such documents may vary from one grassroots unit to another, the key method should generally take the form of lectures. In other words, through this extensive movement to study the documents, those cadres who have done a better job in this field are in a good position to convey the key points and basic spirit of the documents to the party members and masses. Lectures can be delivered under specific titles and on various occasions. Each lecture must be right to the point, emphasize the effect of its delivery and avoid nonsense and rush or cram sessions. A lecture is not a transmission of what is printed in the documents. Each lecture should be fully prepared beforehand and should be delivered in a way that takes into account what party members and the masses in specific units have in mind. The lecture is a forum for presenting facts, for reasoning things out, and for conveying something interesting in a lively manner with a well-defined objective in mind so that the listeners can easily grasp its meaning and key points. In recent days, newspapers and journals have published reference material in connection with the study of the documents along with other related articles presenting some thought-provoking questions. All these can be used as complementary material or as aides in carrying out our study or presenting our lectures. Leading cadres at all levels must take the lead in presenting the lectures, and show concern for and attach importance to the training of cadres in propaganda programs. It is hoped that through this study and lecture presentation campaign, the system of training publicity men and reporters can be gradually restored and perfected so that an important force can be fostered for the grassroots units to strengthen their political and ideological work on behalf of the party.

In 1945, the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee adopted a "Resolution on Some Historical Questions" which played a great role in summing up experiences and lessons and in unifying the thinking of the party as a whole, in guiding the sweeping advance of the revolution through a great period of history, and in winning subsequent brilliant victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the liberation war. Today, at this new turning point in history, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee can certainly be expected to play the same great historical role. We deeply believe that as a result of our party's conscientious efforts to study and sum up the historical experiences, vast numbers of cadres, party members and the masses of people will rally more closely around the party Central Committee, further display their revolutionary spirit, raise their morale for the revolution, increase their confidence in the revolution, work with one mind and one heart to overcome all difficulties, strive for success in production and other work, and guide this great revolutionary cause of socialist modernization through to success.

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POLITICAL EDUCATION OF PARTY MEMBERS INTENSIFIED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 81 p 1

[Report: "Province Strengthens Party Member's Education Since Third Plenary Session of 11th Party Central Committee--Consciousness of Vast Ranks of Party Members in Carrying Out the Party's Principles and Policies Continually Heightened"]

[Text] Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our province has been closely following the party's line, principles and policies in carrying out the education of party members.

From the end of 1978, for 3 years in a row the provincial party committee has made arrangements to operate winter training programs for party members and basic-level cadres in the countryside. The Suzhou and Yancheng prefectural party committees and the Changzhou and Xuzhou municipal party committees have all convened all-prefecture (municipality) forums on party member educational work or experience-exchange conferences each year to discuss, sum up, and organize party member educational work in the prefecture (municipality). Now a few party organizations have listed this work on their agenda in order to insure that it is carried out regularly without fail; principal responsible comrades have actively taken the lead in undertaking it well. In April last year, after the principal responsible comrade of the provincial party committee gave a lecture on the party to party members of organs at the provincial level, many responsible comrades of the prefectural, municipal, county and basic level party organizations took the lead at each level in investigating and insuring the work of educating party members and gave lectures on the party to party members. In order to assure the organization of this educational work, propoganda departments of the provincial party committee and most prefectural, municipal and county party committees set up educational institutions for party members; those few party committees that did not set up such institutions designated definite individuals to take the responsibility. From August 1978 on, the provincial party committee also resumed publication of the journal PARTY LIFE; newspaper and broadcasting departments also strengthened propaganda and reportage on party member educational work. During the past 3 years, the province has made use of the end of the year to train a total of more than 5 million persons among countryside party members and basic-level cadres. Short-term training classes run by municipalities such as Nanjing, Changzhou, Lianyungang and Yangzhou last year trained from 70 percent to more than 90 percent, respectively, of the total of party members of these municipalities.

Closely following the party's line, principles and policies, the party organizations at various levels in our province have seriously carried out education of party members in the present situation and our tasks as well as in our ideological line: education in the party's democratic centralism, organization and discipline; in the party's unity; in the party's traditions, workstyle and spiritual civilization; in adherence to the four basic principles; in the readjustment and transformation of the national economy; and in economic policies in the countryside.

Clarify the shift in the focus of work of the whole party, insist on taking the four modernizations as our central task

Party organizations at various levels carried out timely, profound and broad ideological education among the vast ranks of party members and cadres, elevated their perception of the shift in the central tasks and the political line, and strengthened their consciousness, firmness and creativity in carrying out the party's political line. Some comrades said: "Now we will take the four modernizations as our central task and we will no longer work on extensive criticism and large-scale struggles; the barriers in our minds can now be let down, and we can thrust our arms open wide to work on the four modernizations." Many party members thus pulled themselves together, concentrated their energies, dug into their work, and launched themselves into the construction of the four modernizations; there thus emerged not a few New March shock workers, labor models, and fine party members. Party organizations and the vast ranks of the party members at various levels also consciously maintained and developed a situation of political stability and unity; rectified unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation; struggled against various bad tendencies hampering internal party stability, unity and social order; and thus energetically promoted the development of various undertakings.

Rectify our ideological line, having established the idea that practice is the only criterion for testing the truth

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee broke through the ideological constraints of the two "whatevers" and restored the party's dialectical-materialistic ideological line of proceeding from actualities in everything, connecting theory with actualities, and seeking the truth from facts. On this, some of the party members found it impossible to turn the corner; through discussions and makeup lessons on the question of the criterion for testing the truth, the thinking of most comrades underwent a change. They proceeded to correct mistakes in the guiding ideology with respect to the political line formulated by the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and with respect to the experience and lessons since the founding of our state, particularly those of the "great cultural revolution"; they gradually deepened their perception of a series of major readjustments and changes in theoretical and policy questions. Some comrades said after participating in the winter training programs: "Undergoing this study is like putting a handful of alum in a tank of muddy water; this helped clarify much of our murky perception of many questions." Applying this ideological line in the construction of the four modernizations, the vast ranks of the party members continued to study new situations, solve new problems, and further promoted the implementation of the princi le advanced by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee on "emancipating our thinking, opening up the apparatus, seeking the truth from facts, and uniting together to look forward." Through this education in the ideological line, not only were they able to eliminate "leftist" remnant poison but they also precluded interference from the right and thereby maintained and adhered to the four basic principles.

Clear up the "leftist" guiding ideology in our economic work, heighten consciousness in carrying out the party's various principles and policies

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in the main the attitude among the vast ranks of the party members in the province toward understanding and carrying out the series of principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee has been good, but there are still no small number of persons who, because of the "leftist" ideological influence to which they were subjected, still have this or that kind of perceptual problems. Some take the liberalization of policies and revitalization of the economy as resorting to capitalism; some capitalism; some are worried about the readjustment of the national economy; some have developed a misunderstanding of the Central Committee documents concerning the strengthening and perfecting of a production responsibility system in the countryside, etc. Through the study of such documents and ideological and political education, the vast ranks of the party members have acquired an understanding of the long-standing guiding ideology in our economic work and also a new perception of the above problems. Party organizations and the vast ranks of party members at various levels all take an active, positive attitude toward the current readjustment; many units are courageously shouldering difficulties on behalf of the state by reducing their scale of capital construction and thus contributing to the readjusment; they have come to recognize that strengthening and perfecting a production responsibility system is a great breakthrough in contryside management. Not a few countryside party members and cadres said after studying the documents that they felt as if they had just swallowed something capable of setting their minds at ease; they praised the documents of the party Central Committee as "golden keys" to curing poverty and achieving wealth, so that they must carry them out well.

Straighten out the party's workstyle, having restored and given scope to the party's fine traditions

After the promulgation of the "guiding principles," party organizations at various levels in the province carried out education in comparative systems among the vast ranks of party members. Through the study of this document, the vast ranks of party members adopted its spirit and acquired further understanding of the proposition advanced by Comrade Chen Yun that "the question of party workstyle for a party in power has a bearing on the life and death of the party"; they proceeded to carry out the "guiding principles," and consciousness regarding straightening out the party's workstyle was thus greatly heightened. The vast ranks of party members have consciously undertaken to "measure themselves with the established yardstick," "look at themselves in the mirror," and carry out criticism and self-criticism; they are adhering to the party's ideological line and political line, and are actively carrying out the party's line, principles and policies; they are insisting on collective leadership and refraining from resorting to the practice of "what I say counts"; they are strengthening party organization and discipline, maintaining party centralism and uniformity, and doing a good job of forging Party unity; they are serving the people wholeheartedly; they are refraining from feasting and collecting gifts, seeking positions for their children, seeking privileges, entering through the back door, etc. In all this, conspicuous results have been achieved. Many comrades have reflected that, since the study and implementation of "guiding principles," the party's workstyle has improved, social customs have changed, the party members' role as models has been given full play, and the party's prestige has been elevated. Some comrades also say: Through studying and carrying out the "guiding principles," old party members have restored the party's fine traditions and the workstyle of the Old Eighth Route Army has returned; new party members have also learned the party's fine traditions, and understand party' discipline and party laws. In carrying out the "guiding principles," everywhere there has been a grasp of certain questions which are more influential and about which the masses are more critical to energetically crack down on devious styles and assert healthy attitudes.

(Shen Xianyu [3088 6513 3768])

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PARTY AND STATE

NEW LEADING CADRES ELECTED IN GUANGDONG

Guangdong NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 81 p 1

[Article: "Majority of the Province's Cities and Counties Selected New Leading Cadres To Strengthen the Leadership Role of the Party and To Develop Good Work Style for the Party"]

[Text] As of the middle of the month, 104 cities and counties (including the six districts in Guangzhou) have successively convened conferences of party representatives and democratically elected leading cadres for each of the city and county commissions. The cities and counties which have convened such conferences comprised 90 percent of the province's total number of cities and counties.

According to investigations, new cadres of city and county commissions produced by democratic election, in general, have common characteristics. They can firmly carry out a thorough implementation and execution of the party's line, principles and policies set forth during the Third Plenum of the Central Committee. They will carry out separation of party and government, overcome the phenomenon of party apathy, and concentrate their energies on getting a good grasp of the party's intellectual and organizational construction.

They will perfect the democratic centralism and put into effect the role of collective leadership. They are leaders in the execution of the "guiding principles" and will consciously rectify unhealthy tendencies. They will emphasize investigative research, keep close contacts with the masses and improve the relationship between the party and the masses.

The party representative conferences already convened progressed relatively smoothly. It is due to the provincial and prefectural committees' conscientious strengthenging of leadership. through experiment and experience, they conducted party training classes on a widespread basis, educating party members to adhere to party regulations and party guiding principles, to thoroughly carry out democratic centralism to fully bring out the inner party spirit of democracy and to respect the elected. Differential election is followed. Furthermore, the election and regulation of leading cadres are based on the "three in one" principle to accomplish the overall planning of the four sets of cadres: the party commission, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, the government, and the Political Consultative Conference.

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RURAL CADRES UNDERGO TRAINING IN OPERATING COMMODITY ECONOMY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO IN Chinese 15 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Cai Guanghui [2580 0342 2547], Li Yeying [2621 2814 5392] and Wu Xueran [0702 1331 3544]: "Help Grassroots Cadres Keep Abreast of the New Situation"]

[Text] Active measures have been taken by the party committee of Linli County, Hunan Province, to strengthen the education of rural grassroots cadres and help them keep abreast of the new situation.

Although the situation in the countryside of Linli County has been improving steadily as a result of the implementation of the series of party Central Committee's rural economic policies, a number of cadres including grassroots cadres remain far from achieving a clear and accurate understanding of the situation resulting from the development of a diversified economy, the implementation of the plan to allow a specific segment of the peasant population to become rich ahead of others, and particularly the system of responsibility for production. These difficulties in understanding stem from the following: 1) under the prolonged "leftist" influence, they are still inclined to view problems with their "left-leaning eyes," always believing that the series of policies formulated by the Central Committee to correct the "leftist" mistakes in a deviation to the right; 2) as a result of adopting a biased view of the situation, they seem unable to conduct an accurate analysis of the problems that arise during their march forward, and hence are unable to distinguish the mainstream from its tributaries; 3) the establishment of a system of agricultural production responsibility designed to improve efficiency in implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" conflicts with the "vested interests" of those cadres who cherish special privileges and other unhealthy lifestyles.

The Linli County party committee believes that the education of cadres must concentrate on educating grassroots cadres in policies and workstyles. The major measures taken by the county party committee in this connection call for organizing cadres to study the Central Committee documents and relevant basic theories. Earlier, the party committee of Xinhe commune made the mistake of viewing the commodity economy as an economic model unique to capitalism, equating "money" with capitalism and denouncing those units scoring successes in "diversifying the economy and all-round development" as capitalist models. Since then, the county party committee has helped comrades of this commune conscientiously study the two documents of the Central Committee on agricultural development and relevant economic theories with the understanding that socialism also calls for efforts to develop commodity production. Lately, bold steps have been taken by this commune to change its policy of grasping grain production alone, to reasonably adjust its internal agricultural structure and to vigorously develop diverse economic undertakings in order to enliven the commune economy.

During the past 2 years, the party school short-term training program sponsored by the county party committee has graduated more than 5,300 county, commune and brigade level cadres. Most of the cadres not associated with production and principal brigade-level cadres have improved their knowledge of politics and policies after completing a systematic study program.

The Linli County party committee has persisted in the principle of educating cadres at the grassroots level by means of persuasion and reasoning. To this end, it has established and improved the party study class system, the system regulating the meetings of party democratic life, and the system of individual heart-to-heart talks designed to teach party members and cadres to act as models. The Zhuma brigade of Guanting commune has a cadre who was previously known for his sloppy performance and unwillingness to become a professional in his field. He devoted only 50 to 60 days a year to manual labor, but earned more than 4,000 work points in subsidies. Last year he repeatedly resisted commune members' demands to implement the system of responsibility for joint operations and labor compensation. He was asked to meet the secretary of the party committee of Guanting commune a dozen times in order to straighten out his problems when the latter was on an inspection tour of the brigade. Through heart-to-heart talks, the secretary criticized his mistakes in order to raise his political consciousness. Shortly after last fall, he voluntarily moved to the backward No 10 production team determined to get something done. While there, he tried in practice to improve the system of production responsibility while taking an active part in manual labor and assiduously acquiring knowledge of agricultural sciences and technology and passing on it to others, thus paving the way for the production team to increase the output of wheat and rapeseeds this year. The concentrated education of cadres has brought about the following two changes in the countryside of Linli County: 1) Those at the top and those at the bottom have achieved a unity of thought and action; 2) cadres have learned to consult and work together with the masses and have truly become their leaders.

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CSO: 4005/754

CADRES ADVISED TO ADHERE TO PRINCIPLES IN SEEKING VOTES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Zhengfang [7120 2973 2455] in "Issues and Comment" section: "'Principles' and 'Votes'"]

[Text] "Principles" and "votes" don't seem to have anything to do with each other, but in actual life it has happened that those cadres who adhere to principles get fewer votes, while those who do otherwise may possibly get more votes. This is not usually the case, but such a phenomenon has created an abnormal psychology in a few cadres. In order to get more votes, some comrades are afraid of adhering to principles and struggling against devious styles and sinister trends. From their point of view, adhering to principles is bound to offend people and harm "relations with the masses," and hence cost some votes. Therefore, they are afraid of "getting short changed" and they turn to emphasizing "practical benefits"; as a result, they become oblivious of erroneous tendencies, devious styles and sinister trends, and they only wish to be "nice fellows." This attitude is obviously wrong.

Of course, we are now reforming the cadre system and carrying out democratic elections; whoever has the highest prestige and whoever maintains the best of relations with the masses is likely to get the most votes and enjoys the greatest possibility of getting elected. But how do we manage such relations with the masses? Where does such prestige come from? It depends on whether or not we serve the people wholeheartedly and work in their interests. At present, the erroneous tendencies of violating the four basic principles, certain practices that go against the "guiding principles," plus some devious styles and sinister trends, still exist and they seriously harm the people's interests. The masses have expressed great dissatisfaction with this. As long as our cadres proceed from the people's interests, dare to adhere to principles, and are good at struggling against devious styles and sinister trends, they are bound to be popular. Even if they should offend a small number of people who resort to devious styles, they will earn the trust and support of the vast ranks of cadres and masses; they should not lose many votes. On the contrary, if they proceed from private interests and choose to be "nice fellows" in order to protect their position and hence do dare not to adhere to principles, then, while a small number of people might benefit, in general they will have harmed the people's interests; most of the masses will not trust them. As a matter of fact, because the level of consciousness on the part of the masses is not very high in some localities, the votes "nice fellows" get might prove temporarily more numerous than those of the comrades who adhere to principle, but with the passage of time and the awakening of the masses, such a situation will ultimately change. As party cadres, we must proceed from our party character and we must not consider our individual gains or losses; it is better to get fewer votes temporarily so that we can adhere to principles and work wholeheartedly for the interests of the people.

9255
CSO: 4005/738

CONFERENCE CONVENED BY PARTY HISTORY RESEARCH COMMITTEE OF GUANGDONG

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 81 p 2

[Article: "The Party History Research Committee of the Guangdong Commission Convenes a Conference of All Its Members To Discuss the 'Chronicles of the Revolutionary Struggles of the Guangdong Communist Party (During the Period of New Democratic Revolution)' and Problems in Carrying Out Party History Research and Data Collecting"]

[Text] On the eve of the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party, the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee's Party History Research Committee convened a meeting of all members on the 24th and 25th of June. The key discussions centered on the "Chronicles of the Revolutionary Struggles of the Guangdong Communist Party (During the Period of New Democratic Revolution)" and on problems related to comprehensive party history research and data collecting. Many of the participating members were old cadres who had been through the first and second national revolutionary struggle. Although they were senior in age, they still actively participated during the meeting and enthusiastically took the floor one after the other, showing how much they valued and cared about the successful execution of the province's party history research, data collecting and organizing projects.

Wu Nansheng, Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and Deputy Director of the Party History Research Committee presided over the conference and made a speech. He said, "This conference convening on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the birth of the party is especially meaningful. It is a concrete activity through which the Party History Research Committee commemorates the party's 60th anniversary. We hope that, through this conference, we can take a further step in our province's party history research work and party history data collecting work and complete the revision of the 'Chronicles'." In his speech, Wu especially emphasized the point that all must deeply recognize the importance, urgency and level of political consciousness in the party history data collecting work and in the party history research work, and urged all levels of party organizations and all old comrades to attach great importance to the successful completion of the information collection and history research work. He requested that all levels of party organizations emphasize the importance of the positive nature of the old comrades and to create conditions to help them to do a successful job.

Participating comrades, based on the spirit set forth in related central and provincial circulars and integrated with reality, carried on an enthusiastic discussion of the "Chronicles" and contributed many important historical facts and leads as well as many valuable revision ideas for the "Chronicle". They unanimously pointed out that: The people of Guangdong have a long and glorious revolutionary tradition. Guangdong is one of the relatively earliest areas to have a party established. It is the origin of the Great Revolution. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other senior generation proletariat revolutionaries had all personally led revolutionary struggles in Guangdong. The history of the Guangdong organization is an important chapter of the entire party history. The work of successfully completing the Guangdong party history research and data collecting is an undeniable duty and responsibility of all levels of the Guangdong party organization and of all the comrades, especially of the older comrades. Old comrades within and outside the party must give voice to their role as historical witnesses and realistically, seeking truth from facts, contribute as much historical struggle information as possible. During the conference, all levels of party history workers were urged to penetrate the masses, to carry on investigation and research to make clear and precise the party's revolutionary history, to complete the compilation of the "Chronicles", and, with this as a basis, to further work on the compilation of a brief history of the Guangdong Communist Party.

9796
CSO: 4005/743

FOSTERING PARTY'S WORKSTYLE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO 17 June 81 pp 2, 4

[Article by Chen Puru [7115 3877 1172]: "Restore and Foster the Party's Excellent Workstyle of Criticism and Self-criticism"]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism is one of the excellent traditions and work styles of our party. This workstyle was formed during a long period of revolutionary struggle, and early on struck deep roots among the broad party members and cadres. Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, and especially since the Central Work Conference last December, comrades of the entire party have conscientiously carried out the "Guidelines Concerning Political Life Within the Party," and from the angle of the leadership took aim at the ideological influence of the "left" in our work, undertook criticism and self-criticism, distinguished true and false, raised awareness, strengthened unity, and caused life within the party to develop a pleasant lively atmosphere. Practice has proven that criticism and self-criticism is an effective means to solve ideological contradictions within the party, thoroughly eliminate the residual poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," gradually overcome the mistaken ideological influence of the "left," effect a good party work style, and perfect political life within the party. We must fully recognize the importance of restoring and fostering the excellent work style of criticism and self-criticism, accurately calculate the ideological situation of party members in matters of criticism and self-criticism, and correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

1

Criticism and self-criticism is a weapon for consolidating and preserving party unity and a motive force for furthering the self-education of party members. That our party must foster criticism and self-criticism is determined by the nature and basic purposes of the party's proletarian vanguard. Our party is a political party in whole-hearted service to the masses. Aside from the greatest benefit for the greatest number of the masses, it has no private interest. This special characteristic determines that our party not only does not conceal any of its own shortcomings or mistakes, but, on the contrary, needs the masses and ourselves to expose these shortcomings and mistakes and, moreover, to conscientiously correct them. Comrade Mao Zedong said; "Because we serve the people, if we have shortcomings, we are not afraid that others criticize and point them out." By undergoing criticism and self-criticism we can, in timely fashion, eliminate the political dust and microbes from our thinking, increase the strength of our resistance to them, and effectively stave off erosion caused by various non-proletarian ideologies. By undergoing criticism and self-criticism, in summarizing the positive and negative sides of our experience, we can learn more of the standpoint, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism, and can raise the level of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. By undergoing criticism and self-criticism, we can fully foster democracy within the party, hear different opinions, clearly distinguish true and false, timely correct mistaken tendencies, and achieve revolutionary unity. Criticism and self-criticism is a powerful weapon for strengthening the organization and fighting capacity of the party. The serious promotion of criticism and self-criticism is a clear sign distinguishing our party from any other political party.

Historical experience tells us that whether or not there is conscientious and correct criticism and self-criticism within the party, and especially among the leading organs and leading cadres at entry level, has a very close relationship to the party's ability to maintain a normal political life. In the Yenan period and at the 7th Party Congress the Central Committee leadership and Comrade Mao Zedong, were strict in disciplining themselves, and took the lead in carrying out self-criticism in regard to certain shortages and mistakes in their work. The majority of the cadres in the party were modest and cautious, shunned pride and impatience and matured very quickly. This was inseparable from our being able to maintain and develop the excellent party work style of criticism and self-criticism. Those comrades within our party who went through this period of life are still full of emotion when recalling the experience and feel it is to be prized. The Yemen spirit has already become a precious spiritual resource of our party. Ever since the period of nation building, many of our party comrades have maintained the hard work and austerity of the war era. They remain modest and cautious, having strong feelings for the people, listen attentively to the voice of the masses, are courageous in the workstyle of self-criticism, and enjoy great prestige within the party and among the masses. At present, our party is leading the people of the entire nation in carrying out the great undertaking of socialist modernization, and the party's work style will influence the party's fate. Carrying on and developing the excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism has tremendous significance in regard to strengthening the unity of the entire party and better leading the masses to carry out socialist modernization.

2

During the ten years of civil strife, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," acting on their counterrevolutionary goals, madly sabotaged and broke apart the party, conspired to usurp party and state power, and trampled to pieces the excellent party work style of criticism and self-criticism. They perversely labeled their critics as criminals or sought opportunities for revenge. They unfairly and excessively criticized the shortcomings and mistakes of others, even going so far as to grasp at shadows when evidence was lacking, make something out of nothing and open a "label factory." They were arbitrary and over-weening within the party. They were overlords who created "one voice meeting halls" where alternate viewpoints could not be aired and "faction meeting halls" on a large scale, and brought forth a feudal fascist dictatorship. They carried out cruel struggle and merciless attacks against those who expressed differing opinions. They did not allow comrades who committed mistakes to correct them in their work. Once you were recognized as having committed an error, then there were endless critiques of your shortcomings to write and long periods where you had to stand aside, apart from all activities. You were struggled with until utterly defeated and discredited. The effects of this were extremely serious. It caused everyone within the party to fall mute--a stagnant pool. It brought forth a disasterous flood of every kind of unhealthy ideological workstyle and did great damage to the body of the party. At the same time it made extremely difficult for us to restore and foster the excellent traditions of criticism and self-criticism. Things often tend toward the reverse of themselves. After a calamitious fiery struggle within the party, there always appears the phenomenon of doing away with criticism and self-criticism.

After smashing the "gang of four," and especially since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has adopted a series of important measures intended to restore normal life to the party. The entire party has resolutely and thoroughly implemented the adopted policies of the Party Central Committee and has already begun to restore the excellent work style of criticism and self-criticism within the party. The party organizations at every level in our province have done likewise. But, we should recognize that within some party organizations there still exist some problems in need of urgent solution. The main ones are not developing criticism and self-criticism, not discussing ideology, learning how to get ahead through connections, practicing peaceful coexistence, hearing and ignoring things of the "left" and right and other mistaken ideologies or morely perfunctorily saying a few words about them, not solving problems, and the so-called "It is best not to speak of thing's relations to principles"--these are first. Second is criticism not achieving its goal, people running off once criticism is aired and refusing to accept correct criticism, but rather considering themselves to be right and consistently corect. Third is when there is no criticism forthcoming, letting things lie, and once there is criticism, going to extremes but for those considered to be your own people, turning big matters into small ones and making small matters disappear. Fourth is developing havits of crafty businessmen, refusing to speak openly, but saying anything behind one's back, or no speaking in meetings, but saying anything after meetings, or speaking pleasantly to one's face and then stabbing one in the back, and so forth. These problems severely weaken the fighting capacity and reduce the prestige of the party. These corrupt work styles are an expression of impure party character. If they are not thoroughly solved and the party work style set right, then it will be very difficult to realize the important task of socialist modernization.

Presently, there are quite a few comrades who do not dare to struggle. They have struggled until they fear it. This is very dangerous. In the ten years of unrest, the severe destruction done by the Lin Biao, the "gang of four" anti-party cliques, in addition to the construction of absolutes, the exaggerations, and the excesses in the practice of struggle within our party, led some persons to the other extreme--they do not dare to struggle. How can this be accepted? Without struggling against thinking and behavior which violates the line, principles and policies of the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, without struggling against mistaken speech and actions which oppose the Four Basic Principles, and without struggling against bad men, bad events, bad ideology, and bad work styles, the life of the party will cease. We must teach party members to take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

The key points in restoring and fostering the excellent traditions of the party are to move forward in eliminating the residual poison and influence of the ultra-left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to teach party members the correct handling of criticism and self-criticism. For now, we must pay special attention to the following points:

1, We must have a firm standpoint. We communist party members must, in matters of principle, stand firm, be open and frank, hold up a clear and definite banner, be fearless in the knowledge that our cause is just and dare to struggle. To be equivocal in matters of principle, to fail to uphold what is correct and to fail to resist what is mistaken are expressions of impure party character. As for going whichever way the wind blows, taking help from both the left and right, and trading in principles, these are the work styles of bourgeois politicians and must be resolutely opposed. Criticism must certainly take note of politics and, at present, we must pay attention to whether or not we resolutely and thoroughly carry out the line, principles, and policies of the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, and we must unwaveringly uphold the politics of the Four Basic Principles. In grasping this, we cannot go so far as to carry on unprincipled arguments and vulgarize criticism, but rather we should cause criticized comrades to become prudent gentlemen.

2, We must have the spirit of seeking the truth from facts. The "Guidelines Concerning Political Life Within the Party" demands that "in regard to themselves and to others, communist party members must at all times and in all places respect facts and, according to the original aspect of things, realistically report conditions to the party." It further demands that "the leading organs and leading cadres of the party at every level must all act as models of seeking the truth from facts." We communist party members must seek the truth from facts when we carry out criticism. We must recognize the good points of comrades, remember to cherish the revolutionary enthusiasm of comrades, and protect the socialist initiative of comrades. It is not permissible to overlook these things. Criticism must be based on facts. What is said must be supported by evidence. We cannot rely on subjective impressions or spread rumors, and it is even less permissible to fabricate material and falsely incriminate comrades.

At present, we must uphold the development of criticism and self-criticism based on facts. And we must specially emphasize that our comrades, especially high-level cadres, must possess the broad-mindedness of the proletariat, must possess "a heart as big as all outdoors," and must work hard at being pleased to hear of their mistakes. Of those cadres within our party, most have come from small producer backgrounds and small producers have always been relatively narrow-minded. Because of this, paying attention to correcting this sort of thinking is a long-term task on the ideological battlefront of our party. We must advocate getting rid of historical hangups and must not become entangled in old debts of history, nor be mindful of personal gains and losses. As for comrades who spoke too heatedly or did some incorrect things during political movements at various times, they need only thoroughly review their mistakes and that is all. We did not continue to restrain them. There should be no grudges held between comrades which are constantly remembered.

Only this will be beneficial to stability and unity. Both the positive and the negative sides of the several decade-long historical experience of our party tells us that people must adopt a serious and cautious attitude in handling problems. That is to say, they must not be ambiguous or perfunctory or injure other comrades. This is one of the signs of the flourishing development of our party.

3, We must have correct principles. We must correctly grasp and use the formula, "unity--criticism--unity," and, starting with a desire for unity, pass through criticism and self-criticism to reach a new unity built on a new foundation. After the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, in accordance with unified forward looking principles, there was clear improvement in the area of restoring the work style of criticism and self-criticism. At the same time, the meaning expressed in this formula was made richer and further developed. New experience has been gained, especially in the area of changing past use of methods of the "left" in criticism. For example, we must not abuse the method of calling for struggle within the party; not lightly speak of line struggle; not indiscriminately blame others; not try to see that everyone passes unscathed through ordeals; not compel everyone to write reviews of past errors; allow people to return to their leadership postions after errors are corrected; use enlightened persuasion as the primary means of solving ideological problems, etc. We should advocate the continued summation of experience in practice and create more and better methods of doing things. In the area of improving comradely relations, we must firmly carry out unified, forward-looking principles, taking the overall situation to be most important and both discerning the general interests and keeping watch on the main currents.

4, We must have a sincere attitude. We must uphold the principles, "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "The speaker should not be punished, but the listener should take heed," and "If you made mistakes, then correct them, if you make none, then work harder," which Comrade Mao Zedong initiated. We must proceed with whole-hearted, sincere criticism and self-criticism and should be strict with ourselves and tolerant of others. For the most part, we should take self-criticism to be primary. We must be severe in analyzing ourselves and, in regard to ourselves, divide one into two [a dialectical materialist method of analysis grounded in Mao's throty of contradiction]. Criticism of others is to be for their own good. It should be like a mild breeze and a light rain, a reasoned persuasion of the person, honest and frank, straightforward and upright. We must encourage and protect comrades who make strict demands on themselves and consciously carry out self-criticism. We absolutely cannot permit any persons to use someone's self-criticism to attack him. Only in this way can we open up the thinking of party members at the party's organizational life meetings and allow them to be honest and forthright and to conscientiously develop criticism and self-criticism. We must encourage and support criticism which runs from the bottom upward.

Some comrades never seem to get used to criticism printed in newspapers. The anti-party cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" named names in newspapers at every turn in order to knock down and utterly discredit those involved. But our public criticism and self-criticism is in order to correct the party work style, to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses and to increase the prestige of the party among the people. If those who are criticized will merely treat the criticism correctly, then their reputations will not only not be harmed, they will be even better. Of course, public criticism must pay special attention to seeking the truth from facts. First, accurately determine the circumstances and afterwards talk things over with the person being criticized and his organization. In this way very good results will be realized. Do not launch sudden surprise attacks. Do not disregard the facts. Act for the good of the person involved. These are extremely important principles.

The ideology and revolutionary spirit of communism are precious spiritual resources of our party. In order to carry on and develop these resources, we should consciously take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We must support repudiation of and opposition to the remaining influences of feudalism in the areas of ideology and politics both inside and outside of the party; repudiation of and opposition to the worship of capitalism and the tendency to advocate bourgeois liberalization; repudiation of and opposition to the corrupt notions of harming others to benefit oneslf, of thinking of only of profit, and of all "money grubbing;" and repudiations of and opposition to anarchism and extreme individualism. And we must strengthen the concept of organizational discipline. We must foster righteousness and oppose wickedness. Every communist party member must clearly draw the lines between right and wrong, true and false, good and bad, and beauty and ugliness. In regard to evil persons and evil matters that violate communist morality, that disregard revolutionary standpoints and principles, and that disrupt comradely relations among the revolutionary troops, we must meet them head on in resolute struggle.

While commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, let all of us party members work hard together singlemindedly to restore and foster the good party work style of criticism and self-criticism, and, moreover, carry on this hard work in order to make the relations between our great, glorious, and correct party and the masses even more intimate, and to do away with any places inside or outside of the party where evil influences and bad customs can exist. Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, we can certainly achieve the great victory of socialist modernization.

9705
CSO: 4005/726

PARTY AND STATE

CALL FOR STUDY OF 'RESOLUTION,' HU'S SPEECH

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 81 p 4

[Circular issued by Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee: "A Circular Concerning Study of the Sixth Plenum "Resolution" and of Comrade Hu Yaobang's "Speech"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress has already come to a victorious conclusion. The Plenum has already adopted the "Resolution Concerning Certain Questions in the History of the Party since the Founding of the State" and the "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party" by Comrade Hu Yaobang. At this time, the major tasks of all levels of the provincial party organization are to organize all party members and the broad cadres to sincerely study the "Resolution" and the "Speech" in order to improve their understanding, strengthen their unity, lift their spirits and improve their work. The following communique is directed toward these goals:

1. It must be thoroughly understood that the "Resolution" and the "Speech" are important party documents and we must improve the level of consciousness in our studies of them. All party organizations must exert the utmost effort to make these studies unify ideology throughout the party. There must be strengthened leadership, a fixed study plan, and concrete preparations, and moreover there must be continual summation of the positive results of study and a deep involvement with study.

2. The study must have clearly defined requirements. After undergoing study one should thoroughly understand and affirm the great contributions and historical significance of Comrade Mao Zedong and clearly understand that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guiding ideology, thoroughly approve of the great accomplishments, brave spirits and stirring faith during the past 32 years of national construction, and, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, strengthen our conscious implementation of the line, direction and policies stemming from the Third Party Plenum while fixing our minds on overcoming difficulties in the struggle for new victories in building the four modernizations and in building the party. We must enlarge party member and cadre ideological unity to

include the "Resolution" and the "Speech," focus our minds on progress, on the four modernizations and on studying the new conditions in order solve new problems. We must consciously rectify the party style, be strict in party discipline and restore and give vent to the party's grand traditions.

3. All party committees and all organizations and groups must take from twenty to thirty days to hold daily half-day study sessions. The "Resolution and the Speech" should be read section by section and sincerely discussed in order to seek perfect understanding of their spirit and meaning. There should not be any lax, broad-ranging discussion but rather an emphasis on summing up experience and group progress. After group study of a section it should be combined with actual work conditions and then there should be continued study. After studying the "Resolution" and the "Speech" the original plan should be followed with continued study of economic theory.

All party schools and all party training organs must give priority to study of the "Resolution" and the "Speech" and carry out study and teaching of them.

All organs and all units can form classes to study the "Resolution" and the "Speech" in order to nurture core study personnel.'

The focus of this study effort is to firmly grasp study by leading cadres on all levels, especially those from county level on up. Leadin cadres of all levels should proceed from their own foundation in study to go among the cadres and masses to spread propaganda, unite with reality, speak of their own gleanings, and help everyone to better understand the spirit and substance of these documents.

4. There must be broad and deep propagandizing of the "Resolution" and the "Speech" among basic level party members and the masses. We must use propaganda to make them understand the main points and basic spirit of the "Resolution" and the "Speech" and must educate them to be patriotic, love the socialist system, love party education and grasp the basic principles of the four modernizations. As for students past middle school and other young people, we must act in accord with their particular characteristics to carry out a lively propaganda campaign regarding the "Resolution" and the "Speech" in order to make the broad youth aware of and correctly understand the glorious process of struggle since the founding of our party 60 years ago. They must understand that without the Communist Party there could be no New China, that only the socialist system could save China, and must also understand the close unity between propagandizing the "Resolution" and the "Speech" and the ongoing campaigns the "wu jiang" [0063 6199] "The Five Lectures," the "si mei" [0934 5019] "The Four Goods" and "Learn from Lei Feng, Establish a New Work Style."

5. The broadcast, television, publishing and fine arts departments must use a variety of methods to actively coordinate study of the "Resolution" with the propaganda campaigns and carry out lively education and propagandizing of all the masses. Such propaganda ought to be scientific, to the point and vital.

6. Both study and propaganda should pay close attention to getting results and avoiding mere formalism. There must be unity of ideology and unity of the real conditions in the local districts and the local departments in order to respond to and to solve major problems in ideological understanding and in work. In propaganda work we cannot be satisfied with uninspired efforts and a mere recitation of the texts. The propagandizing of the "Resolution" and the "Speech" must be spirited and with great effort to correctly answer questions and solve problems. There must be no uncritical acceptance of anything. The study and discussion must promote open thought, truth and must follow the "three don'ts."

7. The conditions found in study and propaganda as well as the major questions occuring in the discussions must be promptly reported to the upper level committees.

11582
CSO: 4005/746

EDITORIAL OUTLINES CORRECT STUDY OF 'RESOLUTION'

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 July 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Study of "Resolution" Urged in Guangdong"]

[Text] Just when the party and the entire nation were celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party the party was victoriously conducting the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Congress. This meeting is of great significance in the post-Third Plenum history of the party and is a new milestone for the party and state in bringing order out of chaos. This meeting deliberated on and approved the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions in the Party since the Founding of the Nation" and correctly summed up party experiences of the past 32 years. The meeting changed and supplemented the major leadership of the Party Central Committee and strengthened the Marxist foundations of the collective leadership and the unity of the central committee. The victorious Sixth Plenum and the publication of the "Resolution" are events of great importance in the political life of the party and the state and have received a hearty welcome from the broad party membership, cadres and masses. We must sincerely study the "Resolution," unite study of this public report by the Sixth Plenum with Comrade Hu Yaobang's major speech at the Beijing meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist party, unify our ideological understanding and accept party leadership in following the post-Third Plenum line to wholeheartedly carry out the four modernizations.

The "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the Nation" which was unanimously passed by the Sixth Plenum is an important document. It applies the Marxist theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in an examination of the 32 years since the founding of the nation by correctly summing up the major historical events, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," by scientifically analyzing what was right and what was wrong in the party leading ideology regarding these matters, by analyzing the subjective factors and social roots in production mistakes, by realistically evaluating the historical status of the great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution and by thoroughly discussing the great significance of using Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. The "Resolution" reaffirmed the Third Plenum's correct line of gradually establishing the building of socialist modernization in a fashion which suits our national conditions and make progress in pointing out the road ahead in socialist endeavors and party work. Therefore, the "Resolution" has had a great and far-reaching influence in unifying the ideological understanding of the party, the military and all nationalities, improving the party's level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, deepening the understanding of the post-Third Plenum line, direction and policy and strengthening the unity of the party and all the nationalities in China. This "Resolution" has the same historical significance as the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions" which was adopted by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth Party Congress in 1945, and it will have the same historical function. Thirty-six years ago, in the period of the democratic revolution, the party made a correct summation of our historical experiences, attained the ideological unity of the party's politics and won a great revolutionary victory. Now, the party has made a correct summation of our historical experiences since the founding of the nation, has also contributed to the unity and cohesiveness of the party and has won a new victory in building socialist affairs. We definitely must correctly study, propagandize and implement the "Resolution," make it a unified ideology, a vital spirit and a strong faith and increase the motive power underlying construction of the four modernizations. In studying and propagandizing the "Resolution," the main thing is to clearly sum up the guiding ideology and grasp the study of the important points. These are to undergo study of the "Resolution" in order to thoroughly understand the historical status of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, correctly evaluate the 32 years of history since founding the nation and from this foundation then unify the party's ideology and unite in forging ahead.

The "Resolution" informs us that Comrade Mao Zedong is officially recognized as the great leader of our party and of all nationalities in China and that Mao Zedong Thought is officially recognized as our guiding ideology. This came about during the party's 28 years of democratic struggle, is an unavoidable consequence of historical developments, is a historical fact and has historical existence. Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician. His contributions to the Chinese revolution and to national construction were primary and his errors were secondary. Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, is the product of the unification of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist party and is the scientific guiding ideology which actual practice has proven to suit Chinese conditions. Mao Zedong Thought is a precious spiritual treasure of the party and is a long-term guide for our actions. We must firmly grasp the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, not only in the past and present but also in the future, Mao Zedong Thought has a wealth of variety. The "Resolution" made special reference to six aspects of independent great theoretical creativity in and development of Marxism-Leninism and to three basic points which permeate the stance, viewpointand methodology of these six aspects. This is of major significance in our study and application of Mao Zedong Thought. Our study of Mao Zedong Thought must have a realistic and scientific attitude and we must separate Mao Zedong Thought from the errors Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. We must struggle against adopting a dogmatic attitude toward the sayings of Comrade Mao Zedong, oppose the mistaken viewpoint of the "two whatevers," and we must oppose the mistaken tendency of suspecting and denying the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and denying the contributions of Mao Zedong Thought to the revolution and national construction.

The "Resolution" not only made an overall evaluation of the 32 years of history since the founding of the country, but also made a separate appraisal of each historical period. The "Resolution" tells us that during these 32 years when the party was under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought it made great history in leading the country and all nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The party achieved ten major successes. Even though the party made errors, even such serious errors as the "Great Cultural Revolution," nonetheless the successes are primary and the errors are secondary. We must undergo study of the "Resolution" to correctly understand the 32 years of history since the founding of the nation and have a realistic and appropriate view of the successes and errors and what was right or wrong. We must overcome the mistaken viewpoint which belittles our achievements and magnifies our errors, even to the point of painting a bleak picture of the past 32 years, being suspicious of and denying the superiority of the socialist system and neglecting the four basic principles.

Ever since the Third Plenum, in terms of the questions of liberating thought and restoring order within the party and among the cadres, how to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and how to evaluate the 32 years of history since the founding of the nation, everyone has been greatly concerned, ideology has been relatively lively and a variety of viewpoints has emerged. Everyone hoped that the Party Central Committee would produce a correct evaluation of these questions and unify party ideology. Today, the party has chosen the method of the mass line, collected the correct views of the entire party and produced a resolution concerning certain historical questions since the founding of the nation which provides scientifically correct answers to those questions about which everyone has been concerned. All party members must consciously unite their thought with the "Resolution" and take the resolution as the standard for making observations and analyses. In this way, the entire party can reach a high level of consistency in politics and ideology and can join together even better in the struggle to build a strong, modernized socialist nation.

The "Resolution" points out that since the Third Plenum the party has already gradually formed a correct line which suits our national conditions for building socialist modernization. There are ten major points. The series of conclusions, which are in accord with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, were reached by expending a great effort and are guiding principles which from now on must be followed in all our work. We must undergo study of the "Resolution" and from the foundation of this experience in deeply understanding the two aspects of right and wrong since the founding of the nation, have a better grasp of these ten points and improve our consciousness in implementing the post-Third Plenum direction, line and policy. We must unite with the realities in Guangdong, use the impetus in the "Resolution" to take steps in stimulating our minds, liberating our ideology, properly carrying out the Party Central Committee's special policies and lively actions for Guangdong of having more foreign connections, relaxing policies and building special areas, to make progress in improving the economic conditions, to improve our agricultural products and all aspects of our work, to effectively build a socialist spiritual civilization and increase the pace of the four modernizations in our province.

Study of the "Resolution" is the central task of the entire party for the next six months. All party levels and propaganda departments must give high level consideration to and sincerely organize leadership for these studies. There should be periods of group study. There should be formation of study groups or other methods of group study, and separate groups for cadre study should be organized. The leadership should guide the studies. The focus should be on grasping study by leading cadres above county level. During the studies the document should be read carefully in order to perceive its main meaning and spiritual qualities and to clearly comprehend the party central's guiding ideology concerning the "Resolution." As for the basic level party members and the masses the primary method should be that of a lecture which will enable them to understand the major points and the basic spirit of the "Resolution." The lecture should be given in a series rather than at a single sitting and it should be no mere reading aloud of the text. The lecture should be lively and should be interesting to the audience. Study of the "Resolution" should be linked with ideological realities. It should emphasize ideological research and work, deep understanding of cadre and mass reactions to the study of this ideology and correctly solve ideological questions. Study of the "Resolution" must be united with eliminating mistaken "left" ideology. Study should incorporate the "three do's and three don'ts" and improve conditions.

Let us respond to the call of the Sixth Plenum, lift high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, move closer to the position of the Party Central Committee, continue to foster the spirit of the foolish old man who moves mountains, be determined, overcome difficulties, and struggle vigorously to build China into a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized powerful socialist nation!

11582
CSO: 4005/747

FREE SPEECH EXISTS WITHIN FRAMEWORKS OF RESPONSIBILITIES

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 6 May 81 p 2

[Article: "Is There Such a Thing as Absolute Freedom of Speech?"]

[Text] Most recently, some people have fanatically played up absolute freedom of speech and the independence of public opinion. From their point of view, it seems that speech in capitalist society is absolutely free, and that we should emulate capitalism. What, after all, is freedom of speech? This year's issue No 7 of RED FLAG contained an article by Ye Zi [0573 1311] entitled, "Is There Such a Thing as Absolute Freedom of Speech?" In it he gave a critical exposition of this problem.

The article said that in a class society, freedom of speech has always been concrete and relative, and has always partaken of class nature. There can be only one premise behind the formulation of articles on freedom of speech in bourgeois constitutions, and that is to preserve the ruling position of capital. If you exercise your right of free speech, yet in so doing violate the fundamental advantage of the bourgeois class, you will have a lawsuit on your hands. In capitalist society, so-called freedom of speech is merely the freedom to propagandize the ideology of the bourgeois class; it is merely the freedom to use the newspapers and periodicals that have been bought over and bribed by the rich--freedom for the rich to use the lies contained in newspapers and periodicals to intoxicate the people: As far as the working people are concerned, this kind of freedom is something that exists only on paper.

According to the article, freedom of speech can be realized only by following the socialist system. Our constitution, along with formulating basic citizens' rights such as freedom of speech, clearly specifies that "the state prohibits any person from using any means whatever... to harm the public good," etc. If any person, on the pretext of freedom of speech, publishes a counterrevolutionary opinion, slanders or opposes the four basic principles, or endangers the power of the people's democratic dictatorship or the socialist system, then that person must be curtailed and prosecuted by the law. At the same time, the freedoms of all individuals cannot be separated from the duties which they also take on as citizens. Our constitution stipulates that citizens have the duties of supporting the leadership of the Communist Party, preserving the socialist system, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, obeying the direction of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and protecting our ancesteral nation. Whoever wants, for the sake of "freedom," to forsake these duties has himself canceled all the freedoms that he ought to be enjoying.

9634
CSO: 4005/634

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK STRESSED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 81 p 4

[Article by Chen Changyou [7115 2490 2589]: "Material Rewards Should Be Linked With Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Recently, from conversations with some comrades, it appears that some comrades consider that in accomplishing the four modernizations it is not ideological-political work that is essential; it is distributing rewards that will have a big effect." Actually, that is not so.

Last year in a small factory, in the course of putting into effect the management of its economy through the use of economic methods, the unit thought only to issue rewards to the staff and workers, and overlooked ideological-political work: The staff and workers were only thinking about completing their output value quota and did not pay due regard to the products' quality, with the result that because of poor quality they were left with several hundred thousand yuan in overstocked products. How is it that the staff and workers of this unit were issued quite adequate rewards and yet production did not improve? The reason was that they had slackened up on their ideological-political work, with the result that the staff and workers lacked a sense of responsibility and of being masters of their own affairs, worked only in order to receive more rewards, and paid no heed to the advantage of the state or to the quality of their products.

At another small factory, due to the fact that they had stepped up their ideological-political work, the staff and workers of the entire factory developed the spirit of being masters of their own affairs, and in the areas of allocating raw materials, manufacturing, and processing they checked quality strictly, thus enabling their products to find an outlet in the market very quickly. Last year this unit's output value reached over 1.2 million yuan, and they exceeded their planned output by 68 percent. Of some 4,000 products that left the factory, the state purchased only somewhat over 1,300. The staff and workers found ways to market the remainder themselves, causing profits to be 50 percent higher than expected, and also increasing the income of the staff and workers.

From this, one can see that we must take every opportunity to combine ideological-political education with the implementation of economic methods such as material rewards. Neither should be emphasized at the expense of the other, and we absolutely cannot, because of emphasis on the use of economic methods to manage the economy, suppose that we can then relax our ideological-political work. In particular, under the present circumstances of our large population, meager economic basis, and lack of sufficient experience for bringing about the four modernizations, some unforeseen situations and problems are necessarily going to appear. For a way to recognize and solve these new situations and problems, we can only rely on the common striving of the people of the entire country. In this way, the position and effect of ideological-political work in uniting our vast millions of people to strive to realize the four modernizations will appear more important and more prominent. Only by uniting everyone's ideology with the party's line, programs, and policies, so that everyone will have great ideals and lofty sentiments in common, will we be able to march in step, with one mind and one effort; only in this way will there be any hope of developing our socialist economy and realizing the four modernizations.

In sum, we must promote our party's long-standing, excellent tradition of placing importance on ideological-political work, give ideological-political work its important role of serving as the main content for strengthening and improving the party's leadership, conscientiously pay close attention to this, and get a firm grasp on it. Any way of thinking or any method that weakens or denies the position or effect of ideological-political work is in complete opposition to our great goal of realizing the four modernizations, and in actual work it is likely to meet with a rebuff.

9634
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STRUGGLE AGAINST FEUDAL SUPERSTITION IN RURAL AREAS URGED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 p 19

[Article by Zhang Guoqiang [1728 0948 1730] of Hebei HENGSHUI RIBAO: "Need To Strengthen Rural Political Work Is Urgent"]

[Text] I have learned through a news coverage trip that at present the political work in the countryside is in a rundown condition, resulting in failure to convey promptly the party's line, principles and policies on agriculture to the commune members. During the past year, in some communes no congress of members has been held, nor have the commune members been organized by the party organizations of some brigades and production teams to study the documents of the party Central Committee and their superior party committees. This failure to keep cadres and commune members informed of the party's current agricultural policy has adversely affected the development of rural work and agricultural production. For example, the wired broadcasting system formerly welcomed by commune members is now in bad shape, with its poles fallen to the ground, the lines disrupted, and the loud speakers silent. The transmission lines between the county and its communes and between the commune and its brigades have been disconnected. The formerly popular blackboard (wall) bulletins produced by brigades and production teams have disappeared.

The failure to strengthen the political work has given rise to unhealthy trends and evil beliefs. In many places, fortunetellers, astrologers and other types of feudal superstition have become active. Theft, burglaries and gambling have become common in some brigades and production teams. There was a male commune member in a brigade in Henghsui County who had searched for doctors to cure the pain in his abdomen for years without success. One day when he heard a witch spread the word that she could cure his disease, he immediately sent a car to bring her from Hengshui township to his home, and then he was told to burn incense and offer sacrifices in her presence. Later, she treated a youth plagued by headache in the same village in the same way. The witch nonsensically told the youth that his headache was caused by a fallen tree located near an old temple east of Bao village which had hurt a certain deity, and that his headache would go away if he replanted a tree there and offered five white sheep as sacrifices at the temple. The youth did just what he was told. In this manner the woman fortuneteller deceived the people for several days until she had satisfied her appetite with enough food and drink and cheated enough money out of the villagers' pockets, then she disappeared, leaving her patients just as sick as before her arrival.

The prevalence of such unhealthy trends and evil beliefs reminds us of the urgent need to strengthen our current political work. To this end, cadres and commune members must be organized to study the documents issued by the party, in order to unify their thinking behind the party's line, principles and policies. Meanwhile, all propaganda media must be fully mobilized and put to good use. This propaganda and education work must be conducted in a lively and realistic manner. Rural grassroots party organizations must boldly assume responsibility and take effective measures to deal blows to and prevent the growth of feudal superstitious activities and other unhealthy trends in an effort to insure the thorough implementation of the party's line, principles and policies.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENING STUDENT POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 81 p 1

/Article: "Liaoning Provincial Committee Emphasizes the Importance of Training Red and Expert Talents for Four Modernizations"/

/Text/ From 21 through 27 April, a forum sponsored by the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee was held in Shenyang on ideological-political work in universities and colleges. During the meeting, First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee Guo Feng /6753 1496/, Governor Chen Puru /7115 3877 1172/ and Standing Committee Member Liu Yiyun /0491 8381 0061/ listened to representative speeches at the forum. Both Comrades Guo Feng and Liu Yiyun participated in the discussions and spoke at the conclusion of the forum. The forums summed up experiences and exchanged views on methods of strengthening ideological-political work in schools of higher learning. Other questions that were fervently discussed concerned the position and the role of ideological-political work, the necessity and importance of strengthening ideological-political work for students, and the present policies and methods of ideological-political work at the universities.

Understand clearly the objective of university training and do a good job in ideological-political education. Comrades participating in this forum felt that students trained at the socialist universities must be able to grasp not only the modern scientific knowledge and the skill for carrying out the construction of socialist modernization, but they also must have communist ideals, confidence, morals and discipline in order to enable them to strive for making themselves both socialist-minded and professionally proficient so that they can really become high quality experts well developed morally, intellectually and physically. To attain such a goal, it is necessary to put moral education, i.e. the ideological-political education, in first place. Every university and college must have a clear-cut stand to justly, forcefully and convincingly educate students to adhere to the four basic principles. Courses pertaining to the current situation and ideology should also be offered. This is the way to help students acquire a communist world outlook and a communist outlook on life, to cultivate patriotism, and to foster fine moral habits and a high-level socialist spiritual civilization. The universities and colleges may thus be able to make contributions to safeguarding the stability and unity of schools and of society as a whole.

Work out a policy of convincing through reasoning to meet the special needs of students by emphasizing positive education. At the forum, everybody applied the standpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to analyze the ideological state and the distinguishing features of university students at the present time. Everybody felt that the innate character and the main trend of university students of the present generation are good. However, owing to the poisoning of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the influence of various erroneous trends of thought and evil atmosphere in our society, a variety of problems still exist among them. In order to solve these problems, it is necessary to eradicate the influence of leftist ideology and to adhere to the policy of convincing through reasoning in our work. The meeting endorsed various vivid and rigorous educational projects with new appearances which are carried out by some universities and colleges according to the needs of students through such ways and channels as "social survey," "information gathered during home village visit," "report on current situation," "discussions on democracy," and "theatrical performance," and so forth. It was also emphatically pointed out that while ideological-political education for students is being carried out, attention should be paid to actual effects rather than to practicing formalism. The oversimplified and crude way of "I 'exert pressure,' you 'obey;' I 'hit,' you 'are subdued'" should never again be applied. Only by using the method of convincing through reasoning can we truly make students full of vigor and vitality ideologically and take a firm stand politically.

Strengthen leadership and improve teaching on Marxist-Leninist theory. Everybody felt that in schools of higher learning, to strengthen teaching of political theory is one of the main channels to enhance ideological-political work for students. To educate university students in theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is a necessity in implementing the policy of a comprehensive moral, intellectual and physical development, and is an important channel to heighten socialist awareness, to foster communist moral values, and to acquire a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Universities and colleges must earnestly give more effective leadership to strengthening courses on Marxist-Leninist theory, train and replenish teachers in this respect in a planned way, make an effort to improve teaching, conscientiously implement the principle of integrating theory with practice, and help students to learn the way of applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism to study, analyze and solve problems.

Build a contingent of political workers by combining full-time teachers with part-time ones, and pay attention to giving full play to the role of teachers in students' ideological-political education. The forum felt that building a perfect contingent of political workers by combining full-time with part-time teachers is a pressing matter of the moment for carrying out ideological-political work in schools. Full-time political assistants must be kept stable. Attention must be paid to solving their practical problems including problems of their status and remuneration. Full-time cadres must be organized to learn something about pedagogy, psychology, talent training and ethics, and so forth. The teacher in charge of a class must be selected from among the teachers of the class in order to encourage teachers to educate people through teaching.

Teachers of basic courses and specialized courses are numerous. They have more time to come into contact with students. Therefore, they are in a more favorable position to carry out ideological work for students. We must have faith in and rely on the vast numbers of teachers to bring into play their active role in carrying out ideological-political work to the maximum for students in order to put moral education in intellectual education and to deepen ideological education through the teaching of specialized courses. Everybody also felt that under the leadership of university and college party committees, the contingents of political workers, teachers and rear-services in schools must have close coordination in order to form a powerful ideological-political working force. It is necessary to make an effort to study and probe the laws for helping students become useful persons so that ideological-political work may eventually become a systematic science.

Strengthen and improve party leadership and establish a fine school spirit and a good style of study. At the forum, questions concerning party building and leadership system in schools were also studied. It was unanimously pointed out that a school must have a fine school spirit and a good style of study. To attain this goal, we must first have a good party work style. Only after a fine school spirit and good style of study have been set up can we train morally, intellectually and physically qualified students. Schools can then play a useful role to revolutionize the general mood of society.

9560
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LEADING BODIES OF SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING BEING STRENGTHENED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 81 p 1

/Article: "Leading Bodies of Schools of Higher Learning Are Being Strengthened Throughout PRC"7

/Text7 More than 1,000 middle-aged and young cadres under age 55 were selected last year by schools of higher learning in our country to be the reserve force for strengthening leading bodies of various schools. At present, more than 450 of them have assumed such offices as deputy secretaries of university or college party committees or vice presidents of universities or colleges. The youngest among them is only 37 years of age.

The middle-aged and young leading cadres who are holding leading positions in party committees were mostly elected by party delegates conferences and those who are vice presidents of universities or colleges were appointed on the basis of extensively soliciting opinions of the masses by way of public opinion polls, exchange of views at forums or by individual interviews.

As they have worked in schools of higher learning for years, the overwhelming majority of them have a university cultural level or the equivalent. They work enthusiastically and are well versed in their work. They are modest and prudent. They maintain links with the masses and adhere to principles. They are hard working and plain living. They enjoy the support of the broad masses.

9560
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICAL STANDARD FOR ART, LITERATURE CALLED FOR

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 81 p 3

[Article by Zhao Damin [6392 1129 3046]: "A Brief Discussion of Political Standards in Art and Literature"]

[Text] The social effect of literature and art is a natural disposition of literature and art; once a work is published, a certain effect accompanies it. The principal social effect is a political effect; in order to appraise a good or bad political effect, there are bound to be "political standards." Ordinarily this would be a question solved long ago in the history of literary and artist appraisal, but some people somehow have now posted a certain doubt. One view holds that the proposition "political standards first, artistic standards second" in the appraisal of literary and art works must be eliminated. Three attendant reasons are given: 1) This kind of proposition is unscientific. The political content and artistic expression of literature and art make up a single entity. They coexist in a literary or artistic work, like water and milk, and are therefore difficult to separate from each other. It is even more difficult to designate them as first and second. 2) Advocating political standards first means advocating the diagramming of politics or policy through literature and art. [According to the proponents of this view,] this is because, if a writer were to keep political concepts in his mind before he started to create, he would be unable to depict life according to the rhythm of literature and art, and that would be the most fundamental reason leading to the production of a work according to some formula or some a priori concept. From this, therefore, the conclusion is derived: 3) That in order to promote the prosperity of literature and art, it is necessary to eliminate political standards.

I

Putting art and politics in an antagonistic relationship should be said to be an evil consequence resulting from the devastation suffered by socialist literature and art during the 10-year catastrophe. Because of their political needs, the "gang of four" distorted, castrated, and tampered with the quintessence of Marxist literary and art theories as they pleased. The new obscurantism they promoted not only suffocated the party's principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, letting a hundred schools contend," but also threw the 1 billion people into a realm of spiritual hollowness and cultural paucity. After 10 years of spiritual deprivation, the masses of people have begun to have a hungry feeling toward their need for spiritual food. They resist the kind of ersatz products of art put out according to some formula or a priori concept; nor can they stand the drab kind of political preaching. They need genuine works of art whose content is solid, whose art is impeccable, and whose educational value is embodied in the form of recreation. What kind of principles should we implement and what measures should we adopt, after all, in order to effectively prompt the emergence of a situation of prosperity in literature and art? I think the above-mentioned kind of proposition, intent upon necessarily eliminating political standards just in order to promote literary and artistic prosperity, by no means answers the needs of the day or corrects the illness at hand.

The relationship between literature and art and politics is namely the relationship between writers and artists and classes (including political parties). The nature of politics is the concentrated expression of class character (party character). In his article "Party Organization and Party Literature," Lenin, while expounding that well-known passage which we quote regularly--(i.e., "It is beyond dispute that in literary undertakings it is least possible to effect any mechanical equalization or uniformity, or to make the minority obey the majority; it is beyond dispute that in this kind of undertaking it is absolutely necessary to assure a broad world of individual creativity and a broad world of ideas and imagination, of forms and contents"--also unequivocally suggested: "Literature should become party literature" and the Marxist principle that "literary undertakings should become part of the overall undertakings of the proletariat." Comrade Mao Zedong's proposition on the two standards of literary criticism further clearly determined the class nature of literature. He said: "Any class in a class society is bound to put political standards in first place and put artistic standards in second place." This dictum has played a positive role both in the interpretation of literary phenomena in history and in the literary practice of the proletariat. Indeed, searching for the political concepts, political articles needed by a certain class in a literary work or requiring a certain literary work to diagram a certain concrete policy, and taking this as the only standard for appraising that literary work, is a kind of narrow utilitarianism, which is of course hardly preferable or scientific. Because insofar as literary and artistic phenomena are concerned, the political attitudes of writers and artists are often melted in their artistic forms. The greater a literary work, the more tracelessly is such an attitude melted therein, so that it is able to get the reader to be imperceptibly affected and to accept its political influence. This is precisely why art is great as art can exist, and also why art is different from other superstructures. On this point, Engels presented a well-known passage of exposition in his letter to Minna Kautsky. Said he: "I think an inclination should be spontaneously revealed in a scene or plot, and not especially pointed out." Obviously, this famous statement by Engels contains two implications: First, he considered that literature and art should have a political proclivity; and second, it is not necessary to express political proclivity by political preaching. Here, Engels first of all considered that there should be such a proclivity, but at the same time he kept in mind the characteristics and laws of literature and art and gave sufficient thought to the disposition of "socialistically inclined literature."

Adherence to the fundamental principle of "political standards first" by no means excludes exposing and criticizing the defects and mistakes in our work. Works that present a false picture of peace and prosperity, hide the bad and exalt the good, and say a great deal but tell very little are incompatible with the character of proletarian literature. But this kind of expose and criticism are not intended as temporary emotional outlets or meant for writers to have superhuman courage, but for improvement of our work. For the present, they are intended for the promotion of a political situation of stability and unity and for the realization of the four modernizations, so that an advanced spiritual civilization commensurate with our socialist system can thereby be created. What is involved here is a question of motivation and effect. It will do us some good on this question if we read two letters written by Stalin respectively 1. Bie-sai-mieng?-se-ji and 2. Jie-mi-yang Bie-de-nei-yi. These two writers both had written works that exposed social defects in the Soviet Union, but the effect of their works was completely different. Stalin praised the two works by Bie-sai-mian-se-ji, calling them "examples of proletarian revolutionary art." He said in his letter: "The basic characteristics and moving ingredients making up these two works ...lie in their emphasis on pointing out the defects of our organs and on believing that there is a possibility to have these defects corrected.... Their main points are here, and their basic value lies here."

In his letter to Bie-de-nei-yi, Stalin criticized a few of the author's miscellaneous essays. There was this passage in the letter: "What is the essence of your mistake? It is your criticism of Soviet life. In the case of this indispensable and needed criticism, you apply it rather accurately and skillfully af first. But you indulge too much in it, and once you indulge in it, it begins in your works to turn into slander against the Soviet Union, slander against its past and slander against its present." In pointing out defects and at the same time "believing that there is a possibility to have these defects corrected," and in simply exposing the dark side while sensing no outlet, the standpoint of the two authors was not the same, and the effect of their works was also different. I think this is precisely the difference between socialist literature and the criticism of realistic literature.

II

Ever since mankind entered the stage of class society, every class always has had its own standards for understanding literature and art. The ruling class throughout history has always determined the political standards of literature and art according to its own class interests. The earliest literary anthology in our country, the "Zhaomin Anthology," was compiled by a relatively liberal personality, Xiao Tong [5618 4827], among members of the ruling class. He himself regarded the standards by which he compiled the anthology as rather objective, but actually they were tinged by very great class prejudices. The so-called principle of "exalting virtuous cultivation and praising successful achievement" was his political standard; and the principle of observing that if "a plot is derived from deep thinking, a moral implication can be attributed to fine literary embellishment" was his artistic standard. He was supposed to have selected the literary pieces strictly according to his established standards. Yet, in that very voluminous anthology, a narrative poem such as "The Peacock Flying Southwestward," which had such a beautiful story and which to a certain extent exposed the evils of the ruling class, could not even be tolerated. This illustrates that Xiao Tong not only adhered to his political standard, but also strictly followed the principle of politics first in selecting the literary pieces. Let me give another recent example:

A theatrical group from our municipality was preparing to perform in a certain capitalist country. When people on the other side proceeded to examine its repertoire, their eyes opened very wide with respect to those traditional plays that had undergone some renovation after liberation; they were afraid that, with socialist coloration added, they would cause trouble in the capitalist world. Their attitude toward our revolutionary literature and art, of course, can only be worse. The developmental history of literature and art has long proved that in a class society, leterature and art can never be independent of class politics. Propagating an art that transcends class, an art without politics, can only remove one's own ideolgical armament, dissipate one's own revolutionary fighting will, and ultimately lead one's literature and art astray.

Some are worried that, should we advocate political standards first, our literature and art would inevitably develop into a situation accommodating the principle of political standards first, thus leading to having our literary and art works produced according to formulas, a priori concepts, and the words of wall posters and slogans, so that politics and policies would become diagrammed with literature and art, and so on. In reality, this is a misunderstanding. Structuring a literary or an artistic work with a political concept as its point of departure is different from carrying out Marxist literary criticism toward the same work (including political criticism). The former is an erroneous method of creation, while the latter is an appropriate standard of critique. The two are related and yet are different from each other. We should acknowledge that the phenomenon of literary and art works produced according to formulas and a priori concepts does exist. But this is not entirely, nor mainly, the result of our advocating political standards. Propagating politics through literature and art is a practice which has existed in past historical periods. We might as well say that certain propagandist and agitative literary and art works all had this quality. This was especially unavoidable in the case of revolutionary literature and art during a period of enlightenment. I think this is not a shame for revolutionary literature and art but their characteristic; or we may say this is an unavoidable stage in the process of their development. From what I know, none of the many "new plays" (dramas) of the "4 May period was without such a quality. "The White-Haired Girl" of the Ya'an period was subjected to repeated revisions around the issue as to whether Huang Shiren [7806 0013 0088] should be put to death; this was meant merely to have the plot of the play be more adapted to the nature of the party's policy at the time. Here, the integrity of art and the accuracy of policy were consistent with each other. Politics by no means spoiled art. Generally speaking, we are opposed to the practice of diagramming politics or policy with literature and art; nor do we advocating introduction of the concrete process of a certain movement by literature and art. After all, these are not the main functions of literature and art. Literature and art should reflect life, embody education in recreation, and heighten the people's spiritual state, moral outlook, and lofty sentiments through the forms the people like to hear and see. It is precisely in this sense that we say a writer is "the engineer of man's soul." Genuine works of art often possess heartrending power. And this power is not necessarily reflected in certain concrete political questions but, instead, often in the destinies, beliefs, and morals of characters and in irreconcilable conflicts of class dispositions and characters. I don't think advocating "political standards first, artistic standards second" would bring any obstacles to great literary and artistic depictions. On the contrary, the correct world view of a writer or an artist is bound to bring him a sharper weapon for observing life and reflecting life. There have already been quite a few precedents in the developmental history of our proletarian literature and art.

III

The question of the social effect of literature and art is also related to the political standards of literature and art. Dialectical materialism acknowledges the reaction of spirit on material. Hence, any viewpoint that overlooks or takes lightly the social effect of literature and art is incompatible with the Marxist view of literature and art. Bourgeois literateurs and artists orally deny the social effect of literature and art and trumpet the supreme value of literature and art in themselves; in reality, they take literature and art as the plaything of the few members of the ruling class and turn literature and art into a vassal and slave of the bourgeoisie. Proceeding from extreme utilitarianism, the "gang of four" exaggerated the role of literature and art to the degree of being able to manipulate politics and overthrow political power; this was an indication of a very preposterous utilitarian point of view. Those who advocate the elimination of the political standards have also proposed a standard for testing literature and art. That is, let practice test the quality of literature and art. Generally speaking, since practice can test truth, and literature and art constitute a kind of social phenomena, they can of course also be tested by practice. But here they have overlooked a special phenomenon in literature and art: literature and art fall in the ideological realm; their process of social practice (such as when works are published and plays or movies are put on and accepted by the readers and viewers) is also the process through which literature and art complete their own historical mission. If what is in question happens to be a work of bad political inclination or yellow pornography, it will, through practice, already have resulted in bad social effects. We can of course still use the weapon of literary and artistic criticism to criticize it and render it innocuous, but the influence and poison it has exerted on the people's minds will have been far greater than can be eliminated by one or two articles. We can hardly imagine that we would, when we are engaged in a war of defensive counterattack against Vietnam, allow certain works of literature and art that tend to dissipate the fighting stamina of the troops and that propagate the fear of war, to have their "social practice" among our fighters. That would be tantamount to helping the enemy. The reason why all ruling classes in history must without exception pay attention to ideological campaigns through literature and art lies precisely here.

We are anxious to see prosperity in literature and art; we need to see a hundred flowers bloom. We loathe the "gang of four's" policy of using the stick and the bleak atmosphere that prevailed when they ruled over the literary circles. Many of our comrades can never again think of those days when they were on tenterhooks and trampling on thin ice. But the literary and art workers of our party are writers and artists of the masses of proletarian people. As regards certain fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on literary and art questions, we can never abandon or deviate from them. We cannot establish other standards apart from those classical works which have proved to be correct through practice. In his "Congratulatory Speech" to the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Circles, Comrade Deng

Xiaoping said: "We must continue to adhere to the orientation proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong for literature and art to serve the broadest masses of the people--first of all, workers, peasants, and soldiers--and adhere to the principles of letting a hundred flowers bloom, replacing the old with the new, foreign things serving China, and ancient things serving the present."... "Literary and art workers responsible to the people must consistently and unswervingly turn toward the broad masses, strive for better and better creations in art, do their best to avoid perfunctory creations, conscientiously and solemnly consider the social effects of their work and endeavor to contribute the best possible spiritual food to the people." This is a clarion call issued to our literary and art workers by our party in the new era. In further advocating the emancipation of our thinking, we must also adhere to the fundamental principles of the classical esthetics of Marxism. In advocating respect for the laws of art, and in following as closely as possible such laws while providing leadership to literature and art, we by no means suggest that party leadership is to be weakened in any sense. We are opposed to the view concerning political standards that is expressed by vulgar sociology, but we must adhere to the Marxist view on political standards. We shall refrain from continuing to pose the slogan "Literature and art are subordinate to politics," because such a proposition is liable to create a pretext for some to interfere at random in literary and art work. But literature and art should neve, noe can it, depart from politics. This is the fundamental Marxist view on literature and art. We have no reason whatsoever for abandoning political standards on the contrary, we must continue to heighten the ideological nature (i.e., the political nature) of proletarian literature and art around this greatest political goal, the realization of the four modernizations, and dedicate to the people of the new era works that have the best possible political effect.

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POLITICAL WORK AMONG STUDENTS STRESSED AT HUBEI MEETING

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[Speech given by Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7539] on 14 March 1981 at the Hubei Provincial Higher Education Work Meeting]

[Excerpts] Comrades! The present work meeting on higher education throughout our province has discussed and studied two problems: 1) how to strengthen ideological and political work among our young students, and 2) how to implement in higher education the eight-character policy which has readjustment as its core content. The study of these two problems is very timely, very necessary in order to implement the spirit of the December 1980 Central Committee Work Conference. It also reflects the problems which the Tianjin conference, called by the Ministry of Education of the central government, had demanded be solved. Our present meeting has been very successful.

Today, I will not discuss a wide range of problems, but will merely give my opinion mainly on the problem of increased ideological and political work among the students at our institutions of higher learning, for your reference.

The First Question: On the Importance of Ideological and Political Work Among Our Students From the Overall Standpoint of Socialist Construction

The strengthening of ideological and political work among our students is fundamentally determined by the overall conditions of socialist construction. Socialism is first of all a kind of socioeconomic formation. Its basis is public ownership of the means of production, and production relations are in a dominant position. On top of this the political power and the laws of the people's democratic dictatorship, socialist ideology, etc are added as superstructure to serve the system and help its formation, consolidation and development. The ideological and political work of which we are speaking here covers the area of the superstructure, especially the ideology prevailing in it. It is an important organic component of the spiritural culture of socialism. "...So-called spiritual culture not only refers to educational and scientific culture (which is absolutely essential) but also to the communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, ethics, discipline, revolutionary stand and principles, the comradely relations between men, etc." "How could socialism be built without this spiritual culture, without communist ideology, without communist ethics?" This is a very important question, which involves our comprehension of the socialist modernization work. Please, Comrades, be earnestly aware of this fact.

Generally speaking, material culture and spiritual culture are interdependent, conditioning and promoting one another. Material culture is the foundation of spiritual culture while spiritual culture, on the other hand, has an enormous counteracting force on material culture. However, under certain historical conditions, due to the shortcomings of its economic system, a society may show a certain degree, or even a serious imbalance, between its spiritual aspects and the level of production force it has already reached. In the Western capitalist societies, material production is at a high level and science and technology are also well developed, but the spiritual life of the people is very much devoid of meaning and decadent, their moral customs are very bad and their crime rate is very high. In the Western capitalist countries, there are now also many people who have to admit that the pursuit of a high level of material life alone has already led to harmful consequences. These conditions are determined by their social system based on the capitalist system of private ownership, and the capitalist countries cannot solve these problems within the constraints of their system. Only the socialist system can provide the guarantee for mutual coordination and mutual promotion between the material and the spiritual culture. This is also one of the manifestations of the superiority of the socialist system. Today, on our new long march, our party and our state must be resolute and daring in setting about the task of solving the problem presented by the relationship of the two cultures. This indicates that our party Central Committee, with great foresight, will have to do a good job not only of realizing the four modernizations, but also in building up a socialist spiritual culture that will be far superior to anything in the capitalist world, so that our spiritual culture will be one that all people who clamor for revolution and progress will yearn for and that will arouse the envy of the many people in the world whose spiritual life is now meaningless and whose mental state is one of depression. This is an inevitable historical development. History has placed this significant task before us.

The clarification of these principles will, in my belief, greatly enhance our understanding of educational work and of ways to strengthen the ideological and political work among our students. The reason is very simple: the socialist spiritual culture cannot develop and take shape spontaneously. Building up this socialist spiritual culture is extremely arduous and formidable, the same as is the case with building up the material culture; it requires a tremendous amount of work from us. On the one hand we must develop our educational, scientific and cultural undertakings, and on the other hand, we must exert great efforts in ideological and political work, in propagating the communist ideology and ethics, in continued criticism and gradual elimination of all influences of the exploiting class. In both these respects we were speaking of the entire society; concretely applied to each of our schools the demand is now to nurture a generation of new men who have high ideals and moral principles, great knowledge and physical strength, and who are determined to make a contribution for the benefit of their people, their fatherland and of all mankind. In brief, we must nurture a new socialist successor generation who are both red and expert.

Do we want our students to master modern scientific and cultural knowledge? Of course. The fundamental task of students is to study. Rejecting science and culture was the stultifying policy of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in their vain attempt to plot to have society retrogress. We will not again fall into that trap. Against those "leftist" mistakes of despising knowledge we must continue our criticism and thoroughly eliminate such influences. However, in running our schools it is also essential not to have the students acquire scientific and cultural knowledge alone: we must also have them gain a correct political direction, socialist consciousness, a good ideology, good moral principles and habits and at the same time grow up healthy in body and mind. Whether their education comprises Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education or not constitutes one of the differences in the character of our socialist universities as compared with capitalist universities. If the students nurtured at our universities did not support the leadership of the Communist Party and refused to serve the cause of socialism, that would be the failure of our education. This problem must definitely have our deep thought and attention. What is the position that ideological and political work is to occupy in our higher education? In my opinion, the ideological and political education of our students is of equal importance to their education in the specialized knowledge of engineering, physics or the humanities, and must furthermore be adequately integrated into their education. We also see that the ideological and political work of students at our institutions of higher learning had its special characteristics as compared with work on the other frontlines of our struggle. On the other fronts, the ideological and political work is conducted in the main as an integrated part of the work as the important guarantee for the smooth completion of the various tasks in implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. At the universities, the ideological and political work also has this function of a guarantee, but it is not only that. The ideological and political education in itself is an indispensible organic component of the content of higher education. It not only penetrates all the various aspects of instructional activities but in many cases is taught in specially established courses.

Our slogan is "red and expert," which signifies a unity of politics and vocational work and a unity of ethics and abilities. On this problem we must not engage in a dispute over concepts but must emphasize the comprehension of its spiritual essence and earnestly translate it into action. "Expert" is not the same as "red," but "red" must be "expert." A man with genuine socialist consciousness will inevitably do his best to learn the specialties of his line of work and earnestly try to master the skills to work in promoting the four modernization projects. Therefore, a man who is "red" but not "expert," or even content with not being "expert," is definitely not genuinely "red." In the reverse case, if a man is "expert" but not "red," has abilities but does not want to serve the people and socialism, but pursues crooked ways, that kind of an "expert" is not wanted in our socialist society. In our instructional work we must therefore earnestly strengthen the ideological and political work of our students and unswervingly implement a policy of developing fully all three aspects, the ethical, intellectual and physical. Regarding this problem, it is our hope that all comrades in the educational departments and in our schools will conscientiously sum up the experiences and lessons of the past, rectify one step further the ideological line and strive for a correct and uniform understanding of this question.

I have repeatedly said that our province of Hubei is one of the provinces with a fairly well-founded higher education. In the last few years, the party committees at the various schools and the numerous workers in the educational field have exerted themselves, expended great energy, performed great work and achieved remarkable successes. By and large, the political state of our proviincial education is a stable one, and normal conditions prevail in our education, our work and our daily life. The quality of our education is also being restored and raised continuously. Furthermore, the state of stability in our schools has beneficially affected society in general. The provincial party committee is well pleased with your work, Comrades. During the last 10 days of October last year, a small group of students from Hunan Teachers College tried to engage in illegal contacts with Wuhan University and Hua Shi College, but thanks to the serious attention given this matter by the party committee and the correct methods adopted, the students at the two institutions rebutted all that leftist stuff and its erroneous methods, which would have proved dangerous to our stability and unity. The influence of this affair on the whole country is quite beneficial. Of course it also shows us that certain problems still exist in our work at the institutions of higher learning, or even that a large number of problems still exist. One of the problems is that the ideological and political work is not yet handled with sufficient competence. Realistically speaking, it is also not a problem of any particular unit or any particular front. Engaging in ideological and political work was originally one of our excellent traditions but during the last few years this tradition suffered "leftist" mistaken interference, particularly the grievous sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," from which it has not yet fully recovered. At the same time, we have now just arrived at a new historical turning point, when everyone is groping for a way toward progress, while this progression will have to undergo certain stages, be it in the field of knowledge or in the field of actual work. If some problems arise, let us not blame everybody around us. In my view, we must not, on the one hand, underrate the achievements because of the existence of some problems, but on the other hand we must also not, because of achievements accomplished, overlook the serious nature of the problem. We are determined to employ the spirit of the various important conferences since the Third Plenary Session, including the Central Committee Work Conference of last December, to unify our understanding, rectify our shortcomings and give new impetus to our work.

The Second Question: On the Basic Demands Facing Us in the Ideological and Political Education of Our Students

In my opinion, if we want to be effective in the ideological and political education of our students, we must first of all put forward, clearly and definitely, a basic demand with regard to our students' political direction and moral conduct. Haven't we said that we want to nurture our young people to become men of ideals moral principles, knowledge and physical strength? It is my understanding that having ideals refers to having a firm correct political orientation, feeling concern for the fate of our fatherland and of mankind, that is, a firm adherence to the four basic principles, a grasp of the basic standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, being imbued with the spirit of patriotism and internationalism and determined to build up our country into a strong, modern, socialist country. In summary, can we not express it this way: in the course of receiving his higher education, a socialist university student must lay a solid foundation for the formation of a communist world outlook. For some time recently people have not been very interested in world outlook, a phenomenon that deserves our attention. The question of world outlook is a basic question, which nobody can avoid. Even when no world outlook is being discussed, a certain kind of world outlook will exercise its functions. The world outlook comprises a man's outlook on life, that is, what a man after all lives for. The meaning I want to express here is that we want to nurture in our institutions of higher learning a socialist successor generation that is both "red" and "expert." If we make clear and definite demands as to the "expertness," we must also make clear and definite demands as to "redness." Of course the demand for "redness" is not as specific and easily mastered as the demand for "expertness," but this problem simply must be solved, otherwise the objective of nurturing men who are both "red" and "expert" cannot be fully achieved. In my opinion it is extremely important to carry out among the university and college students an education with the objective of fostering these qualities. In the course of this kind of education, every single university student must be made aware of the fact that under our present conditions of material and financial limitations, the number of students that are enrolled is not very large, and while the party, the state and the people are creating these favorable conditions for study, they also entertain extremely high hopes as regards the university students. Every university student must therefore first of all acquire a communist world outlook, seeking to work for the interests of the vast majority of people in China and in the world. They must under no circumstances let valuable time slip by unused. They must be firmly determined and with single-hearted devotion learn well their particular specialties--socialist construction, socialist operation and management, the socialist legal system, socialist culture and art, etc--so as to become activists working under the leadership of the party for the realization of the four modernizations. In short, they must closely integrate their own studies with the fate of the country, the prospects of the nation and our four modernization undertakings, and establish a clear and definite study objective.

According to the present conditions and the ideological reality of the students, what are the points that we shall have to emphasize in the ideological and political education of university students at the present time and for some time to come? We must take the documents of the Central Committee Work Conference of last December as a basis and institute a fairly concentrated education of the students in support of the four basic principles. We must institute topical education that is linked to the 31 years of our history since the establishment of our state, that must make the students become aware of the great achievements of the socialist revolution and construction as well as give them an understanding of the shortcomings and mistakes in our past work and the presently existing problems, as well as methods of redress and solution. On this basis we must carry out a penetrating education in the party's line, principles and policies and an education in firm support of the four basic principles to guide the students to be able to better draw clear lines of demarcation between socialism, capitalism and feudalism, to have the students realize why a strong, modern, socialist country can be built up only under the leadership of the Communist Party, and why we must study and firmly uphold the cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They must gain a clear idea of what is to be upheld and promoted and what is to be opposed, resisted and criticized. This education must under no circumstances be merely regarded as a general education in current policies, but rather as one aspect of "capital construction," namely, of raising the ideological consciousness of the students. If this basic construction is done well, it will have far-reaching effects. It is absolutely necessary to clarify certain basic questions, such as for instance the superiority of the socialist system, the difference between socialist and capitalist democracy, the relationship between the development of democracy and the insistence on the leadership of the party, the relationship between centralism and democracy, freedom and discipline, etc. Did we not some time ago see in our society the emergence of a trend toward capitalist liberalization? This trend of thought had its influence on the schools and on the mentality of the students; we must not underestimate it. When carrying our education in support of the four basic principles, we must be fully prepared to carry out a convincing analysis and criticism of these ideological trends that had an influence among the students, especially of those absurd opinions that oppose the four basic principles. We must thus help the students widen their knowledge, draw clear lines of demarcation and clear up any ideological confusion. We must tell our young students that our party, our older generation of revolutionaries and the people of various nationalities throughout our country entertain high hopes for our young students and have a well-founded and very high opinion of them and solicitude for them. This is a fact beyond any doubt. There has now appeared among our young people a minority, very small in number, who harbor dark designs, like the rebels of the "great cultural revolution" who closely followed Lin Biao and the "gang of four," against whom we really must be on our guard. Although their numbers are extremely small, they are a force of evil. They are now engaged in seducing, deceiving, confusing and inciting young people who are politically immature and inexperienced, so that they, the rebels, might gain their treacherous political designs. Every sutdent with socialist consciousness will want to draw a clear line of demarcation against them and struggle against their reactionary words and deeds.

The Central Committee Work Conference of December last year was a very important conference in the history of our party. It demonstrated that in its political line, our party has already completely broken with the historical mistakes of the "left," thus following and elaborating the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, so that there is absolutely no question any more of "relaxations" and "restraints." We must realize that we are still mopping up the influences of "leftist" mistakes and unifying the ideology of the whole party and the whole people, including here of course the university students, into one of Marxist ideological line, political line and organizational line as established since the Third Plenary Session. Departing from the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and without an elimination of the mistaken "leftist" influences, it is not possible to carry out correctly an education in support of the four basic priniples, nor is it possible to effectively maintain the four basic principles in actual work. On the other hand, we must also realize that firm adherence to the four basic principles is a basic principle consistently upheld by our party, as it is also the core of the political line of the Third Plenary Session. Negations of any description from the "left" or the right, or viewpoints in opposition to the four basic principles, we shall definitely criticize and overcome most seriously and earnestly. It is absolutely wrong to set the four basic principles in an antagonistic position opposing the political line of the Third Plenary Session, or to refer to the four basic principles and the documents of the Central Committee as the "big stick." If such talk is uttered by people who are ignorant of the party's line, principles and policies, it shows that our propagandistic education has been insufficient; this is a question of knowledge and of education. There are, however, now certain individuals with long party affiliation who also utter such talk and whom we would then want to ask whether there is any party spirit at all left in them, and what kind of a standpoint they have moved to.

What methods should be used in teaching firm adherence to the four basic principles? At the present meeting some comrades have worked out some very good methods which in my opinion could be effective. For instance, based on the series of important questions in the Central Committee document No 2, certain special topics can be enumerated through a process of analysis and synthesis, and around these special topics the document can be studied topic by topic, giving the students guidance, organizing discussions among the students and possibly also arranging social investigations, letting them learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to gain an understanding of the problems, to effect their analysis, to gradually distinguish right and wrong and enhance their general understanding. Is there not half a day every week set aside for topical education? Good use must be made of this time. Of course, we need not limit ourselves to this time only, but should add a course in political theory, a course in ideological self-cultivation and coordinate the day-to-day ideological work with various kinds of activities. If we carry on in this way for a certain period of time, I believe the mentality of the students will undergo a great change, and if this is continued for a further lengthy period of time, it will be even more effective.

The Third Question: On the Need to Uphold the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts and Employing a Policy of Removing Obstacles in Our Ideological and Political Work Among Students

Seeking truth from facts and in everything starting out from the realities are the basic principles that determine the quality of all work, as well as the basic principles that govern the effectiveness of ideological and political work among students. In the past, due to the long-term influence of "leftist" mistakes, especially due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," ideological and political work had become greatly discredited. Why was that so? Because idealism and metaphysics were rampant at that time and these pernicious influences also showed up in the various aspects of our education, in its content, policies and methods. In personal and other matters no specific analyses were made, everything was reported "false, exaggerated or without substantiation." As regards methods, the system was one of powerful influences controlling the personnel, or of conducting affairs in a formalist way. If we now want to restore and promote the reputation of ideological and political work, we must display the excellent traditions of the party and never again resort to all those "leftist" methods. There is a saying: "The savage methods are outdated, the old methods don't work, the new methods are not clear." What are the "savage methods"? They are nothing but the "leftist" methods, methods that had "class struggle as program." That these things are outdated is fine; it indicates that we have made progress and won victories. An analysis of the "old methods" shows some things to be unsuitable and outdated; it is of course no good trying to open the doors of the eighties with a key of the fifties. However, many of the old methods reflect the excellent traditions of our party which ought to be continued and developed, certainly not discarded. The phrase "the new methods are not clear" is also not an altogether truthful statement. At some schools, some effective new methods of ideological and political education have already been worked out; they deserve our attention and we should sum them up. If we say they are not clear to us, then we had better try to find out about them and be creative; it would also show that we shoulder heavy responsibilities. In my opinion all that is needed is firm adherence to the principles of seeking truth from fact and in everything starting out from the realities, an unceasing study of the new conditions, solution of the new problems; then the new methods can be found and indeed will certainly be found.

The principle of seeking truth from facts has an extremely abundant content; I intend to talk here on how to view the problem of the young students. Solving this problem is an important precondition for the effectiveness of our ideological and political work Whether our basic appraisal of them is correct or not will affect the attitude, the policy and the methods that we adopt toward them; it is therefore an important question. The majority of expressions from our students of institutions of higher learning are good; the main currents of their ideology are also good. They support the political line, principles and policies enforced since the Third Plenary Session. They actively strive to move upward, demand progress and ardently love the party and the socialist fatherland. They exert great efforts in their studies and are determined to make a contribution toward the four modernizations. Under the loving care of the party and the state, they are growing up in good health, and more and more men of splendid qualities are emerging. Quite a few students have this or that critical opinion concerning the work of our party and government. On analyzing these opinions in detail, we find that some are not necessarily wrong. Some, although not exactly geared to actual circumstances or not completely correct, are well intentioned. They express the hope that we perform our work effectively and that the construction of our county is handled well; they have absolutely no bad intentions. We must therefore say with full confidence that they are certainly not a "confused generation" or a "bankrupt generation," but rather a generation of great hopes and great deeds. How could they be looked upon as one great mess? In that case, where could we see the future and hope of our country? Of course when we positively assess their basic aspects in this way, it does not at all mean that we deny that there are many problems related to them. For instance, there is a minority of students who doubt the four basic principles and yearn for a bourgeois liberalization. There is a minority of students who have some mistaken concepts of our country's present political and economic circumstances. There is a minority of students who show this or that defect as regards moral character and civilized conduct. These are all facts which require that we treat them seriously, patiently educate and give systematic guidance. As to individual persons who engage in antiparty and antisocialist activities, these cases must be thoroughly investigated and carefully analyzed. Depending on the seriousness of the case, the person concerned must be restrained according to law or reprimanded or punished as necessary. In short, we must arrive at a correct and comprehensive assessment of the young students and furthermore we must analyze the social and historical conditions in which they find themselves. We must realize that in general they "were born in times of distress, grew up in times of turmoil, are studying in times of readjustment." They are in the midst of a great historical turning point, which on the one hand gave them a good tempering, but on the other hand confronted them with complex contradictions and subjected them to a great variety of influences.
Marxism-Leninism holds that existence determines consciousness, man's nature is

the sum total of his social relations. The students do not live in a vacuum; how could the good or bad elements in society not exert influence on them? We must therefore not blame the young people, but must show concern and loving care for them, which is best shown by providing them with a vivid ideological education.

In the schools and in society there is still another problem, namely, how to treat the children of cadres, especially the children of cadres in higher positions. This topic is now much discussed in our presentday society. The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline has twice investigated the conduct of children of cadres in high positions. The facts are basically: those whose conduct was good or ordinary made up a little over 98 percent; those whose conduct was bad or who were bad characters made up less than 2 percent. Besmirching the reputation of children of higher cadres is therefore inconsistent with the facts, as well as damaging to the party. An extremely small number of people with ulterior motives are out to fabricate and utilize this kind of public opinion to stir up trouble in a vain attempt to sever the flesh-and-blood relationship between the broad masses of youths and the revolutionaries of the older generation, as a means to attack and vilify the party. We must be on guard against such practices, but at the same time we must make the same strict demands on the children of higher cadres as we make on all other youths. The good ones will be commended and the bad ones will be criticized. Individuals who have indeed violated the law or offended discipline are to be firmly punished in accordance with party discipline and state law.

According to the basic analysis in the above, we can quite naturally arrive at the following conclusions: in the treatment of our young students we must start out from concern and loving care and maintain a policy of removing obstacles in their way to solve their ideolgical problems. This means dredging a free course and guiding them in their passage; in dredging a free course provide guidance; when providing guidance, dredge a free passage for them. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly said: in solving ideological problems, we must present the facts and reason things out, convince people by reasoning. In our treatment of the young students we don't approve of letting things drift.

We shall certainly not show tolearance of leniency as to erroneous things found among the young people. We shall firmly adhere to our principles, speak frankly and sincerely in pointing out things to them and calmly reason with them, full of ardor and sincerity, to inspire them to overcome their difficulties and rectify their ideas, without evading any thorny questions. At the same time we shall never be coarse or rough. Oversimplified methods or crude and rough methods cannot solve any problems. Some students who have some mistaken concepts must be made aware of the fact that they are mistaken; this is quite sufficient and there is no need to magnify things unnecessarily. At present the people of the whole country, especially the youngsters, are launching a "five discussions, four beautiful" movement of culture and manners, that is, concerning the discussion of culture, courtesy, healthy habits, orderliness and morality and "beautiful" spirit, speech, conduct and environment. This movement is of great significance for the building up of a spiritual culture and to encourage people to work with one heart and one mind for the realization of the four modernizations. The institutions of higher learning should launch this movement vividly and dramatically and in a down-to-earth manner. They should in this respect march at the head of society and excel in carrying out this movement. The foundation of the "five discussions, four beautiful" movement is attention to morality and refinement of spirit and in substance consists of the pursuit of the truly good and beautiful and opposition to the false, the ugly and the hideous. Are not young people very fond of the beautiful? Let us then lead them to give attention first of all to the spiritual beauty, which invariably comprises lofty ideals, a revolutionary mentality and noble sentiments. Let us concentrate our efforts on work in this direction. The majority of our youths lead simple and frugal lives; they detest dressing up and beautifying themselves but enjoy attending recreational and sports activities. This is good and understandable. We must not judge this new generation by old standards. However, we must strengthen our guidance of the young people. Comrades from outside this area say that the people in Wuhan are rather plainly dressed. That is very good, since plainness, neatness and cleanliness are also a kind of "beauty"! But the Wuhan area does very badly in environmental sanitation. That is not very cultured, and I hope the institutions of higher education will take the lead in improving the environmental sanitation. Should we determine which movements the students may participate in and which not? Everybody should study this question. In my opinion it is more important to be most energetic in launching various kinds of healthy activities and have them replace the unhealthy activities. We should do more and a better job at organizing and launching sports meets, various competitions of skill and art, musical performances, singing performances, sparetime scientific research, vacation travel, etc. There is no shortage of talented people in the universities; all that is required is to get them organized, and the spiritual and cultural life will become more abundant and more active.

Adopting a policy and methods of removing obstacles from the activities of the students is most important and fundamental, but this will have to have necessary restraints, including the restraints of discipline and the laws. Strictly speaking, every person must accept certain disciplinary restraints. Where in the world is there "absolute freedom" or "abstract freedom"! From the first grade in primary school, our students must be made to acquire a strict sense of discipline. At present there are at our institutions of higher learning an extremely small minority of students of a seriously questionable type, of whom some participate in illegal organizations whose aims are in violation of the constitution and of the laws and opposition to the party and to socialism. They compose and print illegal publications and distribute statements that endanger our society, our state, the socialist system, our stability and unity, and are antiparty and antisocialist. We must definitely take note of the seriousness of the problem and take firm and serious action in accordance with the spirit of the relevant documents of the Central Committee. We must give attention to gaining a good grasp of the policies. As to participation in illegal organizations and illegal publications, each case must be dealt with according to its particular circumstances; we must carry out earnest ideological education and work on breaking up their organization, and strive to have the majority of their members change their stand. As they truly change their stand and express repentance, we must welcome this so that they will correct their mistakes and we must continue to help them warmheartedly in their progress.

It is a very important point that we integrate the solution of the students' problems of ideological understanding with the solution of their actual problems. We must realize that concern for the students' studies and livelihood and the solution of their ideological problems are two things that influence each other and help each other forward. As things are now, it is well worth our while to pay attention to the study problems and livelihood problems of the students. Students come to school to study; if the instruction at school is poorly carried out, there will be criticism from the students, from parents and from society. We must send excellent teachers to the forefront of our teaching and must furthermore study teaching methods and the art of teaching, striving for effectiveness in our teaching. The school dining halls must be run well and good control must be maintained in order to provide well for the livelihood of the students. Under favorable conditions the schools may operate farms and go in for agricultural sideline production to foster a spirit of arduous struggle and institute a part-work and part-study system. In the days of the revolutionary war, conditions were extremely difficult, but we were able by using our own hands to provide ample clothing and food. Now that conditions are so much better, why should we not be able to practice self-reliance to improve our own livelihood and improve the conditions for running our schools? One may say that under certain conditions, concern for the students' livelihood is in itself a kind of ideological and political work. Of course the schools still have many difficulties, shortcomings exist in many respects, but if we only apply ourselves earnestly to work out methods, many problems will gradually find their solution. If there are problems for which we really lack the strength to find solutions, this must be clearly explained to the students. I believe we should run our schools so as to have them gradually become one revolutionary family, so that after graduation the students will still always cherish the memory of their alma mater. Why is in this term "alma mater," the word for "mother," brought into connection with the school? To express the idea that that school of yours was well run, comparable to a mother's fostering of her own children, so that the children on their part will have grown very fond of their mother.

Within the schools all the various forces must be mobilized and organized in a joint effort to do an effective job of ideological and political education. Of the "various forces" we mentioned, one is the different kinds of organizations: the party organization, the Youth League organization, student associations--all these should engage in ideological and political work. At present not many students are party members, but Youth League members make up 70 to 80 percent of the total number of students. What a large force this is! If their enthusiasm alone is brought into play, the entire school will brim with vitality and assume a totally different appearance. Some of the Youth League grassroots organizations are now rather lax, many league members do not play the role they should. We must make a resolution to take this matter firmly in hand. Within the party and league organizations, we must strengthen and tighten up the organizational life, we must launch criticism and self-criticism, propose and encourage that everyone speak out freely and without reserve within the organizations, thus rendering the organizational life vivid and vigorous. We must pay attention to having the various mass organizations play their full part. On this point not enough has been done in the past, starting with the provincial party committee, which is a very great weakness of our work that has to be remedied. We must support the Communist Youth League and we must work boldly in this respect. Another force is the willingness of various kinds of people to engage in ideological and political work. First of all, we must of course have a contingent of capable full-time political workers. The responsibility on their shoulders is very heavy indeed and their work furthermore is very arduous, their remuneration is still very low and their work is not regarded as important. This must have our due attention and we must adopt measures to solve the problem. Since we acknowledge ideological and political work to be an important organic part of our higher education, we must also acknowledge that the contingent of full-time political workers, the same as the full-time teachers, are an important force that directly affects the effective running of the schools. Any disparagement of the political work personnel is wrong. To be effective in our ideological and political work it is of course not sufficient to rely only on the full-time political work personnel; the cadres at the various levels of the party and administration as well as the entire body of teaching staff and workers must also do ideological and political work. One maxim is "teach book knowledge but also teach how to be a human being", another maxim is "example is better than precept." Both these maxims must be propagated over and over again and earnestly put into practice.

Especially the leading cadres of the party must strictly observe discipline and set an example with their own conduct. There is still another problem at our universities in connection with the role of the students as the mainstay of our educational system. In the past there were two bad trends in our teaching methods: One was to treat the students like babies to be coddled or like weak-minded persons to be rigidly controlled. The other trend was to let go every hold on them and exercise no control, letting the students do whatever the liked. Being different from middle school students, the university students must be given even greater attention in order to activate their initiative and creativity and to arouse their zeal for self-education. If the core strength of the students is mobilized, many problems can be solved at the grassroots and in the embryonic stage.

The Fourth Question: On Having the Party Organization Direct Its Time and Energy Mainly to the Effective Performance of Ideological and Political Work

Regarding how to strengthen the party leadership, there has been a conceptional question that has not been solved for a long time. We have some comrades in charge of party work who have been prone to use administrative methods, making decisions, issuing directives, issuing orders, and in the multitude of tasks taking care of everything personally, considering this to constitute the leadership of the party. Is this a correct concept? In my opinion it is at least a one-sided concept. Whether the party organization is truly in a leadership position and whether the party organization has the power to issue orders in all administrative affairs are two different questions. Only exercising administrative powers and issuing orders without broad ideological and political work will hardly bring about a genuine leadership role for the party. In a school it will be through strong and effective ideological and political work of the party organization, which must be turned into a fighting bastion, that the entire body of teachers, students, employees and workers will be made to trust, uphold and support the party's line, principles and policies, that they will of their own free will advance in the socialist direction pointed out by the party, and that they will strive to fulfill the general tasks of the party. In my opinion this would be the true realization of party leadership.

I have already mentioned that the party organization in the institutions of higher learning in our province has achieved great success and acquired much experience in strengthening the ideological and political work. The question is only that following the further development of the situation, the demands that the party makes on us are ever increasing and the demands that the people make on us are also ever increasing, so that in many directions we must raise our knowledge and improve our work.

Some of our comrades still lack the necessary knowledge as regards the importance of ideological and political work. We must pay attention to this problem and solve it. Now that the focus of work throughout the party has been shifted to the work of modernization and the focus of work in the institutions of higher learning has been shifted to specific studies and scientific research, some comrades believe that effective ideological and political work is no longer important, that it is sufficient to do an effective job in specific studies and scientific research. This conception is obviously wrong, because it places ideological and political work in opposition to specific studies and scientific research, or equates the two on an equal basis. In actual fact, after the focus of educational work at school had been shifted, the ideological and political work must not only not be weakened, but must rather be improved and strengthened in order to conform to the new situation. In order to guarantee a stable environment, a smooth progress of specific studies and scientific research conformity of all educational work with the line, principles and policies of the party and the realization of the educational objectives of the students in our institutions of higher learning, we must do a very large amount of ideological and political work. The party organizations at all levels in our schools must propagate among the entire body of teachers, students, employees and workers the party's line, principles and policies and explain to them all circumstances and principles in order to make them understand the relationship between the party's line, principles and policies and their own vital interests. The problems experienced by teachers, students, staff and workers must be discussed with them and settled through discussion, and realistic and convincing explanations must be given on the confused concepts they may hold. This kind of work may be called ideological guidance. If none of this work were done, specific studies, scientific research and any other work could not be effectively carried out. I have already talked about the concern we should hold for the livelihood of the students; here I still want to add concern for the livelihood of the teachers, staff and workers; we must do a good job at logistics, which is also an essential condition to guarantee the smooth progress of specific studies and scientific research work. There are some old professors who are good scholars but bad at managing their own livelihood. We must give attention to care for them so that they may concentrate all their energies on teaching and scientific research.

There are some comrades who are afraid of the difficulties in ideological and political work; they do not dare to tackle the problems arising among the students and do not dare to take charge. On all important problems they feel they cannot express themselves clearly and convincingly, with straightforward logic and forceful vigor, which causes them to lose all confidence. There are also some comrades who had intended to take this work in hand and to take charge but feel a lack of certainty, they are full of worries, worry about mishandling and mismanaging things. We must admit that this condition is not completely due to subjective reasons. With the appearance in society of an ideological trend toward bourgeois liberalization and with our existing shortcomings in theoretical propaganda work, the difficulties of carrying out ideological and political work are rather great.

However, as a party committee of any rank, as a responsible comrade or a party committee, we must have a thorough materialistic attitude and the revolutionary spirit of pressing forward in the face of difficulties. There are many comrades who have done many years of school work, who have abundant experience and who are certainly knoledgeable as to what has to be done and how it has to be done: Why would they not dare to take charge! As to not being able to deal with new problems, this merely requires strengthening self-study, enhancing one's understanding of theories, ideologies and policies and thus being enabled to reply convincingly to any questions that the students may put forward. I know this myself from experience: under the present historical conditions, a person doing ideological and political work cannot merely live off his past gains, there must be further study. We must strengthen investigation and research, study the new situation and new problems from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and with its methods, and make efforts to arrive at the correct generalizations. Otherwise, would it not be a case of "those in the dark themselves trying to light the way for others"?

There are also quite a number of comrades who cannot free themselves from many and diverse administrative chores and who have not placed ideological and political work on the agendas. At present, a school is like a small community of its own; any problems may be left to the school to settle and many problems must be referred to the party committee to decide. However, it is said that at some institutions the responsible comrade of the party committee has to sign the expense accounts for professors travelling on duty; that is no good. If the party committee is pestered day in and day out by such large and small particular tasks, how can it find time and energy to take ideological and political work in hand? Not to speak of its "primary time and major energy." These conditions must now be changed. We must enhance the understanding of ideological and political work and gradually change the way party committees are burdened with all the work. As the provincial party committee discussed it: The present leadership structure, that is, the system of personal responsibility of the school president under the leadership of the party, must not be lightly changed, but earnest improvements could be made with regard to a division of labor between party and administration. This would mean that routine administrative work and other business would as far as possible be allotted to the administrative and business departments to handle; we should support them in these matters while leaving them a free hand and recognizing their responsibility for the functions and powers of their offices, so that they may fully play their role. The party committees, especially the highest responsible comrades in the party committees, must devise ways to allot their primary time and major energy to firmly and realistically take in hand the ideological and political work at the schools. Of course, under the prevailing conditions, it would be unrealistic to take some affairs completely out of the control of the party committees, especially since some responsible adminstrative positions are held by old specialists who are not familiar with administrative work. For these comrades we should provide assistants.

In all this, I have mainly given some views and opinions focusing on the work of the party committees at the schools. It must be especially pointed out with regard to the ideological and political work of the students that apart from the efforts of the schools and educational departments, it is the party committees at various levels that should concern themselves with this work and take it in hand.

Some comrades have expressed the hope that the leading comrades in the province might manage to find time, a few days every year to visit the schools for heart-to-heart talks with the teachers and students, to arrange informal discussions and for reports on the situation. This is a good idea. Concrete arrangements may be left for later; we must not make empty promises now. The responsible departments concerned and the units concerned must exert efforts to improve their work. The cultural and educational departments of the provincial party committee, the provincial bureau of education and the provincial committee of the Youth League must coordinate their work very closely to help the schools in doing on their part more ideological and political work for the students. The provincial committee of the Youth League must make effective Youth League work at the universities one of its primary tasks. In this respect efforts must not be allowed to slacken.

Comrades! At present the situation on the educational front is very good. The CCP Central Committee shows extraordinary concern and considers the development of our educational undertakings extremely important. Our provincial party committee and the party committees at various levels are continuously enhancing their understanding of educational work. After its establishment, the Central Secretariat repeatedly discussed eudcational work, which was also repeatedly discussed by the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee or its secretarial work meetings. Of course, since we are in the midst of a period of readjustments, the strengthening and enrichment of education will require a certain process of some duration. Due to the huge debts of the past, it would also be unrealistic to think that the educational problems could be solved at one stroke. I hope all comrades working at the schools take the situation as a whole into account, share the country's cares and burdens, overcome all difficulties and do effective work.

On the other hand, the party committees at all levels, first of all the provincial party committee, must place even more emphasis on education and improve their leadership of educational work. There should be one comrade in the local, municipal and provincial party committees mainly responsible for educational work, and lower down there should also be some organization and personnel particularly in charge. As to the local and municipal universities, the various local and municipal party committees must strengthen leadership and not relax it. All trades and professions must support education. In our society we must create the custom of respecting teachers. We must as far as possible help the schools solve some of their actual difficulties and make efforts to improve teaching conditions. As to the supply of goods and material, we must appropriately care for the universities according to their special character. It was reported at the present meeting that some factories, mines, industrial enterprises and units did not welcome students to do field work; that is very bad. There was a good tradition before the "great cultural revolution," that factories, hospitals, middle schools and elementary schools of their own free will welcomed students to do their field work, considering this one of their responsibilities. This good tradition must be restored and developed. We oppose the "open-door schooling" of the "gang of four" that abolished book knowledge and classroom teaching, but that does not mean that we also negate field work practice. Field work is a fine form of linking theory with practical reality; it is an important item in the nurturing of talents and raising the quality of our education, and it is also beneficial for the ideological education of the students. It is our hope that all concerned will surely make good arrangements and support well the work of our schools.

As much as I have talked today, I admit it is not complete. As to the ideological and political work among the studnets of our institutions of higher learning, what should be its content and how should it be conducted? The answer still relies on your further study; don't let yourselves be restricted by what I have said. I hope everybody will give attention to a summing up of experiences gained and lessons learned in ideological and political work at our institutions of higher learning since the establishment of our government, investigate and study the new fresh experineces in ideological and political work since the Third Plenary Session and subject them all to a most thorough study. The purpose of my talk today is to draw everyone's earnest attention to the ideological and political work and furthermore to pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone for an improvement in this work. This is the hope of the provincial party committee of this province.

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CHINA REPORT

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NINTH POLISH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 81 p 7

[Article by Fang Xuan [2455 5503]: "The Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party Concluded Smoothly"]

[Text] The special Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, which the whole world watched intently, was concluded on 20 July.

This congress summarized the events that have taken place since the eighth Polish party congress in February of last year. In his report, party First Secretary Kania indicated that the major reasons behind the present Polish economic and social crisis were "the tremendous development of productive capacity, in conjunction with an inflexible system of national economic management leadership and all the contradictions in social life" during the seventies, "the numerous mistaken proposals" in economic and social policy during that time, and the "undemocratic functioning at times" of the party--primarily the party Central Comittee. Moreover, he again emphasized that the Polish party members would continue unfalteringly to carry out the line of reform and negotiation, and would be resolute in overcoming the crisis by themselves.

Ninety percent of the 1,964 representatives at the congress, who represented some 3 million party members, were new. The congress expelled the former party Central Committee first secretary, Gierek, and others of the party membership, and adopted the method of direct election by secret ballot of the new Central Committee. Eighty-nine percent of the original Central Committee members and alternate members failed to be reelected. Among the members and alternate members of the original Politburo, only Kania, Jaruzelski, Barcikowski, and Olszowski were reelected. The remaining 11 were not. Kania was again elected to the post of party first secretary. A congress spokesman said that the results of this election manifested the representatives' desire "to place persons who will resolutely carry out and support socialist reforms in the organ of central leadership." After being elected, Kania stated that he would not prove unworthy of the representatives' trust, and would "deviate to neither left nor right, but would move forward along the path of socialist reform."

The Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party was held in the face of various pressures and contradictions coming from both inside and outside the state and the party.

On the eve of the congress, the Soviet Union placed tremendous pressure on Poland. In addition to carrying out military deployments and maneuvers both within Poland and in surrounding areas, on 5 June the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party dispatched a letter to the Central Committee of the Polish party issuing an ultimatum and declaring that the Polish situation "already threatened the interests of the entire socialist family," as well as "our common security." It charged that Kania and Jaruzelski had done nothing to change "yielding and compromising policies" and that "position after position had been given up." The letter demanded that the Polish party "return the situation to the proper course before the ninth congress of the Polish party." During the discussion of this letter at the 11th Plenum of the Eighth Polish Party Central Committee, the overwhelming majority of the Central Committee members expressed support for Kania and Jaruzelski. In this situation, the Soviet Union had to declare that its letter "was not criticizing the reformist line" and that it "supported the Polish party" leadership. After doing so, the Soviets decided to send Gromyko to visit Poland and to continue to put pressure on Poland through their press propaganda. At the special session of the ninth congress, the head of the Soviet delegation, Grishin, declared again that the Soviets "cannot be unconcerned" about the fate of Poland.

Inside Poland, the economic situation is undergoing precipitious changes. The people lack the necessities of life. The amount of foreign debt is staggering. Production is down. The society is in turmoil. Spontaneous strikes are a constant occurence. The people are demanding an early end to the crisis. The cries for reform grow stronger day by day.

There is a critical struggle going on within the Polish United Workers Party. One faction of the party leadership, represented by Kania, supports a line of negotiation and reform, with an emphasis on the Polish people solving their problems themselves. Another faction opposes the reformist line. They receive the support and encouragement of the Soviet Union. The Soviets call them a "healthy force," and accuse the reformist faction of being "revisionist" and "opportunist." Soviet interference complicates and intensifies the struggle within the Polish party. On the eve of the ninth congress, the struggle was manifested in the election of representatives to the congress. Having gone through heated debate in which various views were aired in various "public forums," the absolute majority of the ninth party congress representatives selected by the party organizations of the provinces, cities and other areas supported the line of negotiation and reform.

Within the Solidarity union, arguments that the interests of the people are paramount and calls for avoiding giving the Soviets an excuse to intervene are more and more being accepted by the broad masses. Walesa, the leader of "Solidarity," called on the union members to understand "the geographic position that Poland occupies," and the "political consequences" that extreme actions could produce. "Solidarity" has expressed firm disapproval of provocative behavior such as the smearing of the Soviet military memorial. This sort of attitude on the part of "Solidarity" of attaching great importance to the overall situation created a beneficial atmosphere within the country for the holding of the special ninth Polish party congress.

The ninth congress of the Polish party overcame numerous difficulties and concluded smoothly. The congress adopted plans to establish a program for overcoming the crisis and for economic reform, as well as a series of important resolutions concerning a new party constitution and petitions of the Polish people. But with the Soviet threat and the serious economic situation within the country, the Polish United Workers Party still faces severe tests.

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REVIEW OF RECENT CHINESE BIOGRAPHY OF KISSINGER

Beijing DUSHU [READING] in Chinese No 7, 10 Jul 81 p 11-15

[Review by Zhang Jialin [4545 0857 3829]: "A Valuable Effort: Comments on 'A Critical Biography of Kissinger'"]

[Text] Chen Youwei's [7115 2589 3634] book "JIXINGE PINGZHUAN--A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY KISSINGER" is a very special piece of biographical writing.

For some unknown reason, in China works on living famous people are as rare as unicorn horns, and biographies of living foreign politicians are even more rare. Can it be that a coffin lid must close on a person before a discussion can take place? Can it be that we cannot use a Marxist point of view to provide Chinese readers with a glimpse of influential foreigners? On this point alone the book is quite valuable. It fills a long-felt void in Chinese biographical works and has caught the interest of a broad range of readers.

In the history of western foreign relations, it would be quite difficult to find another diplomat with such an air of intrigue and who also elicits so much interest and debate. It is not easy to evaluate such a complex person. In writing this book about Kissinger and the related historical events the author carried out extensive research of foreign affairs, picked over a great mass of confused, repetitious materials, discarding the useless and keeping the essentials, eliminating the errors and choosing the best, and used a dialectical method to make an analysis. His deft literary style then constructed a lush, full-blown portarit of this colorful figure in American foreign relations in the 1970s. From 1969 to 1977, Kissinger wielded great power in foreign relations in the cabinets of presidents Nixon and Ford. For the American ruling group to use this Jewish scholar, as the author describes it, "clearly describes their feeling over the continual erosion of American power, and their hope that the skills of a few politicians could augment the lack of actual strength and thus keep from being overthrown by the raging storm." Even though Kissinger used his intelligence and resourcefulness and performed act upon act of eye-catching drama both in America and world-wide, nonetheless he finally was unable to overturn the laws of historical development and was unable to halt the erosion of American hegemony. This is the basic premise of the author's critical biography.

The special features of Kissinger's personality are sharply portrayed in this biography, mainly, I believe, because the author was able to operate within the context of the actual social life in a fixed historical period. It shows the relationships between various American factions as well as the complex relations between America and other nations. The book moreover places Kissinger in the context of this special historical background and describes him within this temporary framework. Engels has pointed out that, "The main characters represent a certain class and certain tendencies, and consequently are the representatives of the ideology of their times. Their motivations are not made up from the fragementary hopes and desires of individuals but are derived from the historical trends within which they exist." The period in which Kissinger was in office was the period in which America was losing the Indo-China war, when the national economy was suffering from "stagflation" and when the state of the nation was worsening day by day. Under such conditions, the American ruling group, in seeking to halt the advance of Soviet imperialism and protect its own bases, found it necessary to absorb some new views and positions to replace its outmoded, defunct foreign policy. Kissinger, as a strategist for this group, naturally was affected by numerous political and historical phenomenon and naturally became "the representative of a certain ideology of his times." When introducing Kissinger's thought and views, the author placed the development of his political thought into two periods: One was from 1957 to the early 60s, when, in response to the American defeat in the Korean War and the bankruptcy of the "strategy of large-scale retaliation," Kissinger advocated "limited war" and the the strengthening of conventional military forces, which caught the attention of the Kennedy administration. The second period was from the latter 1960s to the early 1970s, when Kissinger suggested the policy of "balance" as the main feature of a "peaceful order." From this we can see how the author has deeply investigated and understood Kissinger's major writings, how he has organized and incoroporatedtheir main points and revealed their true meaning to show the main features of Kissinger's foreign policy.

The author has made a penetrating theoretical analysis of Kissinger's "philosophy of foreign relations," and I feel that this is the book's outstanding feature. Kissinger was a "newsworthy person" for a period of time and people are relatively aware of his main activities in foreign relations, but lacked systematic information on the theory and origin of his policies. Therefore, the author placed emphasis on the former. It is worthy of note that while reading this biography I was not at all bored. The author is quite well informed about world history and uses a vivid literary style to introduce such German thinkers as Spengler, Nietzsche and Hegel and the 19th century western political figures Metternich, Bismark and [Kaersilei] and their roles in the formation of Kissinger's world view and "philosophy of foreign relations" as well as the influence of such ideology and views held by Kissinger on American foreign policy and military policy of that period. Therefore, I believe that this book is both the biography of a person and an encapsulation of American foreign policy in the 1970s. Through this prismatic view of Kissinger the author has to a certain degree reflected a trend in American foreign policy.

According to the author's view, the main feature of Kissinger's "philosophy of foreign relations" is the theory of "balance" and its source is found in the idea of "balance of power" espoused by the 19th century Austrian foreign affairs official Metternich. As advisor to a political group, few of who were of any particular intellectual abilities, Kissinger was relatively capable of ascertaining that in the early 1970s the shape of the world and America's place in it were undergoing great changes. The changes were that from the "two poles" of Russia and America in the 1950s there developed the "five centers of power" America, Russia, Japan, Western Europe and China. The scope of effective American power was greatly reduced and she could not depend on her "superior" force to impose on others. The author believes that Kissinger advocated "temporarily reducing their positions, forming some relationships, taking advantage of certain contradictions, creating a favorable state of "balance" and concentrating the major forces to confront the major enemy" in order to gain and preserve their own status of hegemony. The author moreover reveals to us the application and expression of the foreign policy of "balance" in the policies and strategies advocated by Kissinger while he was in office. This point alone gives us the key to understanding American foreign policy ever since that period. For example, the Nixon administration used Kissinger's theories of "balance"and "many power centers" to further the "Nixon doctrine" of "force," "discussions" and "forming relationships." From this point America then adopted the policy of "detente" toward the Soviet Union and planned to use a ring of alliances to "put a halter on the Soviet Union" and reduce the danger of war between America and Russia. After Carter took power in 1977 he continued the Nixon and Ford policies toward the Soviet Union, even though there were differences in manner, method and emphasis. In the 1980 elections, Kissinger, as Reagan's advisor on foreign policy, continued to push for a policy of "balance." In his view, in recent years the "balance" between America and the Soviet Union had been destroyed and America had to strengthen military expenditures, strengthen national defense and "restore the balance of power." It appears that if America's economic and military strength continue to decline the American ruling group can only continue to follow the principle of "balance" in its strategic planning in the hope of protecting its domestic and foreign interests.

Of course, both the policy of "balance" and the policy of "detente" were hopes fashioned in accordance with American politics. The author believes that in terms of present world realities there can be no "balance" between America and Russia. World conditions today are basically different from those of Metternich's times and any policy which seeks to expand political power through the sacrifice of the interests of countries of whatever size is bound to fail. During the Nixon administration, for a variety of reasons, American-Soviet relations were placed in a premier position, which was unsatisfactory to the west European and Japanese allies and in reality no "balance" ever developed. During the Ford administration more and more Americans saw that the United States had been losing out to the Soviet Union for several years and criticized "detente" as a one-way street in favor of the Russians. This period of history ought to be a mirror for the present-day fashioners of American foreign policy.

This biography gives a lively description of Kissinger's style and personality. Kissinger lived in a time of great international upheaval, and both his origins and experiences and America's conditions at that time determined the depth and complexity of his personality. The author had deeply entered into the inside of Kissinger's mind and shown how his style and personality differ from that of other American foreign relations experts. For example, Kissinger's mind is full of strategems, the result of his many years of hard study. Kissinger enjoyed studying history so he had a broader perspective than other people on world affairs and moreover used this to consider America's strategic problems. He was unwilling to change his own views and opinions to suit the ideas of those in power. While in office he undertook reforms of the National Security Council and the State Department in order to concentrate power and promote efficiency in response to the needs of an ever more tense and complex international situation. Kissinger's creative spirit gave a new look to the structure of America's foreign policy, which had followed a conservative road for such a long time. At the same time, the author points out, Kissinger was both conceited and highly ambitious. He carried on single-handed, highly secret foreign relations, placing trust in no one and was over-confident of his capability to handle the situations around him. The author believes that this resulted from the intellectual influences of Spengler and Nietzsche and the rest on young Kissinger and that he then wished to become a "history-maker." The author makes an organic connection between Kissinger's early experiences and bureaucratic connections and the development of his thought and personality to clearly show the reader that even if Kissinger possessed superior intellect and strategies he nonetheless was unable to change the overall direction of historical developments. International conditions undergo great upheavals and the worsening conditions of America's real position cannot be altered by human will nor can such problems be solved by the strategems of any person.

One fault of the book is that when the author describes certain changes in Kissinger's post-government service thinking on major international questions he does not describe the causes for these changes. According to an analysis of much foreign material, in the past the Rockefeller financial group was in favor of "detente" and "cooperation" with the Soviet Union," but in recent years this attitude has undergone obvious changes. This is because of Soviet expansion southward, gradually encroaching upon and threatening the foreign interests of this financial group, especially in the Mideast and northern Africa oil regions. Therefore, the views on this financial group toward Russia also hardened. These developments are surely not unrelated to the changes in Kissinger's attitude toward the Soviet Union.

In summation, the author strives to use Marxist historical materialism and dialectical materialism to describe his research on a major foreign political figure, and this is worthy of our perusal.

("A Critical Biography of Kissinger" by Chen Youwei, Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, August 1980, .67 yuan)

11582
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IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT EMPHASIZED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by Qi Ping [7871 1627] and Xie Hung'en [6200 3163 1869]: "Strengthen National Self-Respect; Construct the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Our Chinese nation is one of the great nations among the world's ancient civilizations. In the course of its development, it has encountered many difficulties and complications and undergone countless domestic troubles and foreign invasions. Particularly for a hundred years or so in modern times. China was reduced to a semifeudal, semicolonial society because of the aggression of imperialism and the betrayal and surrender by the feudal ruling class and the bureaucratic capitalist class. The Chinese people were subjected to the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism. In order to save the motherland and promote the nation, our people carried out a prolonged and valiant struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. Countless moving heroic figures emerged, demonstrating the heroic spirit.

In the prolonged period of arduous struggle the Chinese people diligently learned everything that was advanced, and through untold hardships they sought the truth to try to save their country and people. They used every weapon and tried every plan, but nothing worked and all failed. Why? What could save China? The advanced people in China continued the search. The gunfire of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China. The vanguard of the Chinese working class armed with Marxism-Leninism--the Chinese Communist Party--was born. In the course of leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in their revolutionary struggle, it combined the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, giving rise to Mao Zedong Thought. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and through a prolonged and arduously bloody struggle, the Chinese people finally toppled the three big mountains that weighed on their heads and established the first state ruled by the people in the history of our country--the People's Republic of China.

The establishment of new China was the most important turn in the history of our country. It freed itself from the tragic semifeudal, semicolonial condition in which everything was at the mercy of others! Once again the Chinese nation lifted its head and stood up straight, feeling proud and elated! At the same time, because of the establishment of state power and the socialist system of the people's democratic dictatorship, and because the whole people learned, worked, labored, and fought with the patriotic zeal and national pride, our country developed speedily and made progress such as had never been seen in old China. History has proved that only Marxism-Leninism and socialism can save China. Armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese Communist Party is the mainstay and nucleus of the Chinese people. Without the Chinese Communist Party there will be no new, socialist China or revival of the Chinese nation. This is the verdict of history.

Of course, the task is extremely formidable and difficulties cannot help but be numerous when building socialism in a country such as ours, which has a large population and a poor foundation to start with. At the same time, because there were faults in our work for many years, particularly the destruction on the part of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our national economy suffered serious setbacks. That is why, up to now, our country is still relatively poor and the living standards of the people are still relatively low.

Confronted with these circumstances, what kind of attitude should we adopt? All patriots who have national self-respect should be guided by the party and make their greatest effort to change the backward appearance with their own hands. Many comrades are doing just that. With the attitude of being the masters, they go all out to make the country strong, work hard, fight tenaciously, and build an enterprise through arduous effort. Quite a few among them have become shock workers of the new long march, 8 March Red Flag standard-bearers, and advanced exemplary figures in all trades and professions who are good models for the whole people to learn from. However, there is also the type of people who have a sense of national inferiority. Seeing that our economic capacity cannot catch up with that of certain capitalist countries in the West for the moment, they believe that nothing in their own country and nation works, while everything in capitalist countries is good. They blindly worship the West and hold a low opinion of their own country and nation. Some even lose their personal and national character, the minimum mentality of patriotism and national self-respect. Yet it is necessary to have national self-respect in any nation that desires to survive and grow. We Chinese people have always disdained subservience and lack of national integrity. For this reason, although our country is still relatively poor, we will never lose our noble character, morals, and sentiments. All of us should devote ourselves to the motherland and to the practical actions of the four modernizations, and should strive to turn the motherland from poverty into wealth. A scientist who returned to the motherland has put it well: "Although the motherland is poor, she nevertheless is my mother." This fully expresses the utter innocence of the ardent love that a Chinese has for the motherland. If a Chinese uses poverty as the reason for disdaining his motherland and nation, how can he deserve to be called a descendant of Huangdi or a son or daughter of new China? Man needs to have spirit. An ardent love for one's own motherland is the minimum spirit a person should have.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "We must make all young people understand that our country is still very poor, and that it is not possible to basically alter this state of affairs within a short period of time. It all depends on the youths and all the people for several decades to unite and struggle and create a strong and and wealthy country with their own hands. The establishment of the socialist system has opened the path to the ideal realm for us, and its realization still depends on our hard work. Some youths think that everything should be fine when a socialist society is attained, and that they can enjoy a readymade happy life without doing anything. This is a very unrealistic way of thinking." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 5, p 386) As we reread this passage today, we feel that it contains practical significance which is particularly important. It is true that beautiful flowers are watered with sweat and that a happy life is created by labor. All young people with a will and all people who ardently love their motherland should rouse their national spirit and increase their national self-respect. They should work hard for the prosperity of the socialist motherland and labor with their own hands to create a glorious future. Any self-degradation, pessimism, or lack of confidence in the future of the motherland is entirely groundless.

Naturally, emphasis on national self-respect is not advocacy of parochial arrogance, national peculiarities, or narrow nationalism. Each country and nation in the world has its own strongpoints. We must learn the strongpoints of all countries and nations--particularly their advanced science and technology. There should be no doubt about this. However, in learning any experience of other countries, we must combine it with our own national circumstances and learn it analytically and selectively, but never copy it blindly. We must continue to develop friendly relations with the people of all countries of the world and never again close the door. However, we must never underestimate our own capabilities or feel inferior or inadequate in international relations. It must be noted in particular that following the open-door policy of our country, international relations have expanded daily, and this unavoidably brings in influences of an unhealthy mentality. Under these circumstances, some young people who lack both experience in life and the ability to make distinctions and to resist are often easily misled by the "dazzling human world with its myriad temptations," reducing and even losing their national self-respect. This is a problem that must arouse our attention.

Our youths today are the shock workers of the four modernizations, the successors of the socialist undertaking, and the future and hope of the Chinese nation. To shoulder this arduous historical task, they must try hard to learn from the high qualities and patriotic spirit of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries who ardently love the state and party, devote themselves to national liberation and communism, and treat the responsibility of the world as their own. They must strengthen their national self-respect, be self-conscious vanguards for the building of socialist material and spiritual culture, and contribute to the construction of the four modernizations for the motherland.

9586
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MODEL BEHAVIOR BY COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS URGED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 81 p 1

[Article by Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342]: "Communist Party Members in Guangdong Urged To Set Examples for Four Modernizations"]

[Text] As we now commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party we look back over the party's magnificent process of glorious struggle and look to the grand future of building the four modernizations we are filled with boundless pride and confidence. We feel even greater love for the party and cherish even more the memories of Comrade Mao Zedong, the other members of the older generation of revolutionaries and the countless revolutionary martyrs.

The party is a great Marxist political party and is the central force which leads in revolutionary matters. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology which leads our victorious march ahead. "Only socialism is capable of saving China." Without the communist party there would be no New China and without the communist party there would be no modernized, socialist China. This is an historical imperative.

Guangdong and Canton are important bases in the party's revolutionary life. Such important events as the Great Port Strike, the Hailufeng [3189 7120 6265] Peasant Uprising, the Canton Uprising and the Third Party Congress all took place here. Many of our party leaders such as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and Peng Pai all carried on revolutionary work here. During the years of revolutionary struggle, from the Wuling mountain peaks to the Wuzhi foothills, from the Chaoshan plains to the Nanlu mountains, the broad communist party membership and the broad revolutionary people followed party leadership in bravely upholding the armed struggle and the underground struggle to create laudable heroic achievements. The history of the Guangdong local party forms a page in the glorious history of the party. This all establishes a shining example for us, forms a strong basis for work in Guangdong and Canton and encourages us to grasp the four basic principles in order to complete our new historical mission.

We have now entered a new historical period and are facing a glorious but difficult historical task. The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress clearly indicated that the entire party's work focus should shift to construction of the four modernizations. This is a great historical turning point. Last year the Party Central Committee decided that Guangdong and Fujian would carry out special policies and lively actions and have experimental economic zones in order to find new paths of development for the nation's economic system. The party organizations and broad party membership of Guangdong and Canton must carry on and must give vent to the party's glorious traditions, make progress in strengthening and improving party leadership, give full vent to developing the use of progressive party workers as models during the four modernizations and complete this task which history has bestowed upon us.

Many matters must be attended to in giving play to the use of model party members, so which aspects should we now emphasize?

The first is to liberate our thinking and be realistic.

To liberate our thinking and be realistic is our party's ideological line of dialectical materialism and is the core of the Third Plenum's line. Marxism is a product of ideological liberation. In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels said, "A socialist revolution carries out the most abrupt break from the traditional system of ownership relations. It is not at all strange that in its own process of development it made a sharp break from traditional concepts." We are now implementing the four modernizations, carrying out special policies, lively actions and experimental districts. These will encounter many new contradictions and new problems, but in order to smash the bonds of many years of an irrational economic system we must have even greater ideological liberation, braver practice and we must dare to be more creative. Ideological liberation and being realistic are consistent, The Third Plenum did not suggest the slogan of ideological liberation alone but linked it with being realistic and with the theory that practice is the only true standard of measurement for truth. This is clearly distinct from the "left" ideology, "do not fear the inability to accomplish something, only fear not thinking of it." Ideological liberation is the foundation for grasping the four basic principles. This also demarcated a clear distinction from those chaotic, bourgeois freedoms which depart from party leadership, Mao Zedong Thought and the socialist road. To be a socialist, one must clearly recognize one's own old thinking and narrow concepts, including various "left" and right influences, so that one's own thinking can continually respond with new forms and keep up with the march of time. On the other hand, we must also follow the compass needle of the four basic principles to clear away ideological obstacles and become promoters of socialist modernization. In regard to economic adjustments and reforms, we must have a great sense of responsibility and urgency, hold to an unswerving course, dare to experiment, be positive in our actions and hold a steady pace. In this way we can forge a new path of economic development.

The second is to strengthen theoretical studies and emphasize investigation and research.

All correct policies of the proletarian party cannot be separated from the guiding principles of Marxism. Only if the theories are correct can the actions be correct. The Third Plenum line is the product of the true principles of Marxism combined with our concrete experiences in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Unless one comprehends Marxism one cannot even think of truly understanding and thoroughly implementing it.

The four modernizations and the special zones are new matters and many new conditions and new questions require a theoretical approach for solutions plus explaning and promoting them. During the ten years of chaos many basic principles of Marxism were criticized as revisionist, for example, criticizing the socialist principle of to each according to his labor as "material incentives," criticizing the necesaary importing of foreign advanced technology as "a slavish compradore mentality," and so on. If such things are not thoroughly removed from the principles there will be no unification of ideology and we will not be able to correctly and bravely carry out the four modernizations and operate the special zones. Of course, there must be a close connection between theory and practice, and this requires great effort in conducting research. Research involves a process, a process of long and difficult effort, and requires a stubborn revolutionary ardor. Party leadership cadres on all levels ought to strive to attain this, to achieve a close unity of the party line, direction and policy with the concrete practices in their districts, departments and units and use thoroughgoing plans and concrete methods which are in accord with reality. We must oppose the tendency toward bookishness, incorporation of undigested facts, mere copying and transmitting of information and imitation of others, and must oppose the spirit of not reading books or newspapers and merely working hard at studying upper level directives, and acting according to one's own limited personal experiences and making subjective decisions. All communist party members, especially leadership party members must strive to train themselves to become a proletarian vanguard with a certain level of cultivation in Marxist theory, be able to deeply understand the spirit of the line and policy of the Party Central Committee, be skilled at establishing links with reality, be proficient in his profession and consciously struggle to implement the party line.

The third is to engage in bitter struggle and be self-reliant.

Bitter struggle and self-reliance are in the grand traditions of our party and are a class quality of communist party members. We are now carrying out the four modernizations and must build the country into a powerful socialist nation with a high level of material and spiritual civilization. China has a huge population and a thin base, a low level of production forces and a population of one billion people, 800 million of whom are peasants. The destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wrought havoc with the national economy. Because of this, implementation of the four modernizations is an extremely difficult task. This requires even more that we give vent to the spirit of bitter struggle and self-reliance and regain the energies and hell-bent spirit we had during the revolutionary wars. All communist party members work for the four modernizations by becoming men of action, saying less, performing more real work, performing honestly at one's sentry post and bending one's back to the task. The mental attitude of listlessness and neglect of the four modernizations or even that of doubting it are contrary to strong revolutionary spirit of struggle found in communist party members and are extremely harmful to the four modernizations.

Building the four modernizations definitely requires foreign aid, but we must firmly hold to self-reliance as our major goal. As to the method of managing the importation of foreign advanced technology, equipment and science, we must unify with our actual conditions and absorb and digest them to make them our own. We must have a strict accounting for each cent of capital used for construction, be extremely careful with all public funds and property and grimly fight against extravagance and waste.

The proletarian spirit of bitter struggle is the great weapon which we used to overcome corrupt bourgeois ideology. Guangdong is a forward position in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie. We definitely cannot ignore bourgeois political and ideological infiltration and bourgeous illegal economic activities; nor can we ignore the perfume-hidden stench of the capitalist world. We must maintain alert minds and a high state of alertness to guard against corruption and avoid being polluted. Only in this way can communist party members maintain a vigorous revolutionary fighting spirit and remain forever inpregnable.

The fourth is to serve the people and be responsible for them.

This is the goal of our party and the task of communist party members. Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "No matter when or where, communist party members should not put their own interests first but should always subjugate individual interests to the interests of the nation and the masses." He also pointed out that party cadres of both high and low position are the servants of the people and must give their all in this service. Our party is the ruling party, and in these times of striving to build a high level of material and spiritual civilization, or efforts to make progress in emphasizing these questions has real significance. Communist party members must always be thinking of the personal well-being of the masses, must work for the good of the masses and provide them with perceptable material benefits. They should be public-minded, honest in their public performance, not seek after fame and eschew personal gain. They ought to lead the way in bitter toil, be last to enjoy the gains, and give their best till their dying day. In carrying out the special policies and lively actions and in operating the special zones we must make them truly special, lively and progressive;

nonetheless, as communist party members they must strictly adhere to the "Guiding Principles" and absolutely must not permit any special privileges. Such things as using public office for private gain, corruption and graft, speculation and opportunism and giving and taking bribes are prohibited by both party discipline and national law. Such manners as being above everyone else, separation from reality and the masses, imitation, ineffectiveness, shirking of duty, mutual wrangling and unresponsive bureaucratism are incompatible with the glorious designation of a communist party member. A party member is an element in the party organization and a party member's good or bad behavior directly influences the trust the masses place in the communist party and mass-party relations. Because of this, all party members must strictly observe party membership standards, have model behavior at all times and in all places and be a model leader. Only in this way can we unite with and lead the masses and share in the struggle to implement the four modernizations.

Guangdong is the southern gate to the nation and exerts a great influence both nationally and abroad and each communist party member in each sentry post is faced with different questions in performing in the correct party style and in serving the people even better. We must work hard at the Lei Feng spirit, promoting the communist style, implanting an excellent social manner, exerting utmost responsibility in performing work, having extreme warmheartedness for the masses and strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

To strengthen party organization building and to strengthen the nurturing and education of party members is the guarantee for completely giving vent to the function of party members as models of the vanguard. To have a sound party organization, strengthen party unity, enforce party discipline, strengthen democratic centralism and positively open up criticism and self-criticism will make each party organization into a powerful fortress for struggle. There must be close relationships with the masses and a conscious acceptance of mass criticism of party members and party organization at any time and at any place. When we are now commemorating the birth of the party all party members should strive to become models in implementing party line, direction and policy, models in obeying laws and upholding unity, models of limitless honor and selfless effort in revolutionary matters, models of hard study, both red and expert and skilled in one's profession and make even greater contributions in carrying out the great endeavors of socialist construction of modernization.

11582
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FOUR PRINCIPLES REFLECT SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Chu Xu [2806 2485]: "The Four Principles Are the Concentrated Reflection of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The socialist state we wish to build must have not only an advanced material civilization but also an advanced spiritual civilization. This is an important historical mission conferred upon our people by our time. In order to fulfill this mission, the most fundamental point is unshakably to adhere to the four basic principles.

Why do we say this? Because the contents of socialist spiritual civilization are very broad. They include educational development, scientific prosperity, and literary and artistic exuberance and similar substantive aspects on the one hand, while on the other hand they include morals, traditions and customs and other such ideological aspects. In the final analysis, the intent is to infuse various ideological fronts with an ideology guided by Marxism so as to foster and train the new people of the socialist era. The four principles are important contents of socialist spiritual civilization and also are fundamental guarantees for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Apart from the four basic principles, there is no way to reflect the characteristics and essence of socialist spiritual civilization, and the building of such spiritual civilization would lose its direction.

We are a socialist country; we have eliminated systems of exploitation, and what we are implementing is public ownership of the means of production. This serves to determine that the norms of collectivist conduct are the core of socialist morality. In a slave society, a feudal society, and a capitalist society, the moral norms are individualism and egoism. In a socialist society, people labor together, enjoy together, and endeavor to ensure that the material conditions and culture of the entire society will continue to be enriched and improved through common efforts in order to forge common ideals, common beliefs, common morals, and common discipline. Whoever struggles for such a public cause must abandon individualism and place collectivism at the core of all their moral qualities. Such persons adhere to the principle that the party's and people's interests are superior to everything else, and they therefore subordinate individual interests to the interests of the party and the people; apart from attempting to secure the interests of the broadest masses of the people, they have no particular interests of their own. Hence, only by adhering to the socialist path can we create an advanced socialist spiritual civilization.

The party must lead the building of socialist material civilization; it must also lead the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In order to shoulder these two heavy construction tasks, the party must not only undertake a series of organizational tasks but also carry out penetrating and careful work on ideological education, and in particular it must give play to the vanguard and model role of communists. The large contingent of heroic model personalities who have surged forth in the midst of the revolution and construction, the spirit of strictly abiding by discipline and readily undertaking self-sacrifice, the spirit of selflessness and yielding to others, the spirit of overcoming all enemies and overcoming all difficulties, and the spirit of adhering to revolutionary optimism and of eradicating all difficulties in order to win victory--these are all results of our party's training and education. Historical and realistic experience tells us that when the party's leadership and the party's fine traditions are subject to sabotage, public morality in society and the people's spiritual outlook will suffer devastation and old ideologies will spread. Hence, in building our socialist spiritual civilization, we must strengthen the party's leadership and try to influence and transform the people's customs with the party's fine traditions and workstyle.

People's democratic dictatorship includes dictatorship over the enemy and democracy for the people. In order to achieve both of these aspects, we must be as Lei Feng described: cruel as the autumn wind sweeping away the fallen leaves with respect to our enemies; and warm as the spring with respect to the people. Such a standpoint and such a viewpoint, which clearly differentiates love from hatred, is itself one of the principal contents of socialist spiritual civilization. This is one point. On the other hand, only by cracking down on various criminal elements can we do a good job of building a socialist spiritual civilization. This is because every criminal activity constitutes social havoc and a reaction to spiritual civilization. Without struggling against such scourges, without eliminating the destructive factors relating to spiritual civilization, we cannot even maintain general social order or observe common social ethics, let alone build a socialist spiritual civilization.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are themselves spiritual things. On the basis of inheriting the results of human civilization, they have summed up the historical experience of proletarian revolution and profoundly revealed the developmental laws of the natural world, human society, and mental activities. They are of great guiding significance to us in perceiving and changing the world. Engels said: "A nation which hopes to stand at the peak of science cannot do without theoretical contemplation, even for a single moment." Similarly, we cannot do without Marxism-Leninism. Practice has fully proved that the growth of many communist personalities is nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In our society, the more Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are popularized, and the more the people learn to apply Marxist standpoints, viewpoints, and methods, the greater progress socialist spiritual civilization will achieve.

Every era has a spirit of the time that corresponds to it. Socialist spiritual civilization is a new stage in the development of human spiritual civilization; it embodies the superiority of the socialist system and the advanced nature of the communist ideal. It has incomparable value compared to the spiritual civilization of any other period in the past. Today, when we consider whether a person has a socialist spirit, one important criterion is to see whether he upholds and adheres to the four basic principles. The reason is very simple: apart from the four basic principles, people are unable to have common ideals, beliefs, and morals, and without common rules and norms of conduct we simply cannot talk about correctly handling the relationship between what is public and what is private, between hardship and enjoyment, between life and death, between glory and shame, and between beauty and ugliness. Are we not launching a "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" civility and courtesy movement--a movement with emphasis on order, and with emphasis on morality, and with beautiful soul, beautiful language, beautiful conduct, and beautiful environment as its contents--on a broad scale today? Only by adhering to the four basic principles can such "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activity have a correct orientation and a lofty soul. In our country, if a person did not ardently love the party, love socialism, love people's democratic dictatorship, and love Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, it would be sheer irrelevance to [try to] have him succeed in carrying out the "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful."

As a colloquial saying puts it: "Without a compass and a carpenter's square, one cannot draw a square and a circle." Adherence to the four basic principles constitutes today's compass and carpenter's square. Whoever adheres to the four basic principles and applies them in his personal conduct is a person of morality, a person of noble character, and a person beneficial to the people. Two thousand years ago, Confucius put forward this kind of proposition; it was then called: "Don't look except according to the rules of propriety, don't listen except according to the rules of propriety, don't speak except according to the rules of propriety, and don't make a move except according to the rules of propriety." Because of the fact that the Confucianists have their own interpretations of "propriety," we cannot simply copy them today. But if we now impart new meanings to this term "propriety" and take it as the four basic principles and socialist moral norms, then these few sentences are just as applicable today. Each one of us should regard words and deeds that are in violation of the four basic principles and words and deeds that are in violation of socialist moral norms as not being "according to the rules of propriety." Thus we should not only refrain from "looking, listening, speaking, and making a move" in such cases, but we should also put up solemn struggles against them. Once such powerful social public opinion takes shape, the whole society will recreate a vigorous new trend to inspire a forward march in unity. Then our Chinese nation will surely have an advanced socialist spiritual civilization on which to stand independent among the world's nations. Our efforts to rebuild the state by means of the four modernizations will also be full of hope.

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'HIGHLY DEVELOPED SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY' DEFINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535]: "Important Evolution of Marxism"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, sums up scientifically and realistically the basic experiences of the party during the past 32 years since the establishment of the PRC. It is a conscientious study of the new conditions and new problems faced by our country in its practical experiences and is an evolutionary development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions of today. To undertake a penetrating study and gain an earnest understanding of the spiritual essence of the "Resolution," and to raise our country's study of Marxism to new heights--this is the glorious task that all of us workers in the social sciences have to fulfil.

The "Resolution" enriches and develops Marxism in many aspects, and one of these aspects is the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy.

The "Resolution" points out that it is one of the basic tasks of the socialist revolution to gradually establish a highly democratic socialist political system, and that it is an objective of our party's struggle in the new historical era to gradually build up a strong modern socialist country with a high degree of democracy and culture. The demand for and emphasis on a high degree of democracy under the prerequisite of socialism was a pioneering proposition of Marxism. I shall briefly call it "the theory of highly developed socialist democracy."

This theory is put forward as a summing up of our party's historical experiences, both positive and negative. The "Resolution" points out: "Inadequate attention was paid to this task (Note: A reference to the establishment of a highly democratic political system) after the founding of the PRC. This was one of the major factors for the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution," and it is a grievous lesson for us." In his "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the CCP," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "One of the fundamental reasons why the grievous errors of the 'Cultural Revolution' remained unrectified for so long is that the regular political life of our party--inner-party democratic centralism and the collective leadership of the Central Committee in particular--had been disrupted." He also added as his sincere statement and earnest wish: "All our comrades must forever remember this grievous lesson of history and take it as a warning."

This accords exactly with the facts. If there had been democracy within the party and in the political life of the state, such phenomena as mentioned in the "Resolution" could not have happened: the correct line of the Eighth National Party Congress was rejected soon after convocation; the CCP Central Committee failed to correct some of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in time; during the "Cultural Revolution" the mistaken "leftist" course taken by Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual replaced the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee.... The "tragedy" of Comrade Mao Zedong and the certain measure of responsibility on the part of the CCP Central Committee for the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong were all due to a lack of democracy within the party and in the political life of the state.

The proposition of the theory of a highly developed democracy also starts with the actual conditions of China. The "Resolution" points out: "China is a country with a long history of feudalism.... It remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy. For various historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political and social life of the country, or we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This provided the conditions for the overconcentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the cult of personality within the party. It was therefore difficult for the party and state to prevent the initiation of the 'Cultural Revolution' or to check its development." The theory of a highly developed democracy is the exact medicine that will remedy this malady.

The foundation for the theory of a highly developed democracy is the fundamental principle of historical materialism--the Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses are the makers of history. This principle tells us that the people are the creators of history. The people's revolution and the construction of socialism are undertakings by the people themselves. Whatever we do, we must rely on the people, trust the people, and accept the supervision of the people. With their victory in the revolution, the people have become the masters of the state and of society. The theory of a highly developed democracy is precisely the result of the evolution of this principle.

In many places the "Resolution" has expounded the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy. This may perhaps be summarized as follows:

A highly developed democracy means inner-party democracy and people's democracy as well as their interrelations. It stands to reason that if democracy fails to be the principle for inner-party life, then it cannot become the principle for our social life as a whole. And, vice versa, if there is no democracy among the people, democracy cannot come about within the party.

A highly developed democracy means democracy in political life, social life, and economic life. It ensures that the people are the real masters of the state, society and the enterprises, and that they take a direct part in making decisions in all fields.

A highly developed democracy means the institutionalization and legalization of democracy and the adoption of a series of policies and measures to ensure its realization.

A highly developed democracy means democracy for the great majority of the people; it is essentially different from bourgeois democracy, which only a minority enjoys. Highly developed democracy is a state of continuous evolution until communism is established and the powers of the state and its structure as well as the party itself wither away and it is turned into what Marx calls the "community of free men." Of course, this process will be one of gradual development. During the historical stage in which class struggle still exists, a highly developed democracy also means dictatorship over a small number of class enemies, for this guarantees that the majority of people enjoy a highly developed democracy.

The theory of a highly developed democracy stresses a high degree of centralism on the basis of highly developed democracy. This formulation truly expresses the special feature of the system of democratic centralism; it differentiates it from bureaucratic centralism and on the other hand also from anarchism.

The theory of highly developed democracy also deals with the relationship between party leadership and democracy. Comrade Hu Yaobang made a brilliant exposition in his speech: "To organize and support the people in fulfilling the role as masters of the country and society and in building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the party's leadership over the affairs of state." This calls for combining party leadership with the requirements of people's democracy so that the party is truly at one with the people and is a true representative of the people's interests.

The theory of a highly developed democracy will provide the key for the study and correct solution of the question of the relationship between the leaders and the party--a question which has not yet been correctly solved throughout the history of the international communist movement. It also serves as a key to the study and correct solution of a question in the theory of historical materialism: namely, the relationship between the masses, classes, political parties, and leaders.

There is not the slightest doubt that the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy is an evolutionary development of Marxism, and that in actual practice it will have a deep and far-reaching influence on the future development of our party and state--and even on the international communist movement.

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IMPORTANCE OF SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "Continue Exploration of the Law of Development of Socialist Society"]

[Text] In 1945, the resolution on the question of party history passed by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee established at that time a uniform concept within the party, strengthened the unity of the whole party, and promoted the victory of the people's revolution. The resolution that has now been passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee will surely play an equally important role in history. This concept, held by all the delegates at the Sixth Plenum, is precisely the concept of the broad masses of our country's workers in the field of social sciences, who will certainly respond to the call of the plenum and, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will make their own particular contributions in every sector of the social sciences toward the socialist construction of our country.

In analyzing the social and historical reasons for the occurrence and the 10-year duration of the "Cultural Revolution," this "Resolution" points out: "The history of the socialist movement is not a long one; the history of socialist countries is even shorter still. Some laws governing the development of socialist society have already become clear, but many more await further exploration." The serious setbacks and losses suffered during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have taught us a grievous lesson and deepened our knowledge of the laws governing the development of socialism, enabling us to avoid again committing such serious mistakes as the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, we must admit that there is still room for further exploration with regard to the developmental laws of socialism. To pursue such exploration is one of the glorious and arduous tasks of our country's workers in the field of the social sciences.

Scientific socialism is a doctrine first established by Marx and Engels. After this doctrine was grasped by progressive elements among the intellectuals and later by progressive elements among the workers, it developed in a number of countries into the socialist movement. After lengthy development of the socialist movement, and under favorable historical conditions, some countries achieved victory in their socialist revolution and realized socialism in their social system. This was followed by starting up the construction of a socialist economy and culture and the development of socialist material and spiritual culture.

Doctrine, movement, institutionalization, and culture--this is the general course taken by scientific socialism. However, even in countries where the socialist system has already been instituted and socialist culture is taking shape, the socialist movement is still in a stage of development; it is only that the character of the movement and its tasks are different from those prior to the adoption of the socialist system. The basic system of socialism is stable, but a country's system of economic organization is not immutable and frozen for all time. As reflections of the development of the socialist system and socialist culture, the doctrine of scientific socialism and scientific socialism as a field of science must quite naturally also undergo further development and progress.

Before victory in its revolution, our country was either a capitalist or a semifeudal, semicolonial society, and it was then that the Chinese Communist Party was born, guided by the doctrine of scientific socialism. Following this event, a revolutionary movement arose in China which was led by the CCP and which had anti-imperialism and antifeudalism as its social content. Under the specific historical conditions of the time, and due to the correct leadership of the CCP as well as to the arduous struggle of the Chinese masses, the revolutionary movement developed swiftly and violently. In the course of an arduous and tortuous 28 years, the victory of the people's revolution was finally won. In the 7 years of struggle that followed the successful conclusion of the revolution, from 1949 to 1956, the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production and the change from new people's democracy to socialism, all under the leadership of the party, were basically completed. From then on, the contradiction in Chinese society was one between the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward state of our production. One way to solve this contradiction is to reform, within a given period of time, the system of socialist organization, to search for and implement a system better suited for the development of productive forces, bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist system for the greatest development of the social productive forces, and on this basis to gradually improve the material and cultural livelihood of the people. In the face of these tasks, it is extremely important and significant to continue to explore the laws that govern the development of socialist society. The "Resolution" calls on us to "make a great effort to strengthen the study of Marxist theory throughout the entire party," and one of the most important aspects of the study of Marxist theory is the study of the developmental laws of socialism. If we can register achievements in this respect, we shall accomplish in the course of our socialist construction an advance in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Exploration of the developmental laws of socialism requires methodologically studying the facts and summing up historical experiences. Although the history of socialism is not a long one, it has been a century and a half since Marx and Engels first set forth the doctrine of scientific socialism, and over 60 years since the first socialist state appeared in the world; thus a fairly abundant amount of facts and material has already accumulated. Even in the 32 years since the foundation of the PRC, several stages of development have been experienced, as the "Resolution" points out, and many aspects of the developmental laws of socialism can be gleaned from our practical experiences. Chinese Marxists who study this question must of course stress the study of our country's historical experiences. The resolution of the Sixth Plenum put forth certain demands regarding such studies and points their direction. We, the workers in the field of the social sciences, are determined to use our specialized knowledge, building on the great quantity of factual and theoretical material accumulated in the 32 years since the foundation of the PRC, to engage in a penetrating and systematic analysis and to launch free and earnest studies and discussions.

At the same time, we must also be aware of the fact that exploration of the developmental laws of socialism is a question that has the concern not only of our country's workers in the field of Marxist theory but also of Marxist theoreticians in other countries. The historical experiences on which exploration of the developmental laws of socialism relies, as we mentioned before, are not limited to those of China. For a truly penetrating comprehension of the objective laws, the emphatic study of our country's historical experiences must be accompanied by the study of foreign history and by the drawing of lessons from useful foreign experiences. On this question we must make a comparative study of various countries. Since smashing the "gang of four," we have abandoned the policy of seclusion that had been in force for quite some time, and have visited many foreign countries. Our Marxist theoreticians have engaged in scholarly exchanges of various natures with scholars of Marxist theory in other countries. This has also been very beneficial for our studies.

After the Sixth Plenum, we, the workers in the field of the social sciences, have become very much aware of our own great responsibilities. Since the demise of the "gang of four," we, the workers in the field of the social sciences, have done a great amount of work with regard to emancipating the mind and turning chaos into order. We also have raised many important questions and launched discussions on them. It is my hope that the present conference will serve as a new starting point for social science studies in this country, and that even greater achievements than those in the past will be accomplished.

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SICHUAN GOVERNMENT EMPHASIZES SPIRIT OF SIXTH PLENUM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by reporter Ai Feng [5337 7364]: "Unify Ideology in the Spirit of the Sixth Plenum: The Central Study Group of the Provincial People's Government Institutes Systematic Study of the Various Resolutions Passed at the Sixth Plenum and of Comrade Hu Yaobang's Speech"]

[Text] Starting 2 July, the central study group organized by the deputy governor, the chief secretary and all leading cadres of the Sichuan provincial government instituted a concentrated study of the various resolutions passed at the Sixth Plenum and of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech. The various departments and bureaus also began systematic studies with party members taking the initiative.

During the discussions, the members of the central study group of the provincial people's government maintained a spirit of high enthusiasm and took to the floor one after another. All were agreed that the Sixth Plenum, coming on the heels of the Third Plenum, was another meeting of great significance in the history of our party, a meeting that summed up our experiences and signified our march forward in unity. This meeting is bound to have a tremendous effect on the unity of the entire party, the ideology of the entire nation, on inspiring revolutionary enthusiasm, on clarifying the direction of our advance and on the unity in our struggle to build a strong and modern socialist country.

Deputy Governors He Haoju [0149 6787 3515], Liu Haiquan [0491 3189 3123], Meng Dongbo [1322 2639 3134], Guan Xuesi [4619 1331 1835], and Wu Xihai [0702 1585 3189] related their own personal experiences and sentiments regarding the situation when discussing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." They were all unanimously of the opinion that this resolution was well written, expressing their innermost thoughts and feelings. It radiates in every respect the glory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and fully signifies that our party is a mature and prudent party with a high sense of responsibility toward the people, and therefore a party that can be trusted, a truly great party. In their discussions they expressed the view that the "resolution" fully affirms the achievements of 32 years of construction in our country, realistically evaluates the great merits of Comrade Mao Zedong, systematically and correctly explains the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, points out and analyzes the serious mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and differentiates the correct Mao Zedong Thought from the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. In this way a clear distinction is drawn between merits and mistakes, between right and wrong, thus providing the entire party and the entire people with the basis for a unified ideology and conception.

Deputy Secretary Yue Zhong [1471 1813]; Comrade Han Zhengfu [7281 2973 1133], chairman of the provincial science committee; and Comrade Zhou Hang [0719 5300], deputy chairman of the provincial cultural affairs office, in their speeches said: Now we must not again get ourselves entangled in historical questions, but must establish an ideological unity throughout the entire party, particularly among the leading cadres, in line with the spirit of the Sixth Plenum, and look forward in unity and earnestly take in hand the 10 tasks pointed out in the "resolution," in order to gain the great revolutionary victory in our socialist modernization.

8453
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COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST FUTURE VIEWED AS HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 pp 2-5

[Article by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028]: "People's Choice, Historical Inevitability"]

[Excerpts] Our People Are Great, Our Party Is Great

When joining the party, all communists are determined and swear to struggle for the communist cause through to the end. The time when they join may be early or may be late, their party age may be long or may be short; passing through setbacks, failures and victories, some have gloriously sacrificed their lives, others continue to struggle. Because they have established this conviction in believing that the communist cause is bound to triumph, even under extraordinarily difficult conditions they can still get through a crisis by dint of resilient and persistent struggle. In 1927, the Chiang Kai-shek clique slaughtered a large number of communists, drowning the best elements of China's various nationalities in a sea of blood. Yet, those comrades who survived buried the bodies of their comrades, wiped off the blood, and continued to forge ahead. During the Long March of 25,000 li, our fighting ranks dwindled from 300,000 to only 30,000, but then the new anti-Japanese national united front began. During the 10-year "Cultural Revolution," our cause suffered great sabotage because of the activities of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Our comrades by no means lost their confidence in communism as a result. Even when they were suffering the most cruel persecution and attacks, they still believed that difficult days were bound to pass away. In reality, we still won.

The "Cultural Revolution," indeed, hurt us greatly, but we must at the same time see that during the "Cultural Revolution" period we still exhibited a healthy side and there still existed healthy forces. The vast ranks of the masses of the people, the vast ranks of communists, including among them the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and also including the vast ranks of youths, all engaged in undaunted, persistent, repeated struggles with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in various periods, by various methods, and to various degrees. Was this not called "the February adverse current" in the past? Actually, it should have been called "the February forward current." After that, they continued once more to carry on the struggles; the end-result of these struggles turned out to be that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were the ones who failed, and the party and the people were the ones who won.

In Chinese as well as foreign histories, there have been numerous examples of castles being breached from within. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques sneaked into our party Central Committee and seized part of the important party and state powers of leadership. The haughty positions occupied by these counterrevolutionary double-dealers and the cunning, venomous and sinister nature of their tricks were all unprecedented in our party history. We should admit that, during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," our party and state were in extraordinarily dangerous waters. But we must at the same time see that, despite the wide-ranging ravages of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for 10 years, they, after all, failed to breach our fortress, failed to overthrow our party, and failed to break up our socialist state. Despite the heavy prices paid by the vast ranks of the party members, vast ranks of the cadres, and the people of various nationalities of the country, they firmly guarded our fortress through the struggle. Many sacrificed and maimed communists were still shouting "Long Live the Chinese Communist Party" at the time when they were subjected to severe punishment and torture. Some could not speak, as in the case of a maimed comrade like Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], but they still used writing to convey their firm belief. Some did not have time to exercise, or were deprived of, their right to put down their oath in writing and thus died in silence, but they died as glorious communists. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one such example. They went through such treatment as being locked in cattle sheds, being put on a jet-like torturing device, beating, and all sorts of abuse, and persecution, but to this very day nobody has heard any real communist complaining about the party or leaving the party. None ever asked to withdraw from the party in those days. Some comrades were overthrown but reemerged again to take up their work. Some comrades stuck to their posts and, whenever possible, went on shouldering their heavy burdens in the face of adversity and doing whatever possible, braving whatever necessary, in order to protect the people, protect the party cadres, exert their utmost efforts to carry out various beneficial work for the party and the people under extremely trying conditions.

The "Cultural Revolution" made the management level of enterprises fall considerably. Various rules and regulations were also subject to violation. Concerned units have made some calculations, which indicate that during those 10 years the country suffered some 500 billion yuan of losses in national income. On the other hand, because comrades who stuck to their posts made their efforts and because of the high sense of responsibility shown by the vast ranks of the masses of the people, our cadres, technical personnel, and staff and workers toward their socialist undertakings, fixed assets increased by 150 percent during those 10 years, and the average rate of industrial growth reached 7 percent.

Our party and people have the great power to defeat all enemies from without and from within who attempt to carry out sabotage by various forms. This power does not come from anybody's subjective wishes but has been shaped gradually by the long history of the Chinese revolution. It has a deep, realistic foundation. What needs to be especially mentioned is the long-term education rendered by Mao Zedong Thought to comrades of the whole party and the people of the country's various nationalities. Mao Zedong Thought--this is the powerful spiritual weapon which enabled us to win victory. From the Zunyi Conference to the victory of the war of resistance, our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong educated a generation of people with Mao Zedong Thought, including that what is known as the "three-eight style" generation. There were also several generations educated after the war of liberation and the liberation itself. These people are mostly taking up leadership duties on the country's various fronts today. During the Yan'an period, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong led and organized the whole party in undertaking conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism through the summing up of the historical experience of our revolution. This played a very great role in arming comrades of the whole party. Today, we all talk about "seeking truth from facts"; on the surface, they are but four characters. But these four characters contain the extremely rich experience and lessons from the process of several decades of our party's struggles; in a certain sense, they have been obtained by countless martyrs of the revolution with their own struggles and sacrifices. Such a basic point of Mao Zedong Thought has not been, but is and will be, of decisive significance to the ultimate success of our cause. We must absolutely not negate Mao Zedong Thought in any basic sense or completely deny Comrade Mao Zedong's merits just because he made mistakes in his later years. His merits are primary; his mistakes are secondary. This point must be affirmed clearly. Excessively stressing Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and smearing Comrade Mao Zedong's face would be tantamount to smearing the face of our party and the face of our state. For the past half century Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities have always been closely associated with the history of our party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said recently, the "Cultural Revolution" was indeed a serious mistake. But insofar as Comrade Mao Zedong was concerned, this was after all the serious mistake made by a great revolutionary, and we cannot exceed this limit. Exceeding this limit would no longer tally with historical reality. Of course, having been subjected to rectification, one is liable to feel uncomfortable or even resentful. But we must endeavor to become proletarian statesmen and refrain from resorting to emotionalism. We cannot depart from historical materialism.

What Mao Zedong Thought has fostered is not limited to the older generation of people; there has also been one generation after another of young people. There is one situation of which all the comrades I have met would speak with great pleasure and special excitement, and that is that during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," when large contingents of leading cadres at various levels were pushed aside and overthrown and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway and seized power, when the party and the state faced a situation of mortal danger, those who stepped forward to struggle with these two counterrevolutionary cliques included not only the older generation of revolutionaries but also the new, younger generation educated by our party and our state. On the question of struggling with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they had already taken over the banner of the older generation and stepped up to frontline. Taking a look back, this period of history is of great significance. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, as well as real life itself, taught our youths and enabled them, through a comparison between the positive and negative aspects of our experience, to enhance their ability to differentiate the enemies from ourselves and distinguish right from wrong, so that the 1976 revolutionary movement to castigate the "gang of four" at Tian'anmen Square ultimately broke out.

The victory of the cause of Chinese revolution and construction was achieved by the common struggles of the people of the country's various nationalities under the leadership of our party. It is precisely because we have a great people and a great party that not only can we go on to greater victories when we triumph, when we encounter difficulties and detours, we can also toughen ourselves, ignore sacrifices, drive forward with determination, and open up new vistas. In the past, at present, or in the future, this would be the surest guarantee for the success of our cause.

The Socialist System Has Already Come To Be Deeply Rooted in China

The socialist system has already existed in our country for more than 20 years. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we summed up past experience and lessons and corrected the defects and mistakes in our past work; the purpose was to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system which had been demonstrated before the "Cultural Revolution" but which suffered great sabotage during it. This was altogether necessary. But another deviation took place at the same time, and that was that comrades thought too little of the achievements made by our socialist undertakings and underestimated them. In a situation in which we continued to win greater and greater victories, whether or not the socialist system exhibited any superiority seemed to have been a problem among certain parts of people.

The reason why some people had become skeptical about the socialist system, apart from certain causes in their subjectivity, had, generally speaking, also to do with two causes: One was the sabotage by domestic and external enemies, mainly by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and its aftermath has hardly disappeared even now. The other was the defects and mistakes we actually showed in our work. Despite the continued efforts we have made in recognizing and correcting these defects and mistakes, things accumulated for a long time are not what can be solved completely in a year or two.

Regarding the liquidation of the remaining poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we have already done a great deal of work. As we look at it now, we need to do still more. Not only does the remaining poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" need to be continually eliminated, but some facts already prove that the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are still engaged in rather destructive activities in certain localities and units. They are raising the hubbub that there exists in China a special stratum today and the contradiction in Chinese society is the contradiction between the vast ranks of the people and this very special stratum. The only path for solving this problem, as they see it, is to resort to a so-called "second revolution." Some people even say that the last "Cultural Revolution" was to push the "capitalist-roaders" aside, but if we resort to "Cultural Revolution" once again, it would be no longer just to push them aside, but to kill them one by one. They are also propagating the theory that a gap separates the older generation and the younger generation. We cannot expect the older generation to fill up this gap, so the only thing we can do is to overthrow the older generation entirely and let people like them fill it. In a word, compared to those of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" the program, slogans, strategies, modes of activity of these people are slightly different in form but totally the same in substance.

It still requires great efforts on our part to further criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and further eliminate the residual poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with respect to such anti-party and anti-socialist expressions and activities. The work we are required to do at present, aside from carrying out a resolute crackdown on veritable anti-party and anti-socialist activities and serious criminal offenses within the limits of the Constitution and the law, is to patently, carefully and persuasively strengthen our ideological and political work, win over and unite with the vast ranks of the masses, and reduce the market for those evil forces.

We need to use accurate, unimpeachable data to enable the masses of the people, especially youths, to understand that the superiority of the socialist system and its great vitality do not merely represent subjective longings, but are deeply rooted in an objective foundation and historical inevitability. Socialism replaces private ownership with public ownership, fundamentally eliminates exploitation and oppression, and carries out the principles of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. Public ownership replacing private ownership is the most profound revolution in history. The realization of this revolution is itself a fundamental difference from all exploitative systems in the old society.

We must seek truth from facts in examining our achievements. Seeking truth from facts includes looking at problems from the overall situation. When our country was compared to the capitalist developed countries in recent years, we and foreigners alike often quoted one set of figures, that is, the average per capita share of the gross national product to determine our place in the economic development of countries of the world. This was accurate in one respect. But we cannot just use a standard of this sort alone to measure the degree of a country's development, but must carry out comparisons comprehensively over certain principal aspects of social production and social life, and among these the most important thing is to look at the degree to which basic needs in the life of the overwhelming majority of the people are guaranteed and satisfied.

Last year, an economic delegation from the World Bank came to our country to visit and study. They still considered ours a poor country, but at the same time acknowledged that, viewed from the overall situation, the growth rate of the Chinese economy was fairly fast, its industry was fairly well developed, the distribution of its national income was fairly equitable and success was being achieved in respect to the satisfaction of the needs of a majority of the country's population. In China, there are far fewer people living under the poverty line than in those countries, such as India, whose original foundations had been similar. They also lived under far better conditions, and great results had also been scored in such enterprises as education, public health and control over population increase.

Insofar as such characteristics as size of the country, size of the population and a weak economic foundation are concerned, the original conditions of China and India were quite similar, and the two countries also achieved liberation or independence at approximately the same time. But because we established a socialist system, we were therefore faster in various aspects of our development than India. We may carry out a comparison in the growth situation of nine principal industrial and agricultural products in this regard, to wit: crude oil, raw coal, electric power, rough steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, foodgrain, cotton fabrics and cotton. In 1950 our crude oil, raw coal, foodgrain and cotton production exceeded that of India, but not by a large margin. The range was a mere 15.4 percent (raw coal) to 106 percent (foodgrain). The production of all the other five lagged behind India. But what was the situation 30 years later? Among the nine products, when 1979 is compared to 1950, our margin of increase ranged from 2.1 times (foodgrain) to 675.4 times (chemical fertilizers), whereas that of India ranged from 1.3 times (cotton) to 112 times (chemical fertilizers). In his article "China and India: Comparison and Contrast," Indian economist Ramaswami, director of the India Management Research Institute of Bangalore fairly pointed out: China's conditions in 1949 were far worse than those of India, yet China's present per capita average income is twice or thrice the corresponding figure for India. Even a biased person looking at such a comparison would acknowledge that China far surpasses India.

Establishment and development of the socialist system in China is the choice of the people and a historical inevitability. Even such serious sabotage perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" failed to shake its foundation an iota. Today, we have smashed those two counter-revolutionary cliques and conscientiously summed up our experience and lessons. At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and thereafter, we also reiterated and established a correct line and a series of principles and policies and continued to improve and promote various work. Who can break them down or destroy them? Those who violate objective laws will only get their heads cracked and bloodied by them. We have derived one conclusion and established one conviction from the development of world history and from the development of our history in the past 30 years: the socialist system has now taken deep roots in China, and such roots can no longer be cut or dug up. So long as we unite closely around the party Central Committee, continue to sum up experience, stay forever together with the people, and work solidly and conscientiously, the socialist cause is bound to win greater and greater victories, opponents are bound to be defeated, misguided persons are bound to wake up, and our people will become increasingly proud of their socialist motherland.

9255
CSO: 4005/749

PARTY AND STATE

UPHOLDING MASS LINE IN SPIRIT OF PARTY RESOLUTION URGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Shou Chun [1108 2504]: "Uphold the Mass Line"]

[Text] In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," one of the three basic aspects of the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought is summarized. This is the mass line--everything for the masses, everything depends on the masses; gather views from and return them to the masses. If our party hopes to further the cause of socialism, then we must uphold the mass line.

Comrade Mao Zedong, through the long process of leading our nation's revolution and construction, took an underlying principle of Marxism--that the masses are the creators of history--and systematically applied it to all party activities, and so formed the mass line of the party in all its work. This was a summation of the most precious historical experience of our party in carrying out revolutionary activities over a long period in the difficult environment in which a great disparity existed between our strength and the strength of our enemies. To uphold this mass line, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that our leadership must be correct when we lead the masses in actual work. We must utilize the style of "from the masses, to the masses," and carry out a merger of leaders and the masses and a combination of general appeals and individual guidance. This entire mass line system of leadership and work methods was a great addition to Marxist theory by Comrade Mao Zedong and the CCP.

As early as the period of land reform, Comrade Mao Zedong viewed the question of work method as being an important question in determining our ability to guarantee the victory of the revolution. He indicated that we must "pay attention to work methods," just as when we determine whether to cross a river by bridge or by boat. In the party Central Committee directive, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," which he originally drafted during the war of resistance against Japan, he further explained the unified character of the dialectical materialist work methods of the line of cognition and the mass line, and clearly pointed out: "In all practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses." This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge." This "from the masses, to the masses" scientific method of leadership is actually the concrete application of the Marxist theory of knowledge in practical work. It is not only the wellspring of our strength, it is also the source of our correct, guiding ideology. As Comrade Mao Zedong stated, in all cases "better leadership comes with greater skill in doing this." Why did Comrade Mao Zedong sum up the basic method of leadership of our party in the line, "from the masses, to the masses?" Basically, this was determined by the dialectical materialist worldview and theory of knowledge of the party. The essential aim of our CCP is the wholehearted service of the people. And if we wish to serve well, then we must begin with the actual situation of the masses and do things in accordance with the interests, views, and demands of the masses. "From the masses, to the masses" means placing the interests of the people first, and everywhere thinking of and planning for the masses. It further means penetrating into the practical activities of the masses, such as their struggle for production, their class struggle and their scientific experiments, as well as carrying out broad investigations, modestly listening to the calls of the masses, and seeing to it that our speech and actions accord with the interests of the broad masses and are supported by the broad masses. Our party, with basic Marxist theory as its guide, has always believed that the masses are the creators of history. Close reliance on the people is the source of our strength. The mass line firmly states that the creative ability of the masses is limitless, and so trusts the people and unites as one with them. In this way all difficulties can be overcome and all enemies defeated. In accepting the basic underlying principles of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, our party believes that the thoughts, opinions, plans, and methods of any heroic figure can only be the reflections of the objective world and can only come from the practice of the masses or from their own scientific experimentation. If we slight the practice of the masses and depart from it, then we cannot possibly attain even the most rudimentary knowledge, and the policies of our leadership organs and personnel will become "rivers without sources and trees without roots." If we do not understand the situation of those beneath us and simply take it for granted that we can put forth ideas and issue directives, then we will only carry out subjectivism and idealism, and will direct blindly and so be setting ourselves up for a fall.

The process of "from the masses" is actually the process of investigating and studying, the process, based on the foundation of practice, in which perceptual knowledge makes the jump to rational knowledge, the process of forming ideas and judgments, and the process of reasoning; the process of "to the masses" is the practice of turning theory around to lead the masses and of developing by passing through tests in practice. For simple things, the process of cognition is completed by passing through these two stages. But the practical activities in which mankind engages in remaking the world are endless. So our knowledge must also pass through unending development. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that all correct leadership must not only go "from the masses, to the masses," but must also "once again concentrate ideas from the masses, and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through." It is exactly within this process of ceaseless cyclical repetition that the wisdom of the leaders and the masses are merged and jointly increased. "The ideas become more correct, more vital, and richer each time," causing the line, principles and policies of the party to correspond better to objective reality, allowing us to lead the masses forward correctly and to remake the objective world more effectively. The great Thought of Mao Zedong, the correct line of the party, is a magnificent crystal formed in the collective struggle of the party and the people. It concentrates the wisdom of the masses, and yet exceeds the wisdom of the masses; it reflects practice, and yet exceeds practice. Because of this it possesses great vitality and has become an invincible ideological weapon.

In reviewing the 60 years since the founding of the party, the lessons learned in advancing along the twisting path of China's revolution and construction teach us that when the subjective is more in tune with the objective and the leaders and the masses are more united, than the party line will be more correct and the revolution and construction will be smoother, and that none of this can be separated from the serious implementation of the work method, "from the masses, to the masses"; on the contrary, if we look for reasons when the party line contains errors of the "left" or right, and the revolution encounters setbacks, we find that the subjective and the objective never correspond, theory and practice are not in accord, and that this is the inevitable consequence of separation from the masses. This is true for the work of a single area or the work of a single cadre. Because of this, the "from the masses, to the masses" line initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong is not an ordinary work method which can be ignored, but rather is the basic work method relating to the success and failure of our party's cause. It is also the dialectical materialist line of cognition to which we must adhere. If we want to thoroughly implement the mass line of the party, our leaders must discard haughty and bureaucratic airs. We must maintain a firm mass viewpoint and the attitude of being happy to be the elementary school pupils of the masses. If we do not keep the masses in mind, are indifferent to their distress, turn a deaf ear on their cries, and do not penetrate the masses, but rather place ourselves high above the masses, then it will be impossible to implement the mass line of the party.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" made the mass line one of the three basic aspects of the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought. This has important meaning for our conscious support of the party's mass line, our close dependence on the masses, and our construction of a strong, modern, highly democratic, culturally advanced socialist nation in the coming historical period. In the past, we upheld the line, "from the masses, to the masses," and solved countless difficult and complicated problems of revolution and construction. In completing new, great historical tasks in the future, we will meet with even more complicated conditions and difficulties, and this makes it imperative that we unswervingly persevere in upholding this basic aspect. This is a fundamental matter concerning the success and failure of our cause. We must definitely do a good job of upholding the mass line in accordance with the spirit of the "resolution."

9705
CSO: 4005/762

BRIBERY, EXTORTION IN BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 81 p 4

[Article: "It Is Necessary To Stop Bribery, Extortion and Other Unhealthy Trends"]

> [Text] In its issue No 10 of 1981, PARTY STYLE AND PARTY DISCIPLINE [DANGJI YU DANGPENG], organ of the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, carried excerpts of two letters from party members, including one from Xin Qiushui [6580 4428 3055] of the Anhui Province Social Sciences Research Institute to the Anhui provincial party committee, dated February, along with an editor's note. The editor's note points out:
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> The facts reflected in these letters show that the improper practices of bribery and extortion by some grassroots cadres and enterprise personnel today have reached very serious proportions. Commissions for inspection of party discipline should pay adequate attention to this problem. At present, they should coordinate with associated departments in initiating a thorough investigation into these improper practices in the economic field and into political and ideological problems affecting party members. They should get a clear understanding of this situation, and propose remedial measures. In the process of helping party committees study and implement the "guiding Principles," they should strengthen the education of party members and cadres in policies and discipline. Those party members and cadres found guilty of violating party discipline and state law, giving and accepting bribes, or committing extortion must be dealt with seriously on a case-by-case basis. We must do good political and ideological work among party members and rectify the party's workstyle.

In his letter to the Anhui provincial party committee, Comrade Xin Qiushui said: The problematical practices of bribery and extortion by some middle and lower level cadres and rural grassroots cadres came to my attention during a survey of the rural economy in Chuxian and other prefectures early this year. This problem seems serious. It was reflected in the following statements by some comrades attending a small-scale investigation meeting which I called in Jiashan County.

Zhang Zhibin [1728 1807 2430], director of the county's Second Bureau of Light Industry, said: Giving gifts and bribes and backdoor dealings are common tactics for our enterprises to get material supplies and to promote the sales of unwanted products. Purchasers are on a shopping spree everywhere. Their jobs are to obtain enough raw materials "to feed their factories." For this purpose, they are allowed expenses for travel, gifts, shipping and entertainment which are so large that they astonish everyone. In the first 45 days of this year alone, the Second Bureau of Light Industry spent more than 10,000 yuan on entertainment, in addition to expenses for gifts used to bribe people. During this same period, the handicraft plant in the county spent more than 4,000 yuan on gifts. To promote the sales of unwanted products also calls for giving gifts and bribes. The Jianshan County Handicraft Plant displayed a lot of unwanted products, including embroidered quilt covers, at the 1979 National Handicraft Trade Fair held in Guizhou. Because it presented a large quanity of peanuts as gifts at the trade fair, it sold more than 3,000 quilt covers, compared with more than 600 superior quality quilt covers sold at the Wuhu pavilion. Giving parties and gifts must be done with great thought and care. People ranging from leaders of some units to their administrative assistants must be listed one by one for parties or for receiving gifts. One oversight may spoil the whole thing. A large number of secondary guests must be considered and invited to any party in addition to the principal. As a result, the "guiding principles" have become a scrap of paper. I am a Communist Party member. Although I feel ashamed to be doing such things, I have no other option open to me. Without raw materials, my plant will have to close down and its workers and their families will starve. I have repeatedly suggested to the county party committee that it transfer me to some other post or make people assume the directorship of the Second Bureau of Light Industry on a rotational basis so that "I won't be the only person who will feel guilty of being a party to a bribery of extraordinary magnitude."

Kan Ke Rang [7074 0344 6245], director of the Jiashan County Handicraft Plant, said: Giving gifts and bribes and backdoor dealings constitute an important link in the operation of our enterprises. Although such improprieties have been cursed by all of us, none of us has had the guts to reject these practices. Last year when I went to the Zhengzhou, Henan, Textile Machinery Plant to buy a specific category of spare parts, its production manager first told me that no such parts were available, and then asked: What famous products are manufactured in your native place? I showed him three embroidered quilt covers. He took them over to his table, picked up a brush, scribbled a few words on a piece of paper and handed it to me, saying: Now I want to sell three packages of parts originally prepared for delivery to another customer. But when I went to the warehouse with the note, the keeper there would not give them to me, insisting that he could not break his promise to another customer. He did not change his mind despite an argument he had with the production manager. The production manager had no choice but to write a letter introducing me to the Changwei Prefecture Textile Machinery Plant, Shandong, so that I could get the parts there. Through negotiations, the man who handled my order first promised delivery sometime in July 1981. When I asked whether he could deliver it earlier, he asked: Is your place known for tea? I said: I didn't bring any tea but I have on hand a few embroidered quilt covers; are you interested? He was delighted to see these covers. After reaching into his pocket for cash, he said he forgot to bring any money with him that day but he promised to pay me another time. After taking the quilt covers, he immediately changed the date of delivery to near the end of 1980. When the time came for me to pick up the order, I brought along 4 jin of tea as gifts so that I could ship the parts home without any hitch.

Hu Qingshi [5170 7230 1102], purchaser of the Jiashan County Handicraft Plant, said: We purchasers can achieve nothing if we disregard these improper practices. When you give gifts and bribes to somebody, you have to cover it up and keep your mouth shut. No one involved dares to talk about it. Nor does anyone dare to expose it or write an article on this matter for publication. If you do, it means that you have broken all connections with them and you can never expect them to sell anything to you again, not to mention that you yourself are liable to be punished. Hu Qingshi added: Commodities that change hands on the market may also have to go through backdoor dealings. The same is true of the supplies distributed under the state plans. You cannot get them without bribing the suppliers with some gifts. An example was the distribution of 2 tons of manmade silk to my plant in 1980 under the state plan, which was to be supplied by the "Huadong Light Industry Supply Department of the Ministry of Light Industry." This department was unwilling to deliver them to us despite the distribution order and despite two trips we made at the expense of our plant. On a third trip, we brought along 5 brocade bedspreads, 2 embroidered quilt covers and 20 jin of peanuts. This trip was successful. The man who handled our order whipped out 15 yuan after taking the gifts valued at more than 90 yuan. Finally, we took only 10 yuan from him. It was in this manner that we brought the deal to a successful conclusion.

In his letter to the Anhui provincial party committee, Xin Qiushui said: These statements vividly testify to the fact that the practice of giving gifts and bribes has had a very bad effect on society. If this tendency is not reversed, how can we accomplish the four modernizations and implement the "guiding principles"? His suggestions to the provincial party committee were as follows: Measures should be taken to deal blows to and stop those improper practices. The party must gather information and grasp typical examples to educate the entire party membership. Party discipline and state laws must be invoked to punish those who break them and who accept and give bribes.

9574
CSO: 4005/772

LOCAL PARTY LEADER DISMISSED ON CHARGE ABUSING POWER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 81 p 4

[Letter from a reader: "Resolutely Rectify Unhealthy Practices"]

[Text] On 18 July, RENMIN RIBAO carried this news report: In accordance with the recommendations of the Hunan Province Commission for Inspection of Discipline, the Hunan provincial party committee has dismissed Li Fengzhou [2621 7685 3166], deputy secretary of the Linxiang County party committee, Hunan Province, from all posts within the party, and has suggested that departments concerned dismiss him from all posts outside the party for illegally moving 28 of his relatives from the countryside to the city, thus causing damage to the interests of the state and of collectives. The provincial party committee has also ordered Li Fengzhou to cancel the unauthorized movement of households from the countryside to the city, which betray the public trust, to return all illegally recruited personnel to the countryside, and to reimburse the state, collectives and the masses for their economic losses caused by his action.

The people are deligted to read this news, and also highly praise the Hunan provincial party committee for taking such a conscientious and serious attitude against violators of party discipline and state law and for correcting unhealthy tendencies.

As far as I know, this situation resulting from the abuse of power by cadres and from their illegal action to move their children from the countryside to the cities and then place them in positions with government organizations, enterprises and establishments exists more or less everywhere in the country. Such behavior is detested by the masses. This is also an important factor that has caused the overstaffing of some enterprises and establishments, inefficiency in their work and losses in their financial operations. I hope that erring comrades will consciously and voluntarily persuade the children and relatives they have illegally placed in positions with government organizations, enterprises and establishments to quit and go home. Cadres living in cities with children now on the waiting list for employment must observe the regulations of the personnel and labor departments and follow the normal procedures in getting jobs for their children. They should refrain from using their authority and special privileges to achieve this purpose. All their children who have been illegally placed in jobs should be persuaded to quit by their parents. All comrades who acknowledge and decide to correct their mistakes are good comrades and will receive commendations from the masses.

I hope that the party committees at all levels will emulate the example of the Hunan provincial party committee by resolutely rectifying their unhealthy workstyle.

9574
CSO: 4005/772

HUBEI PARTY ORGANS STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP OVER CYL

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] The party organization at all levels of this province is effectively strengthening its leadership over the Communist Youth League and is considering its activities in youth work as one of its strategic tasks. Recently, the party committees in various localities, municipalities and counties called meetings of its standing committees, enlarged standing committees and leading cadres in the departments concerned for a joint analysis of the conditions of youth work in our area and for a study of concrete measures to implement the directive "On Certain Questions in Connection with the Strengthening of CYL Work," issued by the provincial party committee.

In order to further strengthen the leadership of the party in youth work, each of the party committees at the various levels has designated one secretary or deputy secretary to be particularly in charge of CYL work. A number of leading cadres of the party furthermore personally inspected and studied the CYL work and rendered guidance. The leading comrades in the party committee of Engineering Bureau 330 earnestly listened to the report of the CYL party committee, checked its work and made certain concrete demands. On receiving the work report from the CYL, Comrade Wang Qinggui [3769 3237 6311], first secretary of the Xiangfan municipal party committee, formulated concrete measures to solve problems prevailing in youth work. The municipal party committees of Huangshi and Shashi carried out certain readjustments in the leadership teams of its youth leagues, adding new members and selecting as responsible committee members some young comrades who had been party committee members before and have had a certain amount of practical experience. In 13 counties and municipalities of Jingzhou district, meetings of league representatives are under way to elect new leadership teams for the CYL. In view of the rapid changes of CYL cadres and the great number of new cadres required, the nurturing, training and raising of CYL cadres is being taken in hand by many local and municipal party committees as work not to be treated lightly. The party schools at all levels one after another arrange for CYL cadres to study in a planned way. Many units have training take the place of meetings and run short-term training classes or arrange for CYL cadres to study at sparetime, evening or television universities to assist them in raising the level of their cultural and scientific knowledge and their professional skills.

In working for a stronger leadership over the CYL, the party organizations at all levels are paying the closest attention to arousing the concern of all the different quarters of society so as to have them support the work among the young people. The organizations are furthermore making serious efforts to give the greatest attention to ideology, to be effective organizationally, to be supportive in actual work and full of concern for the livelihood of the young people. In Yichang the party organization of the Electrical Manufacturing Company and other units mobilized party, administrative, factory, youth league, propaganda and educational departments to launch discussions on youth work, thus gaining a better understanding of the direct influence on the attitude of the young people exercised by the social environment, family conditions and other quarters, and an understanding also of how the successful education and nurturing of our youths is only possible under the leadership of the party committees with the cooperation of everyone else in the joint effort of a total war. At a meeting of three levels of its cadres, the party committee of Wuchang County had the cadres of the CYL explain to the meeting the problems that exist among youth throughout the country and submitted suggestions to deal effectively with youth work, consciously concerned itself with the education of youth and accomplished certain work which will facilitate the studies and work of youth and enhance their livelihood. The motion picture companies, publishing houses, cultural bureaus, etc, in many localities and municipalities took realistic measures to provide spiritual nourishment and better material conditions for a healthy development of youth and thus contributed to our efforts to raise a generation of young people who will be a good communist successor generation, both red and expert.

8453
CSO: 4005/767

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION OF MISCOMPREHENSION OF MAO THOUGHT URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 81 p 1

/Commentary: "Thoroughly Study Documents"7

/Text7 Leading cadres at all levels and party members and other cadres throughout Zhejiang Province have mounted a campaign to study the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum in conjunction with its communique and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the CCP founding. Various localities unanimously reported: The "Resolution" has become a popular subject of conscientious study and lively debate which is instrumental in inspiring the people to think and in cheering up their spirit. Leading cadres at all levels must emphasize particularly the need to study thoroughly these documents in order to make this study campaign more fruitful.

The "Resolution" is an important historical document pervaded with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, an important basis upon which our party and state can distinguish right from wrong, and an important weapon with which we can make progress, and unite as one to carry on our cause and forge ahead. The "Resolution" is very rich in content and highly inspirational. As far as we know, there is no short-cut to the thorough understanding of this important historical document. A thorough reading of it is the only step toward achieving a gradual understanding of its key points and essence. Leading cadres who want to play a leading role in studying this "Resolution," who want to bring their thinking into line with its basic conclusions and who want to convey the "Resolution" to the masses, must read it thoroughly. It is unlikely to comprehend the "Resolution" and much less to meet the objective and requirements of this study campaign proposed by the party Central Committee unless everyone studies it thoroughly.

A primary task is to carry forward our party's excellent tradition to read its documents thoroughly. The documents of the party Central Committee concentrate the wisdom of the entire party and represent its will. These are documents whose carefully worded contents are works of thoughtful minds. Practice proves that comrades who can read these documents thoroughly will have no difficulty in roundly and accurately comprehending their essence and will be able to implement the documents properly with remarkable success; otherwise, they will have trouble fully appreciating the documents. They will even miscomprehend their essence, and will deviate from the correct course with bad consequences during their implementation. Early in this year, we also started a campaign to study the party's documents. During the campaign, in order to prevent the recurrence of the old problems which resulted from the study of its documents, the party Central Committee emphasized the need to study them seriously while appealing to comrades to make conscientious efforts to comprehend their essence. Consequently, a fine style of study prevailed, and the conscientious efforts by comrades to read the documents paid off and reaped rich fruits. During the current campaign to study the "Resolution," we must carry forward this excellent tradition and study style and persist in concentrating our energy on reading the documents thoroughly, and painstakingly.

Reading documents thoroughly means studying their texts sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph until everyone can firmly grasp their essence. No one should turn study sessions into random talks. Nor should anything be brought up for discussion that has nothing to do with the subject matter. When the "Resolution" is studied and discussed, we must focus our attention on the following major joints: We must evaluate realistically and appropriately the issues of right and wrong and the achievements and mistakes of the past 32 years following the founding of the PRC, make conscientious efforts to sum up positive and negative experiences and draw lessons from them so that we can turn them into invaluable assets which will guide us as we forge ahead. We must evaluate accurately the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought so that we can uphold Mao Zedong Thought in a better way in the days ahead. We must unify our thinking, and unite as one to look forward and to implement more consciously the line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. We must strengthen and improve party leadership, and strengthen the ideological and organizational building of the party, demonstrate the spirit with which to climb Mount Taishan, and effectively devote our energy to building our economy and spiritual civilization. We must grasp these key points as steps in the right direction of reading documents thoroughly and as the theme of our study and discussion.

Should the thorough reading of documents be integrated with reality? Yes. The principle of integrating theory with practice is one of our party's three major work styles. However, we must make it unequivocally clear: The objective of integrating the thorough study of documents with reality is to deepen our understanding of these documents and to comprehend better their essence. For example, some comrades have been able to integrate their thorough study of documents with what they actually have in mind; in order to prove that the points contained in the "Resolution" are correct, they have drawn a contrast between their past and present attitude toward these points. There are also some comrades who have graphically presented hard facts along with their experiences in work in order to prove that everything included in the "Resolution" conforms to objective reality and is a vivid reflection of dialectical and historical materialism. Integrating study with reality this way is very helpful in studying documents well. In this connection, attention must also be paid to the emergence of the following two possible situations: 1) Some comrades may be unwilling to study documents conscientiously. After going over them roughly once or twice, they may hastily jump to a conclusion on some specific problems and keep on talking incoherently about them. In the end, they will swallow everything without digesting it, pay attention to peripheral issues instead of the major ones, and make their efforts in study fruitless. 2) Instead of making conscientious efforts to grasp the essence of documents, they get entangled in minor historical issues or engage in disputes over specific historical issues of right and wrong in specific localities and units. This approach to the integration of study with reality is clearly wrong.

Reading documents thoroughly calls for displaying a tenacious spirit of devotion to research. We must reject lazy souls unwilling to think and encourage comrades to start up the machinery. Whether one has studied documents thoroughly is not determined by how many times one has gone over them. The key to success in this study lies in painstaking devotion to research. We must be able to see that many major historical events and many major theoretical issues contained in the "Resolution" were distorted beyond recognition by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and some of them have long been construed by some people as Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Today, we must draw a line between right and wrong, point out those past misconceptions and know how to take measures to rectify them. To achieve a clear understanding of these matters calls for painstaking devotion to research. Some major theoretical issues call for research on original works by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong and scientific analysis.

In short, we must study painstakingly, conduct in-depth research, and keep our thinking and research process going in the direction of taking reality into account until we fully comprehend the "Resolution" and truly convert it into our own assets. Only thus can we achieve a great leap forward on the ideological front, raise the level of our political consciousness, radically rectify our work style, and make a great breakthrough in work and a greater contribution to the party and people.

9574
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PARTY SCHOOL IN GUANGDONG STUDIES RESOLUTION ON MAO

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Li Ruqing [2621 3067 7230]: "Evaluation of Chairman Mao Wins the Hearts of the Party and the People; Provincial Party Committee and Party Schools, Rotating Training Class Participants Discuss Understanding Gained From Study of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The more than 300 cadres from all over the province who participated in the first session of the rotation training class for cadres of county and higher ranks, organized by the provincial party committee and the party schools, specially allotted 11 days before winding up their 4 and 1/2 months of theory studies to an earnest study of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." All were agreed that the "resolution" was an extremely valuable, high-level, historical document. It expresses everyone's heartfelt thoughts and sentiments as it sums up the historical experiences of the party since the foundation of the PRC and in its objective, just and realistic evaluation of Chairman Mao Zedong.

The participants in the study were men of long struggle experience; many comrades had joined the revolution during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. In looking back over their own personal experiences, they had deep feelings of gratitude for the great achievements of Chairman Mao, achievements that greatly benefited the Chinese people and that can never be obliterated; he will always be the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people.

The evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and of Mao Zedong Thought, as given in the "resolution," is deeply appreciated by the party and the people and is completely in line with the basic interests of the party. All agreed that Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought are inseparable from the entire history of our party. The correct evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought are actually affirmations of our party's glorious history and vindications of the lofty image of our party and of the People's Republic. On this important question we must certainly maintain a serene and prudent attitude and not allow ourselves to be swayed by our emotions. Some comrades said: At the beginning of our studies, everyone still had somewhat confused ideas and different opinions on the history since the founding of the PRC and on the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong. The publication of the "resolution" clarifies right and wrong, unifies our thinking and brings stability to China, with implications all over the world.

In these studies everyone came to agree that Comrade Mao Zedong, like any other great historical personality, has had his shortcomings and mistakes. However, the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong were after all the mistakes committed by a great proletarian revolutionary. Several comrades said the "resolution" uses historical materialism in its analysis of the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and points out the subjective elements, his becoming divorced from the masses and from reality, and also analyzes the social and historical reasons that caused these mistakes to occur. This will enable the whole party to properly absorb the historical experiences and lessons and will serve as a warning for all future times.

In the past, some comrades felt it emotionally difficult to hear about Comrade Mao Zedong having committed mistakes. After studying the "resolution," they admit that this kind of attitude and sentiment, although understandable, cannot stand in the way of scientific analysis and that it is also not in conformity with objective reality. If we do not admit realistically that Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years and do not differentiate between these mistakes and the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, we would quite possibly persist in the various mistaken viewpoints of Comrade Mao Zedong. This would be detrimental to the emancipation of our minds, to the rectification of "leftist" mistakes and to the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenum.

Everyone was agreed that the "resolution" gives a scientific account of the principal content of Mao Zedong Thought and the three basic points that constitute its life and soul, thus raising everyone's conception of Mao Zedong Thought to new heights. Many comrades expressed the opinion that from now on, upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought demands of us as an important condition that we resolutely implement the 10 "important points" of our correct path toward socialist construction, as outlined in the "resolution." Firmly upholding these 10 points is nothing else but firmly upholding Mao Zedong Thought. Going against these 10 points is going against Mao Zedong Thought. We are unswerving in our determination to develop as rapidly as possible our social production force, regarding economic construction as the core of our efforts, and thus to gradually raise the level of livelihood of the masses in order to demonstrate even more effectively the power of Mao Zedong Thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

'SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION' ARTICLES ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

Beijing DUCHU [READING] in Chinese No 5, 10 May 81 pp 38-44

[Article by He Xin [0149 2450]: "A Leaf from the Storm of Our Era--After Reading the Collection of Essays 'Science and Superstition'"]

I.

[Excerpt] Let us look back at the so-called "great cultural revolution." How devoid of historical sense it was as a movement! The political situation, personalities, and theories all changed constantly, like revolving paper figures in a lighted lantern. One solemn declaration after another became wastepaper overnight; for 10 whole years one fleeting historical scene after another puzzled 1 billion of the world's universally recognized abundantly intelligent people. But finally, "after this disaster, the Chinese people understood many truths from pain" ("Historical Initiatives and Historical Limitations"). History taught people to understand historical sense. Please read the collection of essays by Li Honglin [2621 3163 2651] entitled "Science and Superstition"; it is precisely such a good book which enlightens people with a historical sense.

II.

This collection includes 24 articles and a parable. These articles are the reflections and explorations of a communist with a sense of responsibility toward the future and destiny of the party, the state, and the nation, who has done his thinking about the pain of the 10-year catastrophe after the pain stopped. Frankly speaking, insofar as the scholarly value, i. e., the scientific integrity and theoretical depth, is concerned, these articles are not without blemishes. But as products of our very own era, these articles still have some special value. They have recorded a leaf from the storm of our era, and they rattle with the sounds of the pounding waves of an ideologicla liberation movement. Please recall the situation of 10,000 horses standing mute in China's ideological and theoretical circles before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Many articles included in this collection bathed in the spring wind of the Third Plenary Session's emancipation of our thinking; what a thunderous ear-piercing role they played at the time!

Particularly noteworthy are those articles in the collection on adherence to the four basic principles. It is not difficult for anyone who is sharp enough to observe the current situation to see that, in the present political, economic, cultural and ideological realms, a series of manifestations indicate that we have already entered a very great and important era in China's modern history. The roar of the tides of change continues to hurl at the door of our era. Almost in no realm can we fail to see the looming buds of new things which are strenuously breaking through the hard crust of the earth, or to see the new trends' impact on, and challenge to, the old things. But precisely at this time of change and turn, apart from the main current of the movement which actively follows the inevitable path of history, certain subversive ramifications also appeared. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, one trend often covered up another trend. While the trend of "whateverism" in insisting on "being faithful to every word and every sentence" was subjected to criticism, there also appeared at the same time the erroneous trend of wavering regarding the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and becoming skeptical about the "four adherences." What was valuable was that precisely when this kind of trend raised its head, Comrade Li Honglin immediately wrote articles on resolutely maintaining the "four adherences" that also explained what kind of "four adherences" we should maintain, and thereby consciously resisted erroneous trends from both the left and the right. When we look back at the political trends of the past few years, we can see that certain people who have not drawn a clear demarcation with leftist trends in their thinking always attempt to put the "four adherences" in opposition to the principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Actually, there is no contradiction between the "four adherences" and the principles of the Third Plenary Session; only by adhering to the four basic principles can we better criticize the sham Marxism, the sham socialism and feudal, fascist autocracy of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." And in the several articles included in this collection, Comrade Li Honglin has made profound analyses as to what kind of "four adherences" we should really maintain.

In the article "To What Kind of Party Leadership Do We Adhere," the author points out: The question of party leadership arises from history and must be solved in history. "There is no absolute authority in the world; nor is there natural leadership in the world. Any leadership comes from struggle and practice and must continue to be tested in practice." "On this land of China, there have been diverse political forces competing with one another during the past hundred years and more. They either served as leaders or tried very hard to become leaders. As shown in practice, only the Communist Party could lead the Chinese people to emerge from suffering." The Chinese Communist Party secured the support of the masses of the people and became the leader only by relying--as it could only rely--on its own correct program and line and acting through the heroic struggle and exemplary conduct of the vast ranks of the party members and cadres. Discourses such as these contain a very profound historical perception--that is, the people always choose, recognize and test their own leaders through historical practice. It was precisely through many years of practice that the Chinese people came full to perceive that only the Communist Party could save China. Hence, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is not subject to skepticism. On the other hand, proceeding from this understanding, precisely because we really adhere to party leadership, so we must continue to improve party leadership. The article also offers succinct discussions on such points as that we need to strengthen the party's political leadership and not administrative leadership, that we adhere to collective leadership and not individual leadership, etc.

In "To What Kind of Socialism Do We Adhere," the author even more profoundly points out that while various kinds of "socialism" have existed in the world, ranging from Hitler's state socialism to the feudal, fascist socialism of Lin Biao and "gang of four," the socialism we adhere to is not all those socialisms but can only be the scientific socialism of Marx. And we can really adhere to this scientific socialism only by exposing and struggling against sham socialisms that display the signboard of "socialism." These views are all dialectical and profound. But certain people who have been anguished by the movement to emancipate our thinking during the past few years may blame this collection of articles as a heretical work that serves to confuse people's thinking. This does not matter very much, because the truth of a view, an idea or a cultural trend is not determined by whether or not a certain kind of people or certain people agree with it; it is ultimately tested in practice and through historical development. Actually, in order to understand the profound and far-reaching significance of this ideological liberation movement in modern Chinese history, it is not enough just to look at current realities; we must look back at the whole modern history.

When the British knocked open the obstructive and seclusive door of ancient China with their cannons in the 19th century, China immediately entered into a historical movement oriented toward awakening the nation and strengthening it by making relevant changes. It has not stopped even to this day. The task and the goal has always been one--that is, to change China's backward state in relation to the advanced world in the economic, political, cultural and military aspects, and build a prosperous, civilized and advanced New China. For the sake of finding a path of modernization, for the sake of casting off the humiliating and miserable national status into which the country had fallen because of backwardness, countless advanced Chinese ranging from Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen, to Lu Xun and Mao Zedong bared their guts and shed their blood; in countless, undaunted sacrifices and struggles for over 100 years, the Chinese people walked along a path paved by blood and fire. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 declared to the whole world that the Chinese people have now stood up. We have really achieved a very great victory. We have driven away the imperialists. We have realized something unprecedented in Chinese history: the unity of 1 billion people and more than 100 nationalities. We have established the new economic and political system, socialism. We have swept away many backward and abnormal feudal, colonial, old cultural forms and raised the embers of a new socialist culture. All these victories have laid a broad and deep foundation for the revival of the Chinese nation. These conspicuous achievements cannot be denied even by our enemies. But these victories also created historical illusions for some people, whereby the point of departure came to be regarded as the destination. China became once more regarded as the "center of revolution" around which the whole world revolved--the "central state." The victories achieved were inappropriately exaggerated, but the formidable exertion that still had to be made in order to really march toward state prosperity and national revival was overlooked. The peaks of such historical mistakes were the "great leap forward" and the "great cultural revolution," which were once taken as unprecedented historical beginnings. But history is not sentimental. The violation of dialectics cannot but be punished. When all empty talk dissipated like ephemeral clouds, when the Chinese people opened their eyes to look at the world for the second time in modern history, we finally painfully discovered that we were backward. We really wasted so much time, wealth, energy, and also people in fantasy, superstition, and wanton exaggeration. Why would we fall into such serious, historical blunders? Where did we slip?

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the launching of the discussion on the criterion for testing truth, the ideological taboo areas inhibited for many years were broken through one after another; ideological and theoretical circles began to thrive exuberantly, the spring tide began to surge forward vigorously, there appeared a scene of liveliness not witnessed for a long time. This was what people have called the ideological liberation movement. Supporters have been pleased and encouraged. Opponents have been worried and disheartened. But the reason why this movement has been so full of vitality is because it is different from any other movement since liberation; it was not artificially started. On the contrary, this historical movement originated from a series of fundamental questions faced by our nation, and it was in search of the answers and solutions to these questions that it rose to the occasion. This movement is not going to last just for a day, or for a few months or a few years. It is going to extend to several decades and affect several generations. In essence, this movement is irresistible, because it reflects history's inevitable needs. If it encounters obstacles, it will merely become an undercurrent, but it will definitely not be stopped. Looking at China's modern history, we see that several great ideological liberation movements took place in the past 100 years, and all of them achieved great results. One took place around the time of the 1898 reform. The orthodox classics of Confucius and Mencius were then subject to skepticism by reformers for the first time, whereas "Western learning" or new learning was introduced to China. People's historical vision was widened. The Chinese realized for the first time that a social system without emperor--that is, a "ruler-father," was possible. The upshot of this ideological liberation movement was that the 1911 revolution overthrew the emperor. Another was around the time of the 4 May movement. Heroic ideological revolutionary pioneers like Lu Xun, Chang Duxu, and Li Dazhao toppled the old castle of a 2,000-year feudal culture with an overpowering offensive, and thereby laid the foundation for modern China's new science and new culture. Thereafter followed the spread of Marxism in China and the establishment of the Communist Party. The new tide of ideological liberation thus surged forward fiercely with an irresistible momentum. The triumph of New Democracy and the founding of New China in 1949 were both great achievements of that ideological liberation movement. We can learn about the present by looking at the past. If we can say that without the ideological liberation since the 4 May movement there could not have been the modern New China, and without the renaissance and the enlightenment movement there would not have been the modern European and American world, then we can also make such a comparison: that this new ideological liberation movement, which began with the "5 April" movement of 1976, was affirmed by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and will continue for several decades on a tortuous road, is bound to lay a grand new intellectual, cultural, and ideological foundation for a modern socialist New China economically, politically and culturally in the world's foremost ranks with an advanced democracy and an advanced civilization.

III.

Historically speaking, China's intrinsic culture had a universally known traditional inertia. Therefore, all China's reforms have been very difficult undertakings, and almost every step forward required struggle. This collection of articles "Science and Superstition" also reflects from the sideline such struggle on the ideological and theoretical front during the past 3 or 4 years.

The last article in this collection is an "old story in a new edition" with profound implications. It is entitled "Who Really Understood the Divine Farmer." This story tells the tale of how Li Shizhen had a label attached to him by the emperor's imperial hospital and was almost beaten with a stick because he revised the "Divine Farmer's Herb Medicine Classic" of ancestral days. But what is even more interesting is that, as the author tells us, after the story was published, immediately someone wrote to the newspaper office to express the wish to grab a bunch of poisonous weeds, and, among others, his list included precisely "Who Really Understood the Divine Farmer"--this may be really said to be a case of "current expose, current retribution!"

Actually, according to the poisonous weeds categorizing standards of the "gang of four" or the two "whateverists," there should have been far more than one article in this collection which could be designated as a "poisonous weed." Therefore, I recommend that when the reader reads this collection, he should not overlook the "appendixes" at the end of many articles. Certain perceptions revealed in those appendixes are very funny; sometimes one can hardly keep from laughing. Even a view which now seems very ordinary would cause much skepticism and blame at the time. We need not blame other people's reproach, of course; what is needed is that from this we can understand what a formidable task it always is to return to order from disorder on ideological and theoretical questions!

We are situated right now at a very important period of development in China's modern history. The Central Work Conference convened not long ago decided on the principles of further readjustment in our economy and further political stability. In order to overcome the many difficulties we face and in order to solve the many important questions history has put to us, it is necessary to carry out renewed learning and study of Marxist theories. Correct theories are the scientific basis for formulating lines. Historically speaking, because of a lack of theoretical preparedness, our party has gotten the worst of it both in the stage of the democratic revolution or in the stage of socialist construction. In this process of renewed learning, it is probably beneficial to read this collection "Science and Superstition" by Comrade Li Honglin, and to look back at the ideological liberation movement during the past 3 years, for the sake of absorbing historical experience and to avoid following the same fallen historical path.

16 February 1981

("Science and Superstition," by Li Honglin, Tianjin People's Publishing House, September 1980, first edition, 0.74 yuan)

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LIFE OF FIRST ENVOY TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES RECOUNTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul p 5

[Article by Wang Sizhi [3769 1835 3112]: "Zhnag Qian [1728 7505] Blazes a Trail to the West"]

[Text] Zhang Qian, an outstanding diplomat of ancient China, was the first to blaze a trail to the regions west of China. Both Sima Qian [0674 7456 6692] and Ban Gu [3803 0942] praised Zhang Qian, saying: His mission was to "hack a way out of an impasse," meaning that the road to the regions west of China cleared by Zhang Qian for the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty to establish relations with countries there was full of treacherous hazards and dangers.

The term "regions west of China" was first mentioned by people of the Western Han Dynasty. It mainly referred to China's Xinjiang region, central and western Asia and northeast Africa. At that time, the Huns, one of China's minority nationalities, grew so strong that they were able to control a large portion of Xinjiang and to constantly challenge the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty in the Central Plains.

In 140 B.C., Liu Che ascended to the throne, proclaiming himself Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. Following six or seven decades of rejuvenation and development of socioeconomic programs, the power wielded by the Kingdom of the Western Han Dynasty grew incredibly strong. It was determined to remove the long-existing threat to the Central Plains posed by the Huns. Shortly after Emperor Wu learned from defectors from the Huns inhabitants of the state of Dayueshi (or Darouzhi), originally living along today's corridor west of the Yellow River, quit the area and fled westward after suffering defeat at the hands of the Huns, his government decided to contact the state of Dayeushi for a possible alliance in the struggle against the Huns. At the same time, it was also determined to open a caravan route to the regions west of China in order to establish trade relations with countries near and beyond its borders and to meet the needs for the development of socioeconomic programs in the Kingdom of the Western Han Dynasty. It was under such circumstances that a decision was made to send envoys to the regions west of China. Since the route to the regions west of China had to pass through areas controlled by the Huns and was full of danger, the government of the Han Dynasty had to "recruit people really capable of doing this job." In the end, a man named Zhang Qian, a native of Hanzhong, came forward and applied for the job.

In the third year of the Jianyuan reign (138 B.C.), Zhang Qian was named an envoy of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty and head of a more than 100-man delegation to the regions west of China with the mission of establishing contact with the state of Dayeushi. However, no sooner had he set foot into Longxi than he was he captured by the Huns and held captive for the next 10 years. But during this period of captivity, he "never gave up his title as the envoy of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty under duress" and never deserted his own country. When days ran into months and months ran into years, his captors gradually relaxed their watch and security measures, thus enabling him and his followers to escape and continue their journey westward until they arrived in the state of Dayueshi. After scaling the Congling Mountain Range, they arrived in Dawan (part of today's Soviet territory which was under the jurisdiction of the Western Regional Garrison Authority of the Western Han Dynasty). The king of Dawan knew of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty as an affluent nation of long ago but he knew of "no way to establish relations with it." When he saw Zhang Qian, he was delighted and later sent guards and interpretors to accompany him to Kangju (today's Tashkent in the USSR). The king of Kangju also sent guards to accompany Zhang Qian to the state of Dayueshi (on the upper stream of the Amu River in the northern part of today's Afghanstan). The Kingdom of Dayueshi had been relocated along the Gui River (today's Amu River) after defeating the state of Daxia (northern part of today's Afghanstan), which, according to the "Book of Han, Chapter: Autobiography of Zhang Qian," was more than 11,000 li away from the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty. Knowing that the two kingdoms were too far apart, the king of Dayueshi lost interest in taking revenge on the Huns. After more than 1 year's stay in Dayueshi, Zhang Qian left for Daxia. Because his mission to establish an alliance with the state of Dayueshi proved unfruitful, he decided to return to his motherland. Whi While on his way home, he was recaptured by the Huns. A year later, a civil war broke out among the Huns, thus enabling Zhang Qian to escape and return home, after spending more than 13 years abroad. When he left, he was accompanied by more than 100 persons. But on the day of his return, his entourage was reduced to one man. During the trip out and back, he and his followers encountered countless dangers. Occasionally they had to shoot beasts and birds for food. After returning to Changan, Zhang Qian submitted a report to Emperor Wu on his trip, saying: "I personally visited Dawan, Dayueshi, Daxia, and Kangju, and while there I was told that there are five or six countries adjacent to their borders," which included Wusun (southeast of Lake Balkhash, which was under the jurisdiction of the Western Regional Garrison Authority of the Han Dynasty), Yancai (at the northeastern tip of the Caspian Sea), Tiaozhi (today's Arabian Peninsula), and Anxi (Persia or today's Iran). He also discussed in his report the cultures, customs, products, economies and political and economic situations in the countries he visited. Zhang Qian's report was included in the "Historical Records, Chapter: An Account of Dawan." Particularly noteworthy is this statement by Zhang Qian: "When I was in Daxia, I saw bamboo sticks and clothes from Sichuan. I asked people there: How did you get such things? The people in the state of Daxia said: Our businessmen got them from India." This shows that at that time, commodities produced in Sichuan were exported to countries as far away as India and Afghanstan. This was another caravan route from China to Central Asia during the Western Han Dynasty. In their reports on China, scholars in ancient Greece and Rome also mentioned the Chinese business trade in silk which was exported to Italy's Rome through India.

After Zhang Qian reported to Emperor Wu that he saw clothes from Sichuan in Daxia, his majesty tried to open a caravan route from southwest China to Daxia via India, but was unsuccessful. Therefore, he had to send Zhang Qian to the regions west of China for a second time. By then, the situation there had undergone radical changes. The state of Wusun, originally an appendage of the Huns, gradually grew strong and defeated the state of Dayueshi, whose inhabitants were forced to flee farther to the west. After taking over the domain along the Ili River from Dayueshi, the state of Wusun "refused to pay further tribute to the Huns." As a result, a confrontation between Wusun and the Huns developed. Later, the Huns launched a series of offensives against the state of Wusun. On the basis of this changing situation, Zhang Qian came up with a farsighted foreign affairs proposal. Its key points called for "bribing Wusun with hard cash," establishing fraternal relations between the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty and the state of Wusun, selecting a princess to wed the crown prince of Wusun, and welcoming the people of Wusun to return to their original abode between the Qilian Mountains and Dunhuang in order to "cut an arm off the Huns." Another objective of an alliance with the state of Wusun was to "make all countries west of the state of Daxia vassal states of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty." Emperor Wu adopted this proposal, naming Zhang Qian a general and chief envoy to the regions west of China. Accompanying him were many accredited envoys "who could be sent to other neighboring nations" as he saw fit. The huge delegation led by Zhang Qian consisted of more than 300 diplomats, each accompanied by two horses, large herds of cattle and sheep and carrying gold coins and silk valued at "hundreds of thousands of yuan" as gifts for entering into an alliance with the state of Wusun and other countries. After arriving in Wusun, Zhang Qian sent "envoys to Dawan, Kangju, Dayueshi, Daxia, Anxi, India, Yutian, Yushen and other neighboring countries" with the aim of widely establishing relations with central and western Asia and northeast Africa. But the unstable situation in the state of Wusun made its king hesitate to make any special commitment to Zhang Qian. After more than 1 year abroad, Zhang Qian returned home. Accompanying him on his homeward trip were scores of envoys sent by the state of Wusun whose visit to this vast Kingdom of the Han Dynasty resulted in a relationship in which the "people of Wusun paid greater tribute to the Han Dynasty." Zhang Qian died shortly after returning to Changan. Later, envoys he sent to other countries also accompanied envoys of their respective host countries to Changan one after another, thus "enabling the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty to establish direct communication with countries northwest of China."

Historical records describe Zhang Qian as "a man of stamina, magnanimity, and trustworthiness loved by barbarians," a contemptuous term Zhang Qian hated to use. Thus, Zhang Qian's formidable fortitude and indomitable spirit were assets which helped him fulfill all assignments irrespective of dangers and difficulties. He was also known for his unassuming personality and for being approachable to people, a personality which enabled him to win the trust of the countries west of China through mutual contact. From then on, "all envoys who followed in his footsteps to the regions west of China were called Duke Bowan (an honor awarded to Zhang Qian posthumously) so that they could win the trust of other countries as Zhang Qian did." In the days following, the government of the Han Dynasty continued to send envoys on the trail blazed by Zhang Qian, whose number ranged from "hundreds to at least a hundred" each year. These huge diplomatic delegations were accompanied by large herds of cattle and sheep and large quantities of silk just as they were in Zhang Qian's time. They were called diplomatic delegations as well as caravans of traders "who must carry a lot of commodities for sale for income to meet their daily demands."

At that time, "the number of envoys sent out each year ranged from a dozen to five or six. Their tour of duty varied from 9 years for those who were stationed in remote countries to a few years for those who worked in countries near China. "Foreign envoys to the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty also changed frequently." Such exchanges of diplomatic delegations were instrumental in strengthening the political and economic relations between Xinjiang and the Central Plains. The road to the west traversed by Zhang Qian subsequently opened up the famous "silk route." Meanwhile, the regions west of China exported thoroughbred horses, grapes, clover and other agricultural products to the Central Plains to enrich the cultural and economic life of people in the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION IN YUNNAN REPORTED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 81 pp 1-2

[Report by Jiang Quan [3068 3123], chief of the Department of Education of Yunnan Province: "Extract of a Report on the Conditions of Primary and Secondary School Education, Education for Minority Nationalities and Sparetime Education Throughout the Province and on Views Concerning the Future (Deliberated and Approved by the Standing Committee of the Eighth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress)"]

[Text] Members of the Standing Committee:

On behalf of the provincial people's government, I am submitting a report on the conditions of the educational system in our province and on views concerning the future for consideration by the Standing Committee of the provincial People's Congress.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the situation on the educational front in our province, like that of other fronts, has definitely improved, and progress has been made year by year. Its chief manifestations are as follows:

1. The basis and position of the educational system in our province have achieved further development. Despite a number of complications during the 31 years since the founding of the state, and particularly the serious destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the educational system has developed extensively in our province. Colleges, secondary and primary schools have taken shape and a rudimentary system has been formed. Fostering a large group of constructive talents and a large laboring reserve army with a definite cultural level as well as creating a new generation of intellectuals have played a positive role in raising the scientific and cultural level of the people in our province. A contingent of qualified teachers for the educational system who are loyal to the party has been created.

2. Guided by the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the educational front has brought down the "two appraisals," determined that the educational line during the 17 years preceding the "great cultural revolution" was correct, ascertained that the absolute majority of intellectuals are part of the working class and a supportive force of the party, and made clear that it is necessary to rely on teachers in running schools. Following the shift in emphasis of the work of the whole party, the emphasis of the task of the schools gradually shifted to a course centering on teaching to foster the talents of those who are both red and expert for the construction of the four modernizations. This is an important historical turn from disorder to order on the educational front.

3. The position and role of education in the construction of the four modernizations increasingly receiving the attention of the whole party and various levels of the people's government. Since the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee, investment in education in our province has shown a definite increase every year. The province and some prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties even take out part of their funds from local financial reserves and various subsidies allotted by the central government to develop the educational system.

4. The internal readjustment of the educational system has obtained great results. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, an increasing number of comrades have come to understand the imbalance of proportions and the phenomenon of false swelling created by the unrealistic development of the educational system under the influence of "leftist" mentality. They have therefore done a great deal of work to reform the structure of secondary school education in implementation of the readjustment policy.

However, because of the influence of leftist mentality, particularly the destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the educational system was seriously damaged. Although great progress has been made after several years of recovery and readjustment, the problems remain numerous. At present, the prominent ones are: 1) Due to inadequate arrangement of investment in education for many years, accounts were outstanding every year in the operation of the schools. Moreover, unrealistic development and serious shortage of school buildings of all types and at all levels made conditions in the operation of the schools poor and these conditions are still in evidence. 2) The professional level of a good many of the teachers is not suitable to the demands of teaching. Because of the 10 years of disorder, the educational system was on the brink of collapse. Schools of all types and levels did not have many qualified graduates to replenish the contingent of teachers. As the schools also developed unrealistically, teachers appointed by the local people sharply increased in number, resulting in the fact that among the present contingent of teachers a good many have a professional level that is not suitable to the demands of teaching. The shortage of academic leaders and teachers who do solid work at institutions of higher learning is relatively serious. 3) The structure of secondary school education is unitary and the imbalance of proportions is still very serious. Because of the long-term influence of the "leftist" mentality, the development of the educational system has only been concerned with necessity and not possibility, quantity and not quality. The relationships of vertical and horizontal proportions of various types and levels of schools are in serious imbalance. Their structure is unitary and this causes the serious phenomenon of "false swelling" in the educational system. It will require a lot more effort to resolve this.

In view of these circumstances, the educational work in our province must follow the significant guiding principle put forth by the work conference of the party Central Committee to further realize economic readjustment and political stability, continue to remove the influence of leftist mentality, further implement the eight character policy centering around readjustment, continue to readjust the proportional relationship between economic and educational construction, and gradually increase the investment in economic construction. The educational system must uphold the principles of being practical and realistic, doing what one is capable of, proceeding in an orderly way and step by step, and taking care to achieve practical results. We must correctly handle the relationship between necessity and possibility, quantity and quality, general and key points, being advanced and backward, and develop education in a planned and proportionate way.

I. Concerning Primary and Secondary School Education

1. Strengthen the foundation and gradually popularize primary school education by stages and in groups. Primary school education is the foundation of education as a whole. Premier Zhou pointed out that we must deal with it as a major policy. Last December the party Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education." Our province should basically strive to popularize primary school education in the 1980's. In view of the great diversity of economic conditions and cultural foundation of various areas in our province, as well as the imbalance of conditions in the development of primary school education in recent years, we must have planning by areas in a realistic and practical way, give guidance to different areas with different demands and carry out the task of popularizing primary school education through planning, by stages and in groups. All areas must popularize primary school education according to plan and comprehensively consider the suitability of locations and forms of operating the schools. We must conform to reality, suit measures to local conditions; we cannot "simplify in one stroke" or "assume only one shape." The reform of the primary school system must proceed from reality through planning and leadership, and we must guard against irrational acts to avoid causing new "false swellings."

2. Secondary school education must be structurally reformed. 1) We must continue to control the development of ordinary senior secondary schools and readjust and consolidate junior secondary schools. While continuing to condense primary schools that provide junior secondary school classes, we should make appropriate readjustment of the geographic distribution of secondary schools. 2) We must positively develop professional and technical education, and in doing so we should adopt a diversity of forms. We can offer professional courses in ordinary senior secondary schools. Cities with a relatively large number of ordinary senior secondary schools can independently operate professional secondary schools or select appropriate ordinary secondary schools to operate as such. 3) We must be earnest about operating secondary vocational schools well. At present, we must emphasize doing a good job of readjusting, reinforcing, consolidating and improving existing schools. All concerned bureaus must strengthen their leadership, conscientiously resolve existing problems in operating schools, earnestly operate older schools well and insure that new schools gradually reach the predetermined level. 4) We must positively operate agricultural secondary schools. This is one of the important ways to foster junior agricultural technical talent for the rural areas. Every county should operate one school and gradually popularize it after gaining some experience. 5) We must do a good job of operating key schools. For the 24 key secondary schools, the 4 key secondary vocational schools and the 2 key teacher-training schools already determined in the province, the educational administrative departments must closely coordinate with the prefectures and units concerned, conscientiously strengthen the leadership, be earnest about operating them well, and truly give play to their exemplary role.

3. To develop primary and secondary school education, it is necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all sides and implement the principle of "walking on two legs." In popularizing primary education, it is clearly impossible to rely solely on the state to take care of everything; the principle of "walking on two legs" must be upheld in operating schools. For this, it is necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all sides including production brigades and collectives, factories and mining enterprises. Moreover, we must encourage the masses to raise their own funds to run schools. We must widely popularize and implement the party Central Committee's and the State

Council's "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education." It must be clear that "the operation of schools by rural production brigades should not be viewed as 'egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources' or an unreasonable responsibility" and that "the repair of school buildings and purchase of desks and chairs for rural primary schools should generally be the major responsibility of the production brigades but subsidized by the state, depending on the circumstances." We must fully mobilize the enthusiasm of production brigades for operating schools, improve the conditions in their operation and develop the educational system. The factories and mining enterprises which have operated schools have constituted an extremely important frontline army in developing the educational system in the past. Factories and mining enterprises and their leading departments in charge, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the party Central Committee and the State Council, must list problems in the operation of schools on their daily agenda and study them regularly, the leadership must provide a shared special administration, set up educational administrative organs to strengthen the school administration, promptly solve the practical problems in operating the schools and conscientiously do a good job.

4. A contingent of qualified teachers must be built up. Doing a good job in the training of qualified teachers is both an urgent task and a long-term necessity. At present, particular attention must be given to the following: 1) The training of teachers must persevere in the direction of being both red and expert. We must continue to implement the party's policy regarding intellectuals, enhance the social status of teachers, improve their living conditions and mobilize their enthusiasm. All levels of educational administrative departments and school leaders must strengthen the ideological and political work of the teachers, conscientiously uphold the four basic principles, establish the attitude of serving the people wholeheartedly, and be loyal to the party's educational system. 2) We must further raise the professional level of teachers and strengthen their in-service training. First we should train and enhance those teachers who are not well-qualified now but may have prospects after training so that the annual growth rate of the contingent of qualified teachers will gradually increase. We must strengthen and reinforce the structure of teaching and research in the prefectures and counties of the province, and earnestly develop activities in research and teaching. We must combine the work of training teachers and research activities in teaching and raise the professional level of teachers by various means and by adopting a diversity of forms. 3) We must earnestly operate secondary and higher teacher-training schools and institutions and supply qualified teachers to primary and secondary schools. 4) After various systems of job responsibility in production were implemented in the rural areas, contingents of teachers appointed by the local people wandered around because payment and grain ration were not provided. We must resolutely implement the various provisions of the report transmitted to the provincial department of education by the provincial government last year.

5. There must be all-round implementation of the party's educational policy, and the problems in strengthening the ideological and political work of primary and secondary school students must be confronted. Primary and secondary schools are an important front for fostering and educating youths. Strengthening the ideological and moral education of primary and secondary school students is an extremely urgent task at present. All levels of education departments and schools must further correct the ideology in education, implement the educational policy of developing students in an all-round way--morally, intellectually and physically; persevere in the direction of being both red and expert; persevere in fostering all the students; overcome and

correct the tendency to foster only a minority while ignoring the majority of students as well as the tendency to emphasize only intellectual development and cultural knowledge and studies while ignoring moral and physical development. We must educate the students in the four basic principles so that they will have rudimentary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, lofty ideals, noble sentiments, and a correct outlook on life, so that they will be determined to be a new generation with ideals, morality, knowledge and sound bodies.

II. Concerning the Education of Minority Nationalities

The education of minority nationalities has a particularly important place in our province. It is of strategic significance to earnestly strengthen national unity, reinforce frontier defense and construct the four modernizations. To help minority nationalities, the means that will do most for them in the long run is helping them to develop their educational system and foster their talent. If we deviate from educating the minority nationalities we cannot talk about popularizing education in our province. In the past 31 years there has been great development in the system of educating minority nationalities in our province. We have fostered a large group of cadres of minority nationalities and all kinds of constructive talent, and we have initially built a contingent of teachers of minority nationalities loyal to the party's educational undertaking.

However, in these 31 years the educational system of the minority nationalities in our province has experienced many complications, of which the destruction of the entire education of minority nationalities created by the 10 years of disaster is the most serious. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee, under the guidance of the correct political and ideological lines, the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government has further strengthened the leadership for the education of minority nationalities and adopted a series of effective measures, such as doing the utmost in educational funding. For many years funding for the eight autonomous prefectures of minority nationalities has been over 40 percent of that for ordinary education in the whole province, exceeding the funding level of prefectures in general. Starting in 1975 eight teacher-training schools for minority nationalities have been revived and set up in eight prefectures and autonomous prefectures at a total basic construction investment of over 3 million yuan. After an assessment was made, teachers appointed by the local people in 35 border counties were turned into public teachers to the extent possible (some of them also made the change in extremely cold and poor mountainous areas inland). Appropriate arrangements were made for those who could not make the change. In 2 years, 1979 and 1980, over 20,400 people made the change. Last year the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government decided that an annual amount of 5.5 million yuan would be transferred from local finances at the provincial level to operate 19 secondary and 21 primary boarding schools for minority nationalities. They are now actively under construction and are striving for student recruitment this fall. Last year the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government decided to expand the institutes of minority nationalities. By 1985 the number of undergraduate, preparatory and cadre-training students will reach 3,000. In recruiting students for colleges and secondary vocational schools, during the last several years there has been a continuous improvement in the ways to care for the students so that the proportion of students of minority nationalities in the total enrollment continues to increase. Last year Yunnan University, the Kunming

Engineering College, the Kunming Teacher Training College and the Yunnan Chinese Medical College offered four classes for minority nationalities and recruited students from nationalities along the borders. Five secondary vocational schools also operated such classes and recruited students of minority nationalities. For the last 2 years, in accordance with the will of various minority nationalities, the written languages of the Detai, Xitai, Jingpo, Lisu, Lahu, Wa and Zang nationalities have been taught in the concerned prefectures and are listed in the teaching program for primary schools. Various concerned prefectures have already organized the translation and editing of teaching materials for the written languages of nationalities and these will be published and distributed by the provincial publishing house of minority nationalities.

In short, since the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee the most basic changes in the educational work among minority nationalities in our province have been a greater understanding of the damage inflicted on the educational system of minority nationalities by the mistakes of the "left" as well as having corrected the ideological line. However, some problems still exist in the education of minority nationalities which must be stressed and resolved. In accordance with the spirit of the recently convened work conference on the education of minority nationalities as well as the experience and lessons of the last 30 years, we must treat the major policy of carrying out further economic readjustment and political stability put forth by the work conference of the party Central Committee as the central guiding ideology in dealing with the educational work of minority nationalities in our province. We must earnestly implement the party's policy on minority nationalities, continue to remove the influence of "leftist" mentality, and conscientiously respect and fully safeguard the right to national equality and autonomy of minority nationalities in cultural education. In the future the development of education for minority nationalities in our province requires that we stress doing well in the following tasks:

1. To strengthen the education of minority nationalities, it is most important to conscientiously pay close attention to primary and secondary school education in accordance with the different conditions of the minority nationalities. In particular, we must pay close attention to the foundation of primary school education in a down-to-earth manner. It is necessary to implement the party Central Committee's and the State Council's "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education" in earnest, pay close attention to treating the popularization of primary school education in prefectures of minority nationalities as a strategic task. All prefectures and autonomous prefectures should formulate feasible plans according to their real conditions and implement them step by step. At present each county must appropriately concentrate its manpower, material and financial resources to operate one or two primary schools for minority nationalities. Each commune should operate a central and perfect primary school, strive to increase the quality of teaching and foster a group of graduates who pass the mark.

2. We must continue to adopt special measures to foster the talents of minority nationalities. The basic way to resolve this problem is to increase the quality of teaching at the primary and secondary schools in prefectures of minority nationalities. In order to do this, for a long time we should give emphasis to doing a good job of operating the 40 primary and secondary schools for minority nationalities funded by the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government as well as the group of primary and secondary boarding schools for minority nationalities locally funded by some prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties. Along with recruiting

students to schools of higher education, classes for minority nationalities should be set up at these schools and the practice should be continued of differentiating candidates from different prefectures and nationalities as well as giving them preferential admittance and admittance at lower passing marks under conditions equivalent to those of candidates of Han nationality. Those classes which have already started should be earnestly run well. Other institutions of higher education directly under the province must also actively create the conditions to set up higher education classes for minority nationalities. The industrial, agricultural, medical and financial secondary vocational schools of the eight autonomous and border prefectures of minority nationalities should actively create the conditions for setting up classes for minority nationalities, lower the admittance passing mark and recruit students of minority nationalities which are relatively backward economically and culturally.

3. We must strive to do well in teacher-training education among minority nationalities and strengthen the building of a contingent of qualified teachers. There are few teachers of minority nationalities among primary and secondary school teachers, which is not suitable for the development of education of minority nationalities. We must actively foster indigenous teachers of minority nationalities. All prefectures and autonomous prefectures must strive to do a good job of operating the eight teacher-training schools for minority nationalities. Their training should center around recruiting students of minority nationalities, and teachers from nationalities in the locale should be fostered as much as possible. After graduation they should return to teach in their own prefectures. Training schools set up by the various autonomous prefectures and counties for minority nationalities must earnestly pay attention to the training of in-service teachers of minority nationalities.

4. We must further restore and strengthen the teaching of the language of minority nationalities and build up the written teaching materials. This is an important manifestation of the realization of cultural equality among the nationalities and an important manifestation of the implementation of the party's policy on minority nationalities in the realm of education. We must be resolute in overcoming the various errors and tendencies in treating the problems in teaching the languages of minority nationalities. At present, all concerned departments must make a concerted effort and strengthen the leadership for the translation, editing and publishing of written teaching materials. Concerned prefectures and autonomous prefectures must speedily gather together translation and editing staff workers, do a good job in their work, and improve the quality of translating and editing teaching materials.

5. In the autonomous areas of the minority nationalities, we must safeguard their right to autonomy in the educational system. In the future in the autonomous areas and regions of minority nationalities, we must respect their right to autonomy in education in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and the law. The development of the educational system of minority nationalities under the guidance of the unified educational policy and principles of the state and province, such as the planning for popularizing primary school education, the system of school administration, the forms of operating the schools, the teaching materials, the school system, the appointment and recruitment of teachers, and the management and use of funds, should all be determined by the autonomous prefectures and counties in accordance with actual conditions.

6. We must give full play to the benefits of educational funds and, wherever possible, squeeze out a little more money to develop the educational system of minority nationalities. In view of the temporary difficulties of the national economy and the backwardness in the education of minority nationalities, we believe that educational funds normally distributed to the autonomous prefectures and counties by the state for the educational system must be safeguarded and cannot be seized by any one or any unit. At the same time, a considerable portion of the various subsidies from the party Central Committee and the State Council should be used in support of the development of the educational system of minority nationalities. Furthermore, the provincial Department of Education should set up a bureau for the education of minority nationalities. All concerned prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties should set up corresponding administrative organs and conscientiously administer the education of minority nationalities.

III. Concerning Sparetime Education of Workers and Peasants

Sparetime education for workers and peasants was devastated during the period of the "cultural revolution" and did not recover and develop until after the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly in the last 2 years. The work to eliminate illiteracy has been extensively launched in the rural areas. According to incomplete statistics, over 6,000 literacy classes are in operation in the entire province with an enrollment over 150,000. It is estimated that by this winter and next spring, tens of thousands of production brigade cadres at the grass-roots level as well as youths will no longer be illiterate. In cities and towns, various sparetime cultural, primary and secondary sparetime technical training classes are being held and evening colleges, correspondence colleges and television colleges are being set up. They are welcomed by the broad masses of rural youth, staff workers on the job and youths looking for employment. They have played a positive role in promoting greater economic readjustment and safeguarding greater political stability. The desire of youths to seek knowledge is extremely strong at present, and they urgently demand the growth of sparetime education. For some time in the future, the task of sparetime education for workers and peasants will be to strive for the elimination of illiteracy in youths among workers and peasants; positively develop various cultural, professional and technical tutorial schools; appropriately operate higher and secondary vocational education; and raise the cultural, scientific and technical levels of the broad masses of peasants and staff workers on the job. We must pay close attention to emphasizing the elimination of illiteracy and actively develop the cultural and technical education of the peasants; actively develop cultural and technical tutorial schools for staff workers; appropriately develop higher education for staff workers; speed up preparations and promptly establish a self-study examination system for higher education in our province.

Members of the Standing Committee, how the development of the educational system turns out is the key to the success of the four modernizations. This is also an important matter that benefits future generations. It is hoped that people from all nationalities and all sides will mobilize themselves, give emphasis, concern and support to education, jointly strive to increase the scientific and cultural levels of the Chinese nation, foster a new socialist generation, and train a large number of talented people for the construction of the four modernizations!

(The provincial people's government has already been instructed by the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress to transmit and issue department chief Jiang Quan's report for implementation.)

9586
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BAI HUA INCIDENT DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] No. 45, 1 Jul 81 p 11-13

[Article by Cai Xin [5591 2450]: "A Look at the Chinese Communist Political Situation in Light of the Bai Hua Incident"]

[Text] The Bai Hua incident which occured on the eve of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee is over. The Sixth Plenum has also concluded. Do China's literary world and the Chinese communists correctly understand the Bai Hua incident? Have they been able to learn a political lesson from the complicated affair?

Why Two Similar Turns to the "Left"

Since 1979 when the Chinese communists established the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee which called for looking forward in unity and emancipation of the mind, and which shifted the focal point of work to realizing the economic construction of the four modernizations (and no longer carry out political campaigns), they have committed two rather serious leftist mistakes. These two mistakes had a mumber of striking similarities. The only difference was that the first was not noted in timely fashion and has still not been corrected, while the second was quickly corrected.

March 1979

At the beginning of 1979, with the encouragement of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the people of the entire nation were hastening to emancipate their minds. Spontaneous debate about the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong, a question which for 30 years no one had dared to touch, had already begun. This put very real pressure on the Chinese communists. Deng Xiaoping knew very well that evaluating Mao was a sensitive and delicate matter. For this reason he once told an American reporter that the problem of evaluating Mao could not be solved by this generation, but must be given over to the following generation. But, whether we speak of society as a whole or of the party, the evaluation of Mao did not cease because of what Deng Xiaoping said. In March, at a Theory and Ideology conference in Beijing, the Chinese communists actually carried on a great debate concerning the evaluation of Mao. At that time there were three problems in society absorbing the attention of the top levels of the Chinese communist leadership: the first was that some youths were in blind pursuit of a Western lifestyle; the second was that some young women were sleeping with foreign visitors, which was harmful to "national prestige;" and the third was the intense debate about the Xidan democracy wall, with some people calling for more and greater democracy. Against this background, Deng Xiaoping made a report at the Great Hall of the People by way of summarizing the conference on theory and ideology emphasized the "Four Maintains." After that the political situation took a 180 degree turn with the advent of the Wei Jingsheng and the Zhuan Yuehua incidents. These were followed by the closing of the Xidan democracy wall and the abolition of the "Four Greats" [great contending, blooming, big character posters, and debate--the four methods of carrying out "struggle by reasoning"].

December 1980

In August of 1980 the Central Committee of the CCP opened an enlarged session of the Politburo which was followed by the third session of the Fifth People's Congress. If we say that the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was convened for the purpose of solving the problem of "emancipation of the mind," then this meeting of the Politburo can be said to have been held for the purpose of solving the problem of "system reform." And these two meetings have played similar decisive roles.

But after only three months had passed, in December of 1980, the Chinese communists held a Central Committee Work Conference at which a report emphasizing an attack on "those holding opinions different from the government" was given. The political situation again turned to the "left." Within the party, the background against which this trend to the left occured was the 4,000 man congress which had just finished discussing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the Hisotry of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," and which, it is said, had just begun to have some new developments in their discuesion of the "evaluation of Mao;" outside of the party, the background was, on the one hand, student agitation (especially their participation in local elections) and, on the other hand, the reported increase in activity of "people's publications." The direct result of this turn to the left was to uniformly and indiscriminately make all "people's publications" illegal and to carry out suppression of the relatively more ideologically active literary world, to the extent of taking a knife to Bai Hua and his work, "Bitter Love."

Intricate Political Storms

Two "Instigators" of Political Instability

These two relatively serious relapses of the Politburo both occurred within three months of the adoption of the first big reform policy and both occurred during the critical time when the "evaluation of Mao" was being carried forward. In both cases certain "negative phenomena" (or elements "harmful to stability and unity" were latched onto and written up in long articles, and in both cases the most prestigious revolutionary faction of the entire nation appeared to turn things to the "left." This is extremely surprising and puzzling.

The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee made it quite clear that there would be no more political campaigns in the future, but these two turns to the left were carried out swiftly and with great determination throughout the entire country. Furthermore, in investigating the persons and matters involved (including party members)--especially in the Bai Hua incident--from the outset they smack of "cultural revolutions" which was to be "stirred up every seven or eight years." The Chinese communists have clearly stressed the legal system, the "Three Nots" [do not recognize, support, or join any anti-revolutionary organization], and opposition to the "left," but the two turns to the left did not accord with the spirit of the law, violated the "Three Nots," and in each case the opposition was all "opposition to the 'right'." Why should this be?

Having experienced these two turns to the "left," we have discovered that the elements harmful to stability and unity came from two areas. The first was the ideological tide of anarchism rising among some youths who seek to profit from chaos; the other was the ideological tide among leading cadres who fear there will be no more political campaigns from which they can profit. Of these two ideological tides, one arises within society and one arises within the party, but the Chinese communists continue to place excessive emphasis on the former and to neglect the latter. In fact, however, the danger from the latter far exceeds that from the former.

The Bai Hua Incident and the Chinese Political Situation

A Smell of Gunpowder From The "Cultural Revolution"

The latest turn to the "left" began with certain expressed attitudes of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. Later, certain persons in Shanghai literary circles who were unhappy with the suppression exerted by Chen Yi (head of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee) reported the situation to Deng Yingchao in Beijing. Deng Yingchao referred the situation to Hu Yaobang who only then began to monitor it. It was just at this time that "Bitter Love" was made into the movie "Sun and Man" and show to the upper echelon of the military and at the Central Party School. The criticism surrounding "Bitter Love" began brewing among these two groups. At that time, most of those studying at the Central Party School were heads of propaganda departments or of cultural departments of various provinces and municipalities. They fommed strong opinions about this picture, believing it to be a poisonous weed that was anti-party and anti-socialist. They organized their opinions and reported them to the Central Committee of the party. After seeing them, Hu Yaobang offered his own remarks critical of them, the major thrust of which was: we should not lightly attack others and saddle them with labels, and if a work has flaws, then we should help to revise it, etc. The motion picture world, and even the vast majority of leading figures in literary circles (such as Zhou Yang Xia Yen, et al.) also held this view. In the military, some high ranking officers, especially several deputy chiefs of the general staff of the General Staff Department maintained a negative attitude toward this picture, as did the heads of the propaganda departments at the Party School. They sent a joint letter to Wei Guoching, the director of the Political Department of the PLA, requesting that he express support for them. A certain deputy chief of the general staff named Hu [illegible] raised the idea of openly cirticizing "Bitter Love" in the newspaper.

Even if Hu Yaobang had agreed beforehand, JIEFANG JUNBAO [LIBERATION ARMY NEWS] still launched a surprise attack, and took the lead in carrying out criticism of Bai Hua and his script, "Bitter Love." Moreover, it invoked a most startling magic weapon, the "Four Basic Principles." This was the big April 20 article, "The Four Basic Principles May Not Be Violated," which was presented in the name of a guest critic. The day before the article appeared, they secretly sent it to the Central People's Broadcast Station for broadcast, saying that it would be important news in the papers the next day. The following day at 6:30 in the morning the radio program "Summary of News and the Newspapers" broadcast it to the entire nation. Everyone heard the announcer that day speaking in the same tones as in the "Great Criticism Articles" broadcast during the "cultural revolution." It carried the same smell of gunpowder as at the start of the "cultural revolution." Because of this, it produced a very negative reaction throughout the nation.

"Two Newspapers and a Journal" and a "Yao II"

After the JIEFANG JUNBAO article came out, it met with opposition from all sides. Some persons even called the editors saying: "I hear that the writer of your guest critic article was Yao Wenyuan, is that right?" Even though PEOPLE'S DAILY received daily calls from the General Political Department of the PLA requesting that they reprint the article, it ignored them and neither reprinted the article nor expressed an opinion. Because of this, punitive censure such as that carried out by the "two newspapers and one journal" [the three chief party organs] which represented the party, the government and the military of the entire nation during the "cultural revolution" period did not materialize.

But, CONTEMPORARY REPORT, a magazine published in Beijing, rushed to stir up excitement by hurriedly putting out a supplement on April 23 containing two critical articles, "What kind of 'Movie Script' is This?" credited to the editor-in-chief, Huang Gang, and "The Truth About 'Bitter Love,' Inviting Criticism." Shanghai's WENXUE BAO [LITERARY NEWS] which is controlled by Chen Yi also "followed the situation closely," and JIEFANG JUNBAO and CONTEMPORARY REPORT coordinated their actions in the north and the south to give great play to the matter. Because of this, the masses called these the "two newspapers and one journal" and referred to the axis formed by the deeply buried guest critic, Liu Baiyu, along with Chen Yi and Huang Gang as the "triple alliance." They further referred to Huang Gang who wrote under his own name as the "Yao Wenyuan II."

The only difference between this time and the first "cultural revolution" was that this time the entire nation did not respond as clouds piling up before the wind to the "clarion call" of the "two newspapers and one journal," and the "call to arms" by "Yao II" was not prologue to a "second cultural revolution." Quite the contrary, the masses for once stood up spontaneously and resisted this "revolution." Two hundred students at Beijing University publicly demanded that Huang Gang come forth and debate the matter, but "Yao II", unlike the "Yao I", didn't dare feign "righteous airs," and so didn't dare respond to the challenge. Shanghai's WEN HUI BAO and SHANGHAI WENYI also openly resisted Chen Yi's orders and from beginning to end refused to reprint the article of the guest critic of the JIEFANG JUNBAO. In spite of this, the department heads who had studied at the Central Party School still demonstrated their true "political activist" qualities by getting more than 20 odd newspapers throughout the nation (in 20 odd provinces) to reprint the JIEFANG JUNBAO article.

A Spear Aimed at Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping

People cannot help asking: when looked at through the eyes of the left, there are many works around that are more "anti-party and anti-socialism" than "Bitter Love." So why insist on criticizing "Bitter Love?" When it is clearly a problem of the recently filmed movie, "Sun and Man," why insist on only criticizing the script of "Bitter Love," which was put out in 1979? Since the original script was the work of both Bai Hua and Peng Ning, and "Sun and Man" was directed by Peng Ning, why criticize only Bai Hua and not Peng Ning?

It is now quite clear that the matter of criticizing Bai Hua is not only Bai Hua's personal problem or a literary problem, but is also a political conspiracy. It is precisely because the script of "Bitter Love" came out in 1979 that it is criticized and "Sun and Man" is not; it is precisely because Peng Ning participated in it that they only criticize Bai Hua and not Peng Ning. Why? The reason is that Peng Ning and Hu Yaobang are personally very close, and at the time that the "Bitter Love," script was put out in 1979, Hu Yaobang was directing the work of the Central Propaganda Department. If you could bring about the downfall of "Bitter Live," then Peng Ning and "Sun and Man" could fall of their own accord; if you could bring about the downfall of "Bitter Love," then you could discrddit the literary record of 1979 (numerous "problem pieces" came out in 1979), and this would naturally involve the question of Hy Yaobang's responsibility. If Hu Yaobang had to take responsibility, the Deng Xiaoping could not escape responsibility. This then was the "ulterior motive" of those criticizing "Bitter Love." Criticizing "Bitter Love" was their "sneak attack." The criticism of Liu Xiaoqi also began as a criticism of Wu Han's "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office."

The Lesson for the Chinese Communists

Why should the Bai Hua incident occur on the eve of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee? This was another goal of the critics who hoped to exert pressure on the Sixth Plenum by means of the "campaign of criticism," and to cause the plenum to proceed in accordance with their wishes. That there should be such influences at work is not at all helpful to the Chinese communists in carrying out political and economic reforms. So just what lesson did the Chinese communists learn from the Bai Hua incident?

A Literary Beginning and a Literary End

Once the bell is tied around the tiger's neck, you still need someone to remove it. As we see it, the Bai Hua incident was brought about by a turn to the left on the part of leading figures of the reformist faction. Consequently, it was corrected by their "turn to the 'right'." On the one hand they allowed Zhou Yang, Xia Yen, Zhang Guangnian, and other giants of the literary world to come forth and directly confront the JIEFANG JUNBAO, and to use various methods (including talking to outsiders) to eliminate the evil influence of the army paper; and on the other hand they demanded the following in the name of the Central Propaganda Department: 1) in the future, everyone is to carry out criticism in their own names (that is to say that no one can use such appellations "guest critic" to intimidate people); 2) when an article is printed by a certain paper, there is no need for the others to vie with each other to reprint it, (that is to say that no one may launch a "campaign" and suggest that "public opinion is uniform"); and 3) no one can adopt methods of political campaigns or disguised political campaigns (actually referring to the army newspaper) to handle literary questions. At the same time they also allowed the literary world to give Bai Hua's work, "The Tide of Spring is In Sight," one of the new poetry awards. Hu Yaobang allowed this and strove to save the literary situation which the "triple alliance" (the "two newspapers and one journal") had disrupted.

The results of the Bai Hua incident make it completely clear that the ability of the Chinese people, both those within the country and those overseas, to distinguish truth and falsity has already improved. Their courage to speak boldly in defense of justice has already been heightened. And their thinking in opposition to the "left" has already advanced. They have coalesced into a strong force with which to be reckoned.

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MAO'S HISTORICAL ROLE IN REVOLUTION EVALUATED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Li Lun [2621 0243]: "Immortal Commendable Performances of the Great Pioneer of the Socialist Road"]

[Text] An overall accurate evaluation of our proletarian leaders with the aim of preserving the prestige of our party leaders and upholding party leadership is essential to the success of the cause of the proletarian revolution. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC"—which contains a realistic evaluation of the historical role of our great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution, a full-scale review of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party and which guides people to look forward--fully reflects the aspirations of party members, cadres and people in their millions.

Marxism holds that the emergence of a leader and reaffirmation of his historical role are not something that happens by accident but a development of a specific stage of history and a specific era. "A leading figure represents a specific class and trend as well as the specific ideology of his time. He is not motivated by trivial personal ambition but by the historical whirling currents in which he lives." (Engels) The emergence of Comrade Mao Zedong as a great leader and teacher in Chinese history and the formation and growth of Mao Zedong Thought absolutely had nothing to do with his personal ambition but were closely connected with his great contributions to the Chinese revolution and the history of the revolutionary struggles waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese communists represented by him. The history of the Chinese revolution shows that following the Opium War, the people of all nationalities in China failed to stop the aggression and plunder committed by the imperialist powers despite their heroic resistance and bloody struggles. Meanwhile, many patriotic heros and dedicated men with strong desires to save their nation also failed in their search for a doctrine of "national salvation" in every conceivable way. However, the salvo of the October Revolution marked the transmission of Marxism-Leninism to China and a new beginning for the Chinese revolution. Yet, as Lenin said, the Marxist theory "provides only general guiding principles who adaptation in England to some extent differs from that in France, in France differs from that in Germany, in Germany differs from that in Russia." It was no one but the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong who creatively adapted Marxism to the actual needs of China and who led the Chinese people to the great victory of worldwide significance so that they can stand up in the Orient with a new outlook. This is why Mao Zedong Thought has been regarded as a scientific summation of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles and crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists as well as a truth of our time. This is why the people have concluded that "without Chairman Mao, there would have been no new China." The "resolution" profoundly points out: "We should not credit all our achievements to our revolutionary leaders. Nor should we underrate their important roles. Comrade Mao Zedong occupies the most prominent position on the list of many outstanding leaders of our party." This conclusion is not only a rebuke to the idealistic worshipers of cults but also a thorough exposure of mistaken attitudes adopted by those who attempt to negate the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought. This conclusion is also instrumental in upholding historical materialism.

A party leader is symbolic of a collective which is closely connected with his personal role. Commenting on the historical role of individuals, Plek paid tribute to the tremendous role played by leaders and their great influence. In this connection, he pointed out: "Great men are people who really take initiatives, who can see farther than others, and whose minds work more energetically than others. They are willing to grapple with scientific problems from the earlier social process of the development of wisdom. They can forecast the needs of a new society created through the process of the development of social relations. They are willing to initiate moves to meet these needs. They are heros." Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great revolutionary, a strategist and theoretician. He had the revolutionary quality of loyalty to the people's cause. What is most important is that he upheld the revolutionary principle of seeking truth from facts, upheld the mass line, and was good at pooling the wisdom of the masses. He could always move higher and see farther than others. His prestige grew naturally through the protracted revolutionary struggle.

At every crucial turning point in the stage of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong was always prepared to turn the tide in our favor and guide the ship of revolution through the storms to safety. After the great revolution failed in 1927, comrades within the party influenced by the "left" deviationist ideology refused to acknowledge that the revolution was at its ebb. Buoyed by the belief that the revolution was surging to its "crest," they urged "using the cities as centers" from which to stage armed uprisings with the primary aim of capturing one or more provinces as the first step toward achieving nationwide victory. But this action taken at a time when we were weak and the enemy was strong and when our forces were outnumbered by the enemy forces cost our party, which had already suffered wounds and our revolutionary forces which already suffered blows, unnecessary sacrifices, thus placing the ship of revolution in danger again. At this crucial moment, it was Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Chen Yi and other comrades who resolutely led their troops on a march toward Jingganshan so that an armed regime based on the rural areas could be established, the revolutionary forces could be preserved and concentrated, the people's armed forces could be developed along with the guerrilla warfare, and a red revolutionary political power could be founded. This red banner hoisted by Comrade Mao Zedong in Jingganshan gave the blood stained revolutionary people at that time great inspiration and hope. This single flame in Jingganshan soon sparked a fire across the land. In the next 2 or 3 years, some 15 base areas, both large and small, were established throughout the country, quickly spreading the blaze of armed struggle and making it grow in strength. Soon Chiang Kai-shek mustered reactionary forces to mount five offensives against Jingganshan under the code name of "encirclement and suppression," the first four of which were smashed by our forces under the direction of Mao Zedong and other comrades. The fifth offensive forced the Red Army to begin a 25,000-li long march out of Jingganshan after opportunist Wang Ming relieved Comrade Mao Zedong of his correct leadership and military command. At this crucial moment, the majority of the comrades learned a lesson which clearly reminded them of the urgent need to settle accounts with Wang Ming's "left" deviationist military line. Then they met in Zunyi to reaffirm the leadership position for Comrade Mao Zedong. This is why the Zunyi meeting at which Comrade Mao Zedong reclaimed his leading role has been described as a turning point leading our party to grow in maturity from a stage of immaturity. Historical experiences show that negating Mao Zedong Thought means negating the revolutionary cause under party leadership and Comrade Mao Zedong's commendable contributions. By discarding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people would lose their common ideological base. In the end, China would be torn by ideological confusion and would become divided again.

Because of the complicated nature of objective reality and because of the limited span of life, the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years appear unavoidable, especially at a time when our socialist system remained in an infant stage of exploration. But demerits should not be used to cover merits. His merits to the Chinese revolution were far greater than his mistakes. His merits were primary, while his mistakes were secondary. In his review of the international workers movement of his time, the leader, Lenin, left this famous proverb: "Eagles may occasionally fly lower than chickens. But chickens can never fly higher than eagles!" A leader of the proletariat is a beacon of the revolution and a banner of the people. His mistakes are mostly caused by complicated historical and objective factors. All adversaries of the communist movement always want to viciously point the finger of blame to mistakes committed by the leaders of the proletariat as having something to do with their personal quality and always want to take this as an opportunity to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, for promoting the multiparty system and for accusing Lenin of being a "dictator" because he upheld the power of his class, the party and people. Some people within the revolutionary ranks who think in their own righteous way often consciously or unconsciously spread lies to discredit the revolutionary cause. Some people have used the banner of opposition to the worship of cults and mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years as an excuse deny this great proletarian revolutionary the historical role he deserves. They have even vigorously mounted attacks on such a plain truth as "without Chairman Mao, there would have been no New China". In this way, they have totally exposed their ugly faces in the presence of the masses. Therefore, our overall evaluation of the great historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong Thought in connection with a review of the history of the new democratic revolution and our experiences in socialist revolution and construction is undoubtedly a very significant step taken by us to constantly uphold the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and the four basic principles. As far back as the early stage of the democratic revolution, a debate over what course the Chinese revolution should take occurred within the party. Contending that condiditions in China Duxiu suggested that capitalism be first developed in China until it ran its full course so that the proletariat could stage a comeback in a second revolution. In the course of practicing his right 1st opportunism, Chen Duxiu handed over the leadership of the new democratic revolution to the Kuomintang reactionaries, thus bringing defeat for the great revolution. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who conducted a thorough analysis of Chinese society at that time, advising the Chinese revolution to take the following two steps: 1) The launching of the new democratic revolution with the aim of overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and establishing a republic under the people's democratic dictatorship; 2) The transformation of the new democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. To achieve this, Comrade Mao Zedong suggested that the first step in the Chinese revolution was to build rural base areas, to encircle the cities from the countryside and to capture the cities in the end. This suggestion is an important contribution to Marxism from Comrade Mao Zedong. During the early stage of the socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the timely thesis that "only socialism can save China," and creatively applied the Marxist compensation policy to carry out the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production and to organize and guide millions of people to take the socialist road of coprosperity. In this way, an unprecedented large-scale socialist construction program was launched throughout the country to transform the hopeless old China into a socialist new China taking initial steps toward prosperity. Today, the socialist system has taken deep root in the soil of China with a population of 1 billion, and the socialist road has become a path indispensable to the development of history. When we walk down this road with giant strides, can we forget the commendable services performed by its great pioneer? Therefore, only by taking the stand of the party and people, adopting a scientific approach to seeking truth from facts, and accurately evaluating Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought can we enhance the proletarian revolutionary cause, the development of a policital situation of stability and unity and the four modernizations program, and push society forward.

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PEOPLE TERMED MASTERS OF COUNTRY UNDER SOCIALISM

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY, SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 3, 1981 pp 1-8

[Article by Yun Gao [0061 7559]: "Socialism Must Have the People as Masters of the Country"]

[Excerpts] In recent years, China's academic field has explored ever deeper the question of what is socialism and launched free discussions of its manifestations. Some comrades feel that the manifestations of socialism consist mainly of two items: Public ownership and distribution according to labor. Others want to add the elimination of exploitation. All three items are essential. However, I feel that there should be another item, viz., the people as the masters of the country. I wish to discuss in this article my superficial views on this basic manifestation of socialism.

(I) Why, when the manifestations of China's socialism are brought up, people often discuss only the first two items, or add the third, but seldom mention the fourth? One important reason is that we have not raised the socialist democracy to its proper height, and therefore, we do not regard it as a basic socialist manifestation. For a long time, people have failed to distinguish the concepts of "state" and "society" and of the "state system" and the "social system." They have failed to realize that, under the identical social system, different "state systems" may be created due to the different historical and concrete conditions of the different countries.

In modern times, the capitalist society created a relatively universal democratic system, mainly the bourgeois parliamentarian democracy. The creation of the bourgeois democracy was an epoch-making progress in the history of mankind. Today, what is practiced in our socialist state is a brand-new democracy, viz., the socialist democracy of the people as the masters of the country.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, democracy is primarily an issue of the state system; it is a form and a pattern of the state. How do we regard the socialist democracy in terms of the form and the pattern of the state? First of all, it is an issue of the state system, which is the issue of the positions of the proletariat and other classes in the state, an issue which determines the fundamental nature of the state. Next, it is an issue of the governmental system. While the state system determines the fundamental nature of the state, without a suitable form of governmental system and a suitable form of state management, it will be impossible for the fundamental nature of the state to be correctly embodied and difficult for the ruling class to achieve its goal. Marx found that the Paris Commune was a specific form of the proletarian social republic; Lenin felt that the USSR was a new form of state management by the proletariat and the laboring people; Comrade Mao Zedong, in accordance with China's national conditions, adopted the system of the people's congress as the form of state management by the people. While the concrete forms are different, the basic essence is a governmental system of the state with the people as the masters.

Thousands of times more superior than the bourgeois democracy, the socialist democracy created by the proletariat after overthrowing the bourgeoisie is of the highest type. Generally speaking, this highest type of democracy in the development of the state system should possess the following three characteristics:

First, socialist democracy means that the laboring people directly control the political power, directly manage the state, and are the true masters of the state.

Second, socialist democracy means control by the overwhelming majority. The supreme power of the state is not concentrated in any individual, and no one has the legislative power of the emperor in the period of autocracy. The supreme legislative power belongs to the people's representative organ created through elections. In our country, it belongs to the National People's Congress.

Third, socialist democracy is guaranteed by giving a material foundation to the laboring people, because it is built on the foundation of the production means public ownership, thereby enabling the broad laboring people to enjoy equal rights in state management.

Such socialist democracy with the people as the masters is a basic manifestation of socialism as well as a characteristic of the socialist state system.

(II) Whether considering the people as the masters a manifestation of socialism is most important in distinguishing between genuine and sham socialism today.

It has only been 130 plus years since socialism emerged in the society of mankind as a new scientific ideological system, and its birth in some countries as a new social system has only been 60 plus years in the earliest of those countries. The realization of the socialist ideal in our country has only been 30 plus years.

If we say that the disputes on socialism before the October Revolution were mainly on the development of the ideological theory, then, the disputes after the October Revolution mostly concentrate on how the socialist theory, in practice, becomes reality and what kind of reality it becomes. Practical socialism is established in the particular environments of particular countries in specific historical periods; therefore, it emerges in many types, each with its own characteristics. This is the diversity of socialism. However, the diversity of the types of socialism cannot conceal in the least bit the identity of its essence. Regardless of how diverse the types of socialism, there is only one criterion.

According to the thinking of Marx and Lenin on the socialist society and the socialist practice of recent decades, the proletariat, after seizing political power, can only launch the first stage of communism--socialism. The development of socialism will go through the undeveloped and the developed stages. When building a new socialist society, the economically backward countries can only first enter the undeveloped stage of socialism. Currently, the socialist countries with Marxism as the guide are basically in the undeveloped stage, and so is our country. Like the rising sun, China's socialism is a brand-new social system which has just begun. China basically possesses the fundamental characteristics of socialism: First, the production means private ownership has been replaced by the socialist public ownership. Second, equality under the principle of distribution according to labor in consumer goods has been basically realized, more labor more pay, less labor less pay, and no labor no pay. Third, exploitation has been eliminated, labor is no longer a commodity, money is no longer capital, and the exploiting class has basically vanished. Fourth, the people's democratic dictatorship led by the worker class and founded on the worker-peasant alliance has been established, and the laboring people have become the masters. All four items are extremely important to a socialist country, none dispensable. However, when discussing the manifestations of socialism and distinguishing genuine and sham socialism, people, in a previous period, often mentioned only the first three items, which are naturally important. However, to discuss socialism, one must mention the issue of the socialist state and the state system; to distinguish genuine and sham socialism, one must mention the issue of the socialist democracy, which is the issue of the people as the masters of the country.

As shown by the socialist practice of 60 plus years, socialism must be built on a democratic foundation and truly make the people the masters of the state. If we are satisfied with only the creation of public ownership, the introduction of distribution according to labor and the elimination of exploitation and fail to uphold the people as the masters, then socialism not only will become bureaucratized politically, resulting in the deterioration of the socialist political power, but also will economically fail to fully develop the superiority inherent in itself. In a socialist country like ours, we urgently need not only economic modernization, but also political democratization. Without political democratization, there can be no economic modernization. Therefore, the issue of democracy is the issue of the people as the masters of the country.

(III) To truly realize the socialist democracy and let the people be the masters, we must introduce political, economic and social democracy and let the laborers directly manage the state, the enterprises and society. The laborers are not only the owners of the enterprises, the state and society, but also the direct policymakers and managers, with the power to decide on the use of the production means owned by society and the distribution of the fruits of their labor. To truly practice political, economic and social democracy and thoroughly make the people the masters, we must conscientiously attain the following four points.

1. The public service personnel of the state must serve as the public servants of the people, placing correctly the relationship between the masters and the public servants.

The public service personnel of our socialist state, from the heads of state to the basic level leaders, are not "the masters for the people," but the public servants "letting the people be the masters." The difference of one word in the two expressions reflects two fundamentally opposite standpoints. "Masters for the people" is a sort of heroic historical concept, considering oneself wiser than the masses, regarding oneself the master of history and entitled to special privileges, and placing oneself above the masses, while "letting the people be the masters," "letting the people manage their own affairs," recognizes the people as the masters of history, and the fact that all the public service personnel of the state must diligently and honestly serve the people and perform the duties of public servants.

After liberation, our country destroyed the system of exploitation and oppression, and the servant stratum vanished. Nevertheless, we call the public service personnel of the state public servants. The meanings of public servants and slavish servants are basically different, but in their relationships with their masters, the contents are similar. Our intent in using the term public servants is that we hope and demand that the public service personnel of the state, like servants, obey the words of their masters (the common people) and serve the people heart and soul. The facts are precisely thus. For the cause of the people, numerous superior public service personnel, seeking no credit and bowing their heads in service, spare no effort in the performance of their duties and devote their entire lives to the people. They are the good public servants of the people in fact as in name. All our public service personnel should continue to develop the "Yanan spirit" and the "Eighth Route Army style" and learn from the models of "selflessness."

2. We must introduce the general election system of the Paris Commune. The people should have the power to directly elect the public service personnel of the state and the power to replace and dismiss them.

Among our public service personnel, why are there some who have turned into fierce servants oppressing the people, while the masters are helpless? It has a direct relationship with our system of employing them. For many years, the problem has appeared to be hard to handle, but actually it can be easily solved if all the public service personnel are elected by general elections as proposed by Marx when summarizing the experiences of the Paris Commune. Marx pointed out clearly: One outstanding characteristic of the commune is that its members must be elected, responsible to the voters, subject to their supervision, and subject to dismissal or replacement at any time. It embodies the democratic principle of the people as the masters.

To strengthen the democratic system of the state, our National People's Congress formulated the "Election Law" and followed the fundamental principle of the Paris Commune which recognizes the people as the masters. Direct election of the county level in our country was generally held in July 1980. According to the statistics of the Central Ministry of Civil Administration, among the 2,757 units of the county level in the country, 1,947 elected people's representatives, and 1,319 completed their election work. The elections produced new leadership teams of the standing committees of the county people's congresses and of the county people's governments. Election work was underway in 355 units. For the remaining 455 units, it will be continuously launched within this year. The elections this time were held in accordance with the "Election Law" and "Organization Law" promulgated by the second meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress. As these laws made revisions of the original provisions and expanded, especially the introduction of direct election and special election, the broad people were very enthusiastic and extremely interested. The voters and election participation rates of the various areas were over 90 percent, with some areas as high as 99 percent. The elected people's representatives and leadership teams enjoy the trust and support of the broad people. Nation-wide direct election of the county level is an important step in perfecting the socialist democracy.

3. The workers must directly manage the enterprises. This is a proprietary right of the socialist people and a self-governing right of the socialist enterprises and undertakings. It guarantees the maximum development of the people's positivity and initiative according to the actual needs and within the confines of the law. After the October Revolution, Lenin emphasized time and again that the exploited masses must "truly participate in state management," that the plants and enterprises must "recruit workers to participate in state management," and that "more and more laborers must personally participate in economic management." According to Lenin, only when this "extremely arduous task" was completed would "socialism be realized."

According to the practical conditions of our country, the best form for worker participation in management is the staff and workers' congress. A form of enterprise management by the people as the masters, it is both a power structure of the staff and workers in enterprise management and an important forum for the staff and worker representatives to reflect the opinions, suggestions and appeals of the masses.

4. The role of the National People's Congress as the supreme state power organ must be fully developed.

Our first constitution in 1954 clearly provided that the National People's Congress was the supreme state power organ, and the current constitution has the same provision.

Whether in terms of the system, or in terms of ideological understanding, we must fully develop the role of the National People's Congress, solve the issue of the relationship between the party and the government, change the customary practice of making no distinction between the party and the government and replacing the government with the party, and make the National People's Congress the truly prestigious supreme power organ in fact as in name. Actually, readjusting the relationship between the party and the government and changing the practice of making no distinction between the two will strengthen and improve the party's leadership. Separating the party from the government does not signify negating the party's leadership. Upholding the party's leadership is not necessarily linked with making no distinction between the party and the government and replacing the government with the party. The practice of making no distinction between the party and the government and replacing the government with the party is unfavorable to activating the enthusiasm of the people's representatives and the broad masses in participating in the political life, blocks the development of the proper role of the political power organ in the life of the state, and hampers the party organizations of the various levels in concentrating on the important issues and fully developing their leadership effect in all realms. [The elimination of this practice] will activate the enthusiasm and creative spirit of the broad laboring people as the masters and promote the continuous progress of the various socialist undertakings.

(IV) As everybody knows, democracy was not always in existence. Nor did our socialist democracy drop down from heaven. It has been gained by the broad laboring people from the three great enemies under the party's leadership and after undergoing long and arduous struggles. To defend the socialist democracy exchanged with the blood of the people, we affirmed, after the founding of the nation, the democratic rights of the people as the masters by means of the constitution and relevant laws, making them into legitimate rights based on and protected by law. Therefore, to strengthen the socialist democracy and truly make the people the masters, we must reinforce the socialist legal system, making the socialist democracy of the people as the masters systematic, legal and orderly, and providing an inviolable and indestructible effective safeguard to the people's democracy. As proved by both the positive and the negative aspects of the practice in the 30 years since the founding of the nation, democracy and the legal system are indivisible. Democracy is the foundation of the legal system, and the latter is the safeguard of the former. Without the socialist democracy, there will be no socialist legal system. By the same token, without the socialist legal system, there will be no socialist democracy. Without the socialist democracy and legal system, it will basically be impossible to realize socialism and build a socialist economy, socialist politics and socialist society.

In China, economically we have already created the socialist popular ownership and collective ownership, providing a reliable material guarantee to the people in the enjoyment of their extensive democratic rights, and politically we have established the socialist democracy where all powers belong to the people, with the people's congresses of the various levels created through democratic elections serving as the organs for the people to exercise their powers. Looked at from these two most important aspects, the socialist democracy of our country is indeed the most progressive democracy in the history of mankind. However, as clearly known to the people, our democracy still lacks perfection and needs strengthening and development. In our reforms of the political, economic and cadre management systems now underway, one important content is to make them more compatible with the principle of the socialist democracy with the people as the masters.

The socialist legal system of our country, since the founding of the nation, has also undergone a tortuous course similar to democracy. In our country, laws representing the will of all the people as the masters are formulated and promulgated by the National People's Congress and its standing committee and enforced by the people's courts of the various levels. Acting according to law is acting according to the will of the entire people. The course of the 30 years of the new China fully indicates that, when the legal system was relatively sound, democracy developed smoothly; vice versa, when the legal system encountered trampling, democracy suffered disruption. Today, after the 10-year turmoil, people, like waking up from a long dream, clearly realize that, as our country, after a long feudal society of two or three thousand years, did not go through the stage of capitalist development and has spent only a short time on socialism, we lack experience whether in the aspect of democracy or in the aspect of the legal system, and that there are indeed many flaws and loopholes, which are easily utilized by enemies.

At the same time, the people of the whole country also profoundly realize that it will be impossible to build a modern socialist power without democracy, while democracy requires the safeguard of the legal system, and that democracy without the safeguard of the legal system will inevitably lead to anarchism, ultra-democracy and endless disasters. Democracy without discipline and order, an anarchist and lawless democracy, is definitely not the socialist democracy. It will only again sink our country into an anarchist state, thereby making it even more difficult for our country to democratize, for the national economy to develop, and for the people's living to improve. For this reason, we must, among the masses, especially the young people, launch a widespread propaganda education, explaining the kind of democracy we want and the relationship between democracy and the legal system.

Firs tof all, we must clarify the dialectic unity of democracy and the legal system. Some people want only democracy, not the legal system, on ground that the two are opposed to each others. This is completely wrong. They fail to understand that, in addition to such democratic rights as freedom of speech enjoyed by the citizens, the right of the people to manage the state is even more important in the socialist democracy. The people are the masters of our state. This point is the main content of the socialist legal system. The constitution, laws and decrees provide the concrete content of the democratic rights, the procedure of exercising them, the ways of safeguarding them, etc.

Next, we must understand the legal democratic procedure. This procedure is democratic centralism upheld by our party for many years and found effective.

Under democratic centralism, we must practice centralism on the foundation of democracy, while developing democracy under the guidance of centralism. We do not permit democracy and centralism to be separated or placed on opposite sides. If we discuss democracy and fail to mention centralism on the foundation of democracy, it will be a distortion of the socialist democracy; it will not be the socialist democracy, but anarchism or bourgeois liberalism. If we discuss centralism apart from the foundation of democracy, negating democracy, then, not only we will not have a correct centralism, but it will be a distortion of centralism, and it may even become bureaucratic centralism. We must firmly resist both tendencies. Currently, some people in society erroneously interpret democracy as following one's own inclinations and doing what one likes. We maintain that it is basically not democracy. First, the socialist democracy is a democracy under leadership. In the period of the democratic revolution, to complete the historical mission of realizing the people's democracy, our party led the people of China in the heroic struggles for more than half a century, overthrew the three big mountains weighing down on their heads, wiped out the basic obstacles to the people's democracy, and created an independent and democratic new China. By the period of socialism, we introduced the socialist democracy, and one fundamental premise is to uphold the four basic principles, while the core of the four basic principles is the party's leadership. Currently, the masses inside and outside the party place their hopes in our party. What they demand is to improve and strengthen the party's leadership. It is the will and desire of the overwhelming majority in the country. Secondly, the socialist democracy is the democracy of all the people, not of one individual or a minority; therefore, we must, when developing the socialist democracy, consider the will and desires of the majority and maintain order. Such order requires that we strictly follow the principle of the individual obeying the collective and the minority obeying the majority, that we firmly defend the centralized and unified leadership of the party and the government, the policies and laws embodying the people's will, and the prestige of the leaders and managers carrying out the people's will, and that we uphold the social, productive and work orders, especially the overall situation of stability and unity. Thirdly, to enjoy the democratic rights in our socialist country, we must perform the obligations provided by law. Here lies the issue of the identity of freedom and discipline. If one wishes to enjoy the democratic right of personal freedom, one must perform, according to law, the obligation of respecting the personal freedom of others; if one wishes to enjoy the democratic right of freedom of speech, one must perform, according to law, the obligation of refraining from slandering others and fabricating rumors to mislead people; if one wishes to enjoy the democratic right to work and to receive wages from society, one must follow labor discipline and the rules and regulations provided by law and obey the directions of the managers. Only thus will one be a person who is responsible to society and to others, understands the socialist democracy and legal system, and deserves to be called the master of society and the state.

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CURRENT ROLE OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Zenghe [2799 1073 0735]: "Mao Zedong Thought Will Long Guide Our Actions--Study of the 'Resolution of Certain Party History Issues Since the Establishment of the State'"]

[Text] How to correctly understand and treat Mao Zedong Thought--this is one of the basic questions which the "resolution of Certain Party History Issues Since the Establishment of the State" (hereafter simplified "Resolution") seeks to resolve. The "Resolution" profoundly expounds on the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, highly evaluates the historical position Mao Zedong Thought has in the Chinese Revolution and in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and strongly stresses the important guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought at present and in the future. Earnest study of the "Resolution" will indeed further raise our consciousness concerning the need to maintain Marxist-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxist-Leninism in China--it is the crystallization of the wisdom of the entire body of the Chinese Communist Party. It has guided our party to victory over the fiercest and strongest enemies inside and outside the country; it has achieved the great victory of the New Democratic Revolution; and, in such a large economically and culturally backward country as China where the population is one-fourth that of world population, it has successfully resolved the difficult task of establishing a socialist system and achieved great results in economic and cultural reconstruction which enabled our country to take on an increasingly important and positive role in the realm of international affairs. That Mao Zedong Thought is publically recognized as the guiding thought of our party is an inevitable conclusion in the development of history.

Some comrades believe the following. Mao Zedong Thought was formed and developed during the New Democratic Revolution--many of Comrade Mao Zedong's important works were written during the New Democratic Revolution period and the socialist Reformation period. Since our country has already entered a new historical era today, Mao Zedong Thought is no longer suited for now nor the future. This type of belief lacks a complete and deep understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. The "Resolution" points out, "Mao Zedong Thought is our party's valuable spiritual treasure--it will long guide our actions." This is completely correct.

In the first place, both the scientific world view and the methodology which Comrade Mao had used for a long time to view and resolve practical problems of the Chinese Revolution still have universal meaning. Comrade Mao's scientific world view and methodology, in summation, consist of three basic elements; that is, seeking truth from facts, line of the masses, and independence and self-motivation. These three basic elements are the embodiment of the glorious thoughts of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism--they are the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought.

Seeking truth from facts with everything based in reality--this unites the universal principle of Marxist-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution; it is a fundamental characteristic of Mao Zedong Thought and it is also the fundamental starting point for Comrade Mao when he guided the Chinese Revolution and the construction of practical activities. In the past, the union of the universal principle of Marxist-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, insisted on by Chinese communist members with Comrade Mao as representative and based on China's actual situation, helped overcome hurdles of difficulties and step by step formulated and executed the general battle line and various policies which turned the revolution from disastrous defeat to great victory during the New Democratic Revolution. During the transition period, Mao Zedong Thought further creatively paved a road to socialist reformation that is suited to the Chinese Revolution and established a brand new socialist system within the country. Since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee during the Eleventh Congress, and in view of the historical experience and teachings, the Party, after serious reflection and summation, renewed the emphasis on the line of thought that is based on seeking truth from facts with everything based in reality; only then did we gradually established a correct road for modern socialist reconstruction that is suited to the conditions of China. Seeking truth from facts with everything based on reality--this is a correct principle which we must adhere to at all times.

The line of the masses is the basic line of our Party. Everything for the people, everything dependent upon the masses of people--this is the original point of departure for all of our Party's works. "From the people, to the people", "union of the general and the particular", "union of leadership and the masses"--these are the scientific guiding methods which Comrade Mao advocated when he united Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and the Party's line of the masses. In the past, it is because we relied on the millions of people who were truly and whole-heartedly in favor of the revolution and maintained work methods and guiding methods based on the line of the masses that we gained victory over our strongest enemy. The construction of modern socialism must also be "from the people and to the people"--we must firmly believe and rely on the masses before we can form a correct leadership, before we can develop the positive and creative natures of the masses and thereby strive for a new and greater victory.

To be independent and self-motivated and self-reliant--this is also a basic starting point of Mao Zedong Thought. The proletarian revolution is an international movement and needs the mutual support of the proletariats in other countries. However, in order to complete this task, we must base the plan upon our own strengths. The understanding of the laws of the Chinese Revolution is achieved mainly on the strengths of our own people. Today, in order to carry on modern socialist reconstruction, we must strive for foreign aid and must absorb other countries' advance technology and scientific management methods. But, we are a large nation relatively backward economically and culturally. If we were to merely rely on foreign aid, we will never be able to establish a strong modern socialist nation. We must continue to maintain the principles of independence, self-motivation and self-reliance; we must rely on our own strengths before we can continue to develop our country's reconstruction business.

Secondly, the many basic tenets and principles in Comrade Mao's writings still have an important function for us now and in the future. Aside from each one's own specific laws, revolution and reconstruction also have similar basic laws; as long as these common basic laws have not disappeared, the tenets and principles which reflect these laws will not be dated.

Let us take the construction of the party. As long as the party exists, there will be party construction problems. China has been an economically and culturally backward country with few in the labor class and a majority in the farmer and other petty bourgeois classes. The situation has not fundamentally changed even now. Therefore, working to overcome the influence of non-proletarian thoughts and the building of the party on an intellectual basis emphasized by Comrade Mao in many of his writings still have very important meaning evyn up to today. We must further see that after our party has become the party in power, the change in positions may easily lead some party leaders and members to engender various unhealthy thoughts. As a result, the emphasis on an intellectual construction of the party in power has become even more of a necessity. On the side of organizational construction, Comrade Mao in his works expounded that the individual shouls serve the organization, the minority obey the majority, the inferiors obey the superiors and the entire party obey the Central Democratic Centralization System principle and party regulations. In intra party struggles, Comrade Mao maintained the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" which emphasized the goal of clarifying ideology but also uniting the comrades. In party practice, Comrade Mao advocated the three great practice...All these thoughts and principles are still suited for today's use and for future use.

Aside from party construction, there are many theories and principles concerning the construction of the armed forces, of political power, of culture, of the economy and concerning the problems of minorities the unified front, foreign relations and battle plans and strategies. To study the works of Comrade Mao, we must put emphasis on learning and understanding these basic tenets and principles and use them as guide for action. We cannot purposely pick on one particular conclusion or a particular terminology and criticize it out of its historical context. Furthermore, we cannot, using this as a basis, negate tenets and principles which have universal meaning.

Thirdly, Comrade Mao contributed many valuable ideas in his search for a suitable road to socialist construction based on China's conditions. We must take over and develop these ideas. As early as 1956, Comrade Mao wrote the report on "The Ten Great Relations" and suggested that we search for a road to socialist construction suited to China. With the Soviet experience as an example, he summed up our economic construction experience and correctly clarified the various relationships in socialist construction. The program and principles mentioned in this report has already been proven from practice to be suited to our country's conditions. In

1957, Comrade Mao gave an important speech on the correct handling of contradictions within the people at the highest State Council meeting and correctly pointed out that we must rigorously distinguish the boundary between the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and that among the peoples themselves, so as to correctly handle internal contradictions among the people. He set up the following regulations as the correct principles for handling contradiction among the people: "unity-criticism-unity", "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thoughts contend" and "Overall consideration, all-round arrangement". In 1958, Comrade Mao further clarified that the party's point of emphasis should be placed on technological revolution and should center the majority of its strength on carrying out socialist construction--he emphasized that after the change in work emphasis, attention should still be focused on political and economic unification and political and technological unification. In 1962, Comrade Mao, in the enlarged Central Work Conference, again and again emphasized development of democracy and implementation of the democratic centralization system and the need to work toward the understanding of the objective laws of socialist construction in order to gradually form a set of program policies and methods suited to the conditions in China. The tenets and principles advocated by Comrade Mao in his search for a road to socialist construction for China are the main components of Mao Zedong Thought--their practicality is obvious and easily discernible.

Mao Zedong Thought was born and formed during the New Democratic Revolution period and received further enrichment and development during the Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction periods. It is a valuable treasure of the party formed over half a century. In the past, we have achieved great victories under its guidance; heretofore, under its guidance, we will surely be able to achieve even greater victory.

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BEIJING ORGANS SUPPORT NEW MEASURES ADOPTED TO CURB CRIME

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Mobilize People To Wage Resolute Struggle Against Crime"]

[Text] Resolute efforts must be made to deal blows to crime and to maintain social order. This is a matter of great concern to the broad masses of people in the capital, Beijing. The 19th Session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress recently adopted and proclaimed three resolutions as an answer to some problems and proposals submitted by various localities throughout the country with the aim of dealing blows to crime and strengthening public security work. The three resolutions are "Resolution on Strengthening the Work of Interpreting the Laws," "Decision on Problems in the Process of Approving Death Sentence Cases," and "Decision on the Handling of Fugitives or Prisoners Who Commit Crimes Again After Serving Terms of Reform Through Labor and Education." These resolutions entirely conform to the wishes of the people, are absolutely necessary and essential to the strengthening of the socialist legal system, and are measures to deal more telling blows to crime, to protect the people and to maintain social order. Yesterday, the party committee, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and the government of Beijing Municipality held a joint mobilization meeting, calling on party members, cadres and the masses throughout the city to immediately mount a campaign to conscientiously study, publicize and implement the three legal documents, which deserve our complete support.

In recent years, our departments in charge of political and legal affairs and public security and the broad masses of people have distinguished themselves by dealing blows to the criminal activities and by preserving social order in this capital. However, today the criminal activities remain to be controlled because our efforts to publicize the socialist legal system remain far from adequate and because no strong measures have been taken to punish the criminals. A prominent problem is that some prisoners who undergo reform through labor and education continue to engage in criminal activities after breaking out of jail or after serving out their prison terms and being released. These criminals pose a grave threat to the social order and lives and property of the people. We have received strong demands to severely punish this handful of scum and pests from the broad masses of people who can no longer tolerate the crimes committed by them. The decision on the handling of fugitives or prisoners who have committed crimes again after serving out their terms of reform through labor and education adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress provides for extension of the terms of reform through labor and education for those found guilty of crimes. It also calls for meting out severe punishment to the criminals or extending their prison terms and/or denying them their right to live in the cities. These stipulations constitute a powerful weapon for us to quickly sentence the criminals to longer prison terms and to effectively deal with the fugitives or prisoners who have committed crimes again after serving out their terms of reform through labor and education, and therefore should be resolutely implemented by our public security and judicial organs and procuratorates. Enaction of these provisions is a response to the needs of our current struggle against criminals and to the people's demands. Only thus can we curb the arrogance of the criminals, maintain social order and public security, and enable the broad masses of people to engage in the four modernizations program without worry. Furthermore, enaction of these provisions will make those ex-convicts feel that it is more difficult to commit crimes again and will help speed up their rehabilitation through reform and education. The organs of authority must bear the brunt of the responsibility for dealing blows to crime and for maintaining social order and public security in the capital, and must spare no effort to use their power to the best advantage. However, the efforts made by the public security and judicial departments and procuratorates alone are far from sufficient. The struggle against criminals calls for cooperation between the people and the organs of authority and active assistance by the former to the latter. By pooling their power and wisdom they will form a dragnet capable of exposing a handful of bad elements "like rats chased by all passersby along the streets." In popular language, the bad elements are like a "thief with a guilty conscience" and thus constitute only a minority extremely isolated from the rest of society. Our organs of authority must unreservedly support those people who display courage in combating the criminals, commend their heroism, and protect those who demonstrate an unflinching spirit to eliminate social ills harmful to the people. Resolute efforts must be made to deal blows to those criminals who take revenge on the opponents of crimes with retaliatory actions and bring them to justice.

The Strengthening of social order and public security calls for an overall effort, preventive measures, and "decontaminating" operations in order to nip the sins in the bud. Under an overall crime-control program, forces from all walks of life must be organized and placed under the unified leadership of the party in order to strengthen work in the political, economic, ideological, educational and cultural fields. This is a fundamental measure and a primary task that must be grasped by the entire party membership. The primary tasks under the overall program are to strengthen political and ideological work among the workers, to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and to foster decent moral beliefs in society.

A well-planned, specific propaganda and education program must be carried out by all departments and units with the aim of conveying the socialist legal system to the cadres and the masses of people, acquainting them with provisions of the laws and gradually popularizing basic knowledge of law among them. At present, vigorous efforts must be made to convey the three legal documents adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to the broad masses of people until they really comprehend their essence. Only thus can we boost the people's morale and deflate the arrogance of the bad elements. The political and legal affairs and public security departments must use the three legal documents as a weapon to mount political offensives against law violators and criminals, calling on them to give themselves up to the law enforcement agencies, to expose crimes and to agree to rehabilitation. We must continue to concentrate on the education of youth so that they will recognize what is beautiful and what is ugly, what is glory and what is shame, what they should and should not do, what is legal and what is illegal or unlawful. We must give full play to the role of the neighborhood public security and mediation committees. Internal security measures affecting factories, rural villages, schools, and government organs must be successfully carried out. There must be joint guarding operations in order to insure their security. All units must regard security work as an essential part of their administration or enterprise management and make efforts to perfect their security and management systems. If particularly serious problems repeatedly recur in a specific unit, its leadership should be investigated and held responsible for any consequence. Cadres at all levels, especially leading cadres, must carry forward the party's excellent tradition and set a good example for the masses and youth to follow. In addition to doing good political and ideological work among the masses, party organizations at all levels must rectify their ways of thinking and help the party uphold its correct workstyle. When the workstyle of the party and people is rectified, a good groundwork can be laid for social order so that the bad elements will become more isolated than ever.

We believe that if the political and legal affairs and public security units can correctly apply the laws as a weapon in their resolute struggle against criminals, if party committees, governments and mass organizations at all levels are united as one to maintain social order, and if the broad masses are fully mobilized to do the job well, improved social order can be expected in the capital.

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NEW LAWYERS RECRUITED TO ALLEVIATE SHORTAGE IN TIANJIN

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Tianjin Recruits Lawyers Openly"]

[Text] With the approval of the Tianjin Municipal People's Government, the Tianjin Municipal Judicial Bureau has openly recruited lawyers in an effort to beef up the structure of the legal system, to alleviate the current shortages of lawyers with new recruits, and to prepare the related organizations for the implementation of a temporary regulation governing the practice of law in 1982. This recruitment will provide opportunities for those interested in law practice to pursue a career they have long cherished and to put their professional skills to the best use.

The recruitment of lawyers by the Tianjin Municipal Judicial Bureau began on 30 November 1980. In response to an advertisement on the recruitment of lawyers along with a related report published by TIANJIN RIBAO, more than 400 persons applied for such positions. Following a screening process, 308 of them were approved and permitted to take written and oral tests and political and physical examinations. By the end of March 1981, 43 full-time and 20 part-time lawyers were recruited by the bureau, which also recommended three legal advisers for use by the Tianjin Municipal People's Government.

Of the newly recruited full-time lawyers, graduates from college political and legal affairs departments accounted for 28 percent, graduates from other college departments accounted for 20 percent, and experienced political and legal workers accounted for 40 percent. Of the newly recruited part-time lawyers, graduates from college political and legal affairs departments accounted for 55 percent, including one legal expert who studied abroad, and experienced political and legal workers accounted for 35 percent. This indicates that the level of their professional knowledge meets the required standards. Of the recruits, party and CYL members accounted for 43 percent, indicating a standardized level of political quality.

This open recruitment has enabled a number of long misplaced legal professionals to return to their original posts, where they can really put their professional skills to good use and where they will no longer waste their energy as they did before. Among the recruits are legal experts whose transfer to their present posts was requested three or five times without success. Now, this problem has been settled through this recruitment.

This process of open recruitment was accomplished with the attention of party and government leadership and with the strong support of the departments concerned. The organization department of the Tianjin municipal party committee and the personnel bureau of the Tianjin Muncipal People's Government issued a joint circular on the open recruitment of lawyers to the lower level organizations and personnel units throughout the city, requiring them to take effective measures to speed up the recruitment process.

The principle of overall evaluation and selection of only those who are really outstanding was upheld as the recruitment process proceeded in Tianjin Municipality. In the recruitment, the standard of political and moral integrity was adhered to, the influence of the leftist ideology was ignored along with the theory that only class origin should be taken into account, and stress was laid on the current political performances of the applicants rather than their historical backgrounds or that of their families. Applicants of poor political quality were resolutely rejected. To make sure that the level of their professional knowledge meets the required standards, the Beijing College of Political Affairs and Law was invited to give test questions and to examine and evaluate the test papers returned by the applicants. Equal consideration was given to their test scores and special professional knowledge. Also recruited were some bright youths with a promising future legal career after undergoing training, despite the fact that they had never studied law or worked in the political and legal fields. The recruiters won the commendation of the masses for resolutely resisting unhealthy tendencies, for treating their relatives and friends just like any other people, for rejecting backdoor dealings, for following normal procedure and for giving fair treatment to all.

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TROUBLE BETWEEN HAN, UYGUR MINORITY REPORTED IN XINJIANG

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 45, 1 Jul 81 pp 15-17

/Article by Ma Zheng /7456 2398/: "Two Nationality Disputes in Xinjiang"/

/Excerpts/ Bloody Incident in Aksu

In April of last year a serious incident lasting 2 days, in which Uygurs cruelly beat Hans, stole property from Hans, and rushed into and destroyed Han residential areas, took place in the southern city of Aksu in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The degree of cruelty of this incident far exceeded that of the military struggles that had taken place in Aksu Prefecture during the "cultural revolution" period in 1967 and 1968. At the same time, such an incident of destruction, wherein a minority nationality proceeded into a city's vast area to beat and rob Hans for 2 days, is extremely rare in the 31 years since the founding of the mainland regime. The day after the incident calmed down, up to a thousand telegrams and telephone calls of urgent appeal were issued from Aksu to Beijing and other places across the country to request the central authorities to demonstrate their position and to call upon provinces and municipalities of the whole country for assistance and support. But nationality disputes are questions about which the CCP feels greatly troubled, as for the time being it is very difficult to come up with effective means for coping with them.

The initial cause of the incident was very simple. In the beginning, a Uygur idler got into a quarrel with two Hans, and then the two sides started to fight. During the fight, the Uygur youth was accidentally killed by the Hans. A fight of this nature is really commonplace in Xinjiang. The people there are rough and belligerent. In the case of male and female youths, in particular, possibly because they are less exposed to culture and education, plus the fact that they were more deeply influenced by that trend during the "cultural revolution" period, when people wished to be "militant," they often get into quarrels over minute things, and all of a sudden, whole families pour out of their respective lairs to pick up any weapons whatever (such as iron bars and cutting knives) to join in the fight. Hence, deaths and injuries are heard of quite often. But because Hans had beaten a Uygur to death this time, a large-scale nationality dispute immediately developed. This is rather unusual, and evidently there is more to it than meets the eye.

After this incident took place, the news swiftly spread far and wide. Crowds of Uygurs, not organized or mobilized previously, immediately rushed to the site of the incident. A nameless, angry wrath directed at the Han nationality abruptly arose in the hearts of these Uygurs. When they could not at the time find the two Hans who had beaten the Uygur to death, their sentiments became further provoked. Thus, after some fanatical shouting and crying, this group of Uygurs started to direct their flames of anger at the Han bystanders around them. In the beginning they lunged indiscriminately at Hans; whether male or female, old or young, all Hans were grabbed and beaten. The incident quickly expanded. Then, once they had gone that far, they went all out. A group of Uygurs proceeded to gather Uygurs from every factory and commercial department in Aksu, on the one hand, while on the other hand, those who drove trucks stopped along the roads to the outskirts to arouse large contingents of Uygur peasants to come into the city and join their ranks. Thus, counting on their numbers and their momentum, the Uygurs started to launch a cruel headlong attack against the Hans. In the streets, wherever they met Hans they would simply grab them and beat them out of their wits tear their clothes, and take away their watches and any other property they were wearing or carrying. Those who were riding bicycles were dragged down, had their bicycles crushed, and were given the same fists and kicks. Instantly, a bloody, tyrannical atmosphere hovered over Aksu, this city of over 100,000 residents. Stores along the streets quickly locked their doors; factories suspended work; the city became paralyzed. Residents hid at home and dared not venture into the streets. Whereas the crowds of Uygurs became increasingly larger, the streets of the whole city were clear of any sign of Hans. But the frenzied Uygurs still did not stop. They rushed into the largest factory in the center of the city--the Aksu Daguang Woolen Textile Mill. This mill had several thousand workers, most of them Hans. They smashed furniture and knickknacks in the homes of Han staff and workers, and, as a matter of convenience, once more robbed them clean. For 2 days the hoodlums did whatever they pleased with overwhelming preponderance, as if they were in no man's land. During the 2 days after the incident first occurred, the Aksu Military Subdistrict did not dispatch any troops to interfere; public security personnel in the public security offices in Aksu all ran home and locked their doors. Aksu all of a sudden became the world of the Uygurs.

Strangely enough, the beginning of the incident was accidental, abrupt, and unrehearsed; yet the consequence obviously suggests that people were manipulating and organizing it behind the scenes. Then, after 2 days, the incident spontaneously subsided. Uygur peasants returned to their own villages, and Uygurs in the city also dispersed. Except for the smashed articles left behind and the unknown number of injured people, the city of Aksu returned to its former condition. What makes people feel even more strange is that, although several hundred Hans sustained different degrees of injury from being beaten under the venomous fists of the frenzied Uygurs, somehow not a single Han lost his life; the extent of the beating and injuring sesms to have been controlled very precisely. After the conclusion of the incident, several leading culprits among the Uygurs were arrested. Upon questioning, it was learned from these persons that they had attempted to organize, make contact with, and instigate people across the whole area of Xinjiang, and that they had planned in advance to stage an uprising in July that year and start trouble throughout Xinjiang in order to stir up an anti-Han tidal wave of even greater scale. Although as of July, more than 2 months later, no Uygur disturbance of greater scale had occurred in Xinjiang since that incident in April, the Hans seemed to have become frightened out of their wits by the Uygurs; they no longer dared to bother the Uygurs in any way whatever, and even when they walked along the street they tried to stay away from them as far as possible in order to avoid unnecessary trouble. Thus the Uygurs behaved like victors, extremely pleased with themselves. They became very cocky and supercilious.

Soldiers Raid Peniteniary in Kashi

For Xinjiang, 1980 was really a restless year. Not long after the Uygur-Han disturbance in the Aksu subsided in April, at the end of autumn an incident exploded in the Kashi area along the Sino-Pakistani border. Locally stationed troops got into a dispute with the Uygurs. That one involved a very common traffic incident, as a military truck of the unit crushed a Uygur to death. Relatives of the Uygur citizen who had been crushed to death and the driver of the unit held different opinions as regards the responsibility for this traffic incident, and neither side was ready to yield. But the local government proved to be fainthearted in the face of the local power of the Uygurs and the pressures exerted upon it from top to bottom, and hence it sentenced the military driver to death. After the sentence was announced, it aroused very great resentment on the part of the officers and men of the unit. The unit raised a strong protest, and the local public security department refused to carry out the execution order. Pressure from above was continually exerted, while resistance from below was reinforced, too. Finally, the unit started to take action; soldiers rescued the detained driver from prison and hid him in a secret place. The incident became more and more serious. Soldiers of the unit let it be known that if the court upheld the original sentence, they would then lay down their arms and go home. The unit was faced with the possibility of a mutiny. The vigor with which this unit opposed the mistaken nationalities policy and firmly resisted orders from above forced the authorities to consider the attendant impact and consequences. In addition, Kashi is located on the border area; once trouble started, it would be very difficult to wind up. Weighing the pros and cons as a result, the authorities could not help but overturn the original sentence and exempt the driver from the death penalty. This temporarily calmed the disturbance.

The Impact of Tibet and Taiwan Policy

In the past few years, the mainland regime's policy toward the Tibetan Autonomous Region has changed. This is because Tibet's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, is in exile abroad and has repeatedly sent delegations to carry out visits and investigations in Tibet. The Dalai has said that as long as Tibet achieves real national autonomy, and as long as the living standards of the Tibetans are really improved, he will support the mainland regime's Tibetan policy. Because there has been behind this Tibet question the force of India in recent years, and also because of the international influence resulting from the Dalai's exile abroad, the Beijing government, for the sake of the "united front," has changed its policy toward Tibet; this has been reflected mainly in giving the Tibetan Autonomous Regional Government greater autonomy. As a specific measure in this change of policy, the Beijing government agreed not to let the number of Han cadres in Tibet exceed one-third the total number of cadres in the region; this would allow more Tibetans to serve as local cadres at various levels. After this policy was put into effect in Tibet, large contingents of Han cadres were transferred from Tibet and back to the interior. But this policy somehow caused a chain reaction in Xinjiang: Since the Tibetan Autonomous Region could attain a greater degree of national autonomy, why could this policy not be similarly applied in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region? Hence the Uygurs immediately stirred up a tidal wave to squeeze out the Han cadres. On the other hand, insofar as the Han cadres themselves were concerned, they all had a strong degree of homesickness because of their long years of work far from their native places. They did not have the patience to stay in Xinjiang over the long run, and would be pleased to be transferred out of Xinjiang. Thus, all Han cadres in various party, government, and economic departments were in a restless state, and the foundation of the entire social organization became loose. Consequently, the following situation emerged in Xinjiang: Uygurs intensified their efforts to exclude the Hans; Hans anxiously demanded to be transferred out of Xinjiang; but the highest power-wielding stratum failed to demonstrate a forceful attitude in handling the problem. Thus, disturbances continued to erupt. Besides, the Beijing government's policy toward regional autonomy of the nationalities is part of the overall united front policy. Contradictions between the centralization of authority and regional autonomy have always proved difficult to balance and solve during the past 30 years. Because of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the Taiwan question was also naturally brought onto the agenda of CCP policy considerations. In order to secure Taiwan's return, the CCP have in recent years frequently issued appeals to Taiwan and promised that after its return, Taiwan would practice regional autonomy and the living standards of the people of Taiwan would not be reduced. But because of the fact that regional autonomy for the nationalities has remained nominal over the past 30 years, such appeals completely lack the power of propaganda for Taiwan. For the needs of the united front, the CCP must correspondingly change its policy with regard to regional autonomy for the nationalities. Political clouds have caused torrents of rain to fall in the autonomous regions of the minority nationalities. Cries of "We want autonomy, not rule" are being echoed in Xinjiang. The tidal wave of struggle for genuine national autonomy is furious in its momentum.

Within a period of less than a year, the Beijing government has twice played the Wang Zheng /3769 7201/ trump card in an attempt to solve the Xinjiang problem. Twice it has sent Wang Zhen to Xinjiang to carry out pacification work. Even though Wang Zhen used to be first secretary of the party committee of the autonomous region in Xinjiang, where he has many old subordinates and old colleagues, in the face of the demands of the Uygurs that they gain real autonomy and that they be allowed to handle the affairs of their nationality according to the traditions of their own nationality, the big issue of life and death for 8 million Uygurs can hardly be effectively solved simply by a smiling face and a few warm expressions of sympathy on the part of Wang Zhen.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CORRECT MISTAKEN LEFTIST POLICIES TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 45, 1 Jul 81 p 48-49

[Article by Wu Ke [0702 0344]: "'Left' Deviationist Mistakes and the Fate of the Intellectuals"; article originally published in XIN SHIQI No 2, 1981]

[Text] During the 30 years since the founding of our state, our intellectuals have traversed a bumpy road. They have had their days of bright sunshine, pleasant feelings, and fruitful exertions, but regrettably those days have never lasted very long, and during a greater number of days they have been subject to all kinds of blows and struggled forward in difficult steps under "left" deviationist mistakes. The thorough liquidation of "left" deviationist mistakes in connection with the question of the intellectuals in order to mobilize their enthusiasm has become a very urgent and very important matter for the cause of realizing the four modernizations.

Our intellectuals have been subject to most serious attacks on two occasions: one was the 1957 antirightist movement, and the other was the "Cultural Revolution."

The 1957 antirightist movement was a political movement with intellectuals as the principal objects of revolution. In order to overcome bureaucratism, subjectivism, and sectarianism in our work as well as to eliminate the isolation of part of the masses (mainly the intellectuals) toward the party, our party decided to launch a rectification movement within the whole party and also asked the masses outside the party to help carry out this rectification. At that time, except in the case of an extremely small number of rightist elements, the vast ranks of the masses, especially intellectuals, put forward many critical opinions out of their love for the party. But because our party made a mistake in appraising the situation of class struggle, when it counterattacked against the rightists it greatly expanded the area of attack, classifying as rightists a great contingent of intellectuals who had dared to put forward those opinions but who were more advanced in their thinking and who were very talented. Thus the ranks of the intellectuals suffered a heavy blow.

During the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution," the intellectuals suffered an unprecedented catastrophe. Most among them lost the opportunity to engage in mental work and were forced to carry out heavy, punitive physical labor. A considerable number of them had such labels as "counterrevolutionary revisionists" and "reactionary academic authorities" attached to them, and some were even tortured to death.

For many years, various erroneous theories led people to entertain incorrect views about intellectuals. Generally speaking, there have been the following points of development:

1. Upon the basic completion of socialist transformation, it was not recognized that the overwhelming portion of intellectuals had already become a component of the working class; instead, they were erroneously taken to be bourgeois intellectuals.

2. Proceeding from the above erroneous appraisal, the demand by the vast ranks of intellectuals to enjoy more democratic rights on being masters of their own house and their revolutionary enthusiasm in trying to play a greater role in the building of socialism were erroneously taken as attempts "to seize leadership power from the party."

3. Science and culture were despised, and the point that "the more knowledge one has, the more stupid he becomes" was spread. It was denied that the building of socialism required the supportive force of the intellectuals, as if it would be enough simply to have the hard-working masses of workers and peasants.

4. The slogan "Turn intellectuals into laborers" was put forward in order to let the intellectuals engage in physical labor for long periods of time, or even to force certain intellectuals to abandon their own specialties and become workers and peasants.

In the old society, the overwhelming majority of China's intellectuals were subject to oppression by imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. During the democratic revolution, they played the roles of vanguard and bridge. Even in the old society, it would have been improper to take all intellectuals as bourgeois intellectuals; then after liberation, when they served socialism under the party's leadership and education, how could they all be designated as bourgeois intellectuals? How could their proper demand to make more contributions be designated as an attempt "to seize leadership power from the party?" Besides, along with daily changing science and technology, not only does the development of the forces of social production depend on scientific and technological power, but a large amount of heavy physical labor will gradually be replaced by machines. Physical labor will continually be reduced, whereas mental labor will continually be increased. This makes it increasingly necessary to train huge contingents of intellectuals. The attempt to eliminate the distinction between mental and physical labor by "turning intellectuals into laborers" is not only an unrealizable "left" deviationist fancy but also a retrogressive policy.

Our party originally had a correct policy toward intellectuals. During the first few years after the founding of our state, our party adopted the principles of unity, education, and remolding with respect to intellectuals. Thus it not only united with intellectuals from the old society but also won over a large contingent of intellectuals abroad to return and participate in undertakings of socialist construction. They played their role very well in the restoration of the national economy and in the realization of the First Five-Year Plan. In 1956, we basically completed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. This was a new historical turning point. How should we appraise and treat intellectuals in the new era? At the conference on intellectuals convened by our Party Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai made his "Report on Intellectuals" and comprehensively put forward the Marxist principle for treatment of intellectuals. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that, of our intellectuals, "The overwhelming majority have already become working personnel of the state, have already been serving socialism, and have already become part of the working class." He proposed strengthening and consolidating the alliance between the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and to rely on this alliance in order "to build our country into a completely modern, prosperous, socialist industrial power."

But this Marxist principle did not get implemented; instead, it was replaced by "left" deviationist mistakes. What led to the rise of these mistakes was, theoretically speaking, first of all the fact that our party passed idealist judgment on social contradictions. Upon the basic completion of socialist transformation, it erroneously proposed once again that the principal contradiction in our society was still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; it also proposed carrying out a so-called socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front. Essentially, these propositions were all aimed at intellectuals. The problem was thus clearly laid before us: since we still needed to carry out revolution, where would we find the objects of this revolution? Because exploitive classes no longer existed, our society was then basically composed of three kinds of people--workers, peasants, and intellectuals. We of course could not take the workers and peasants as such objects, so in the end we found the intellectuals. In response to this kind of political need, a theory that differentiated the classes according to their ideologies and world views somehow rose to the occasion. According to the funadmental principle of Marxism, a class is only the product of a given type of economic relationship. The viewpoint that differentiates the classes according to their ideologies and world views is thoroughly a viewpoint of historical idealism. The so-called bourgeois intellectuals were created artificially as objects of revolution in the new era by nothing more than this viewpoint of historical idealism.

Here we must point out that the proposition about socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front cannot stand the test, either. The fundamental question of political revolution concerns the seizure of political power. This task was accomplished long ago when we established the People's Republic of China. If we came to raise the question of socialist revolution on the political front 7 years afterwards, then from whom were we to seize this political power? As for questions in the ideological realm, we can only attempt to solve them by means of discussion and study and by means of persuasion and education; this has always been the case. To attempt to solve ideological questions by means of launching revolutionary movements and by means of coercion is not only useless but bound to lead to the mistake of expanding class struggle. Next, there have been deep social roots that have given rise to "left" deviationist mistakes, as they reflect the influence of feudalism and the thinking of small producers. Our country has a feudalist tradition of several thousand years, and our productive forces have been very backward. Even after socialist transformation was accomplished, small production still dominated. Hence, certain comrades within our party who had been subject to the rather profound influence of the thinking of small producers inevitably exhibited an attitude of looking down upon knowledge and despising science, thus showing no understanding at all of the great revolutionary role of modern science and technology in the development of productive forces in society and the propulsion of society forward. Toward the science and culture developed under capitalist conditions, they even harbored a psychology of fear. Such thinking and feelings led them even to take all intellectuals with definite culture and scientific knowledge as heretical forces, and hence, they instinctively attempted to exclude them. For the first few years after the founding of our state, our party's ideological line, political line, and organizational line were all correct; therefore, on the question of intellectuals, the influence of feudalist thinking and the thinking of small producers was reflected only in individual questions and partial questions. The sectarianism pointed out by Comrade Zhou Enlai in his report on the question of intellectuals was a mistake of this nature. Although certain excessive struggles also took place in the ideological and cultural realms during those few years, from an overall point of view the situation was not yet very serious. Later on, along with the rise of "leftist" mistakes in our party's guiding ideology, the influence of feudalist thinking and the thinking of small producers, as reflected in the question of intellectuals, also became more and more serious.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party paid a great deal of attention to the work of putting into effect our policy on intellectuals. There has been a new affirmation of our intellectuals as part of the working class, as well as a rectification of unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation since the 1957 antirightist movement, and all of these things have served to create certain conditions for giving scope to the role of intellectuals. Nevertheless, the obstacles encountered by this work have been great, and the progress has not been very fast, either. Certain intellectuals still are not rationally employed; situations whereby they are not applying what they have learned are still quite serious. The working and livelihood conditions of certain intellectuals are still rather inadequate, and there has been no improvement for quite a long time. In particular, the bad practices of discrimination and exclusion with respect to intellectuals still exist. As soon as intellectuals raise their heads, some again use the pretext of their "raising their tails" and attempt thereby to put them down. This demonstrates that the remnant poison of "left" deviationist mistakes is far from eliminated.

There are also people who do not agree that labor compensation for intellectuals may and should be higher than that for physical laborers; they feel that the salaries of intellectuals are excessively high. The facts are exactly the opposite. On the contrary, in our present wage system an outstanding problem is the fact that labor compensation for teachers, scientific and technical workers who are the same age is even lower than labor compensation for workers who are engaged in physical labor. This kind of irrational situation is not beneficial to raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation, and it is harmful to the realization of the four modernizations.

China's intellectuals are precious and worthy of esteeem. They not only have knowledge but also are patriotic. Even during the difficult days when they were subjected to all sorts of persecution, they still loved the motherland, supported the Communist Party, and resolutely served socialism. We must make up our minds to eliminate the remnant poison of "left" deviationist mistakes and strive for the further realization of the party's policy on intellectuals. As intellectuals, they must also strive to arm themselves with the Marxist world view and to ascend a step further the level of their professional knowledge, so as to make even greater contributions the realization of the four modernizations.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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'RENMIN RIBAO' REVIEWS VOGEL'S BOOK ON JAPANESE ECONOMY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 81 p 7

[Article by Yu Zhong [7183 0022]: "Probing the Mystery of the Japanese 'Economic Miracle'"]

[Text] In recent years, almost all the capitalist nations have become greatly interested in the Japanese economy, thereby setting off a "Japan craze." The book "Japan As Number One - Lessons for America" was published during this craze. This book, which was published in May 1979 both in English and Japanese, was put on sale simultaneously in the United States and Japan and turned to be a best seller.

The author of this book, after years of study, cited a vast amount of material and concrete instances to probe the mystery of the Japanese "economic miracle." He felt that the mystery in the Japanese economy does not come from the so-called traditional national character or the virtues inherited from the old days, but lies in its unique organizational capability, farsighted planning and policies, ability to pool the wisdom of the masses, and its consciousness in achieving its goals. In the early 1950's, when its economy began to revive, Japan was able to aim at its long-term interest by formulating a policy of "taking trade as the foundation of the state' and went a step further to organize trading companies in a planned way to vigorously develop overseas markets. Preferential treatment was provided by the government in this respect. In the second half of the 1960's, in order to improve the competitiveness of its products in international markets, the Japanese government concentrated its capital on capital-intensive industries. In the second half of the 1970's, in view of the fact that contradictions intensified in world's scramble for international markets, Japan again put forward a policy of "taking technology as the basis of the state" in order to turn the "material war" into a "soft ware war." Since the shock of the oil crisis in 1973, its focal point has again been shifted to service industries as well as industries concerning information and knowledge, which consume less energy.

The author pointed out that the quality of the people of a nation is an important factor influencing the speed of national development. The Japanese miracle has relied on its educational undertakings and on its "knowledgeable people." Japan has implemented a system of 9-year compulsory education. Japanese students from primary to senior middle schools have a good grasp of their basic courses. As a result, their level is comparatively higher than students of the same grade in

Western nations. Besides school education, the Japanese enterprises are more concerned with long-term profits. They provide on-the-job training for their employees regardless of costs. In Japan, it is almost impossible to find a leader of an enterprise who is not of the "intellectual circles."

The author also felt that another factor of the success of Japan lies in its personnel and wage systems. The Japanese industries have adopted a system of permanent employment with an "order of seniority" which means the position of an employee is decided in accordance with his seniority. He must start with his job as a junior worker and will then be promoted step by step to section chief, division chief, and then department manager. Measures adopted in the wage system include basic salary and fringe benefits. Everyone is eligible for promotion; however, more generous supplementary wages are given to the more capable, vigorous and hard working people who have achieved obvious successes. This double standard wage system which is strict and impartial in meting out rewards and punishments is regarded as advantageous to encouraging the initiative of the employees in production.

The book also felt that both the labor-management relations and information gathering in Japan are better than that in other Western nations and thereby enabling Japan, a "small country in terms of resources," to become superior to those large countries having abundant resources.

Ezra F. Vogel, the author of "Japan As Number One - Lessons for America," is a professor and Chairman of the Council on East Asian Studies at Harvard University. He has spent more than 20 years studying the politics and economics of Japan. Vogel said himself that his purpose for writing this book was to "sound the alarm for America" so it would "get going." He cited the words of Lu Xun: Is it necessary to awake those who are fast asleep in a house which is about to collapse? The conclusion: "The alarm must be sounded loudly." Perhaps because of the fact that he was too anxious to "sound the alarm," the author in his book overly-idealized the achievements of Japan. Some aspects of secondary importance were also regarded by him as primary aspects deserving of affirmation. Moreover, the method employed by the author to try to interpret the "Japanese mircle" simply from the angle of economics seems to be not comprehensive enough. Of course, among the books of the Western nations on Japanese economy, "Japan As Number One - Lessons for America" is a book having its own particular point of view and fairly rich contents. This is a book good for our reference.

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'XINHUA' REPORTS ON POLISH ECONOMIC SITUATION

OW291501 Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 1221 GMT 28 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jul (XINHUA)--In view of Poland's continuously worsening economic situation and shortage of market supplies, the Polish Government recently decided to lower meat ration standards for residents by an average of 20 percent in August and September this year. Except for coal miners working underground, children and expectant mothers, whose meat rations will remain unchanged, rations for all other residents will be reduced from 5 to 3 kilograms per month.

The Polish Government also plans to increase at once or in stages the price of bread, milk, coal, power, soap, refrigerators and other food and industrial products, expand the scope of rationing, and for this reason give suitable subsidies to low-income families.

It is reported that since the strikes in summer last year, industrial production has sharply declined. According to official statistics, industrial output value for the period between July 1980 and May 1981 dropped by 130 billion zlotys (equivalent to 4.3 billion U.S. dollars) as compared with the same period a year ago. The production situation has further worsened since the beginning of summer this year. Industrial output value for June dropped 16.9 percent compared with the same period last year. The number of cattle, hogs and sheep in stock dropped 6.7 percent, 13.3 percent and 7.4 percent respectively compared with the same period last year. Production decline has led to greater market shortages. Store shelves are empty, and there are increasing panic buying and long lines of shoppers.

The Polish Government's decision on lowering meat rationing standards and its plan to raise prices have drawn strong repercusions from people of various circles. The three major trade union organizations, the "Solidarity" Trade Union, the Industrial Trade Union [Hang Ye Gong Hui 5887 2814 1562 2585] and the Federation of Self-Governing Trade Unions separately held meetings or issued statements, opposing the decision.

According to a PAP report, (Ya Ao-nei-shi-kai-wei-qi), press spokesman of the "Solidarity" Trade Union, said at a press conference that the trade union did not agree with the lowering of food rations and requested the government to take emergency measures to improve the food supply situation. Walesa, leader of the "Solidarity" Trade Union, also said at a press conference that as a component part of economic reform, price hikes should come into effect after the economic reform or in the final stage of the reform, and that the workers must be consulted on the necessary subsidies they should receive. At the same time, he indicated that the "Solidarity" Trade Union headquarters did not advocate nationwide protest activities. He said that protest actions organized on the issue of food and daily necessities shortages not only could not produce any concrete results, but on the contrary could aggravate the existing tense feelings.

It is reported that the Polish Government and the "Solidarity" Trade Union held a meeting on 27 July on the question of meat rationing standards and food supplies and reached a temporary agreement on reducing meat rations for residents only in August.

Since 25 July, mass meetings or demonstrations have taken place one after another in Kutno City in central Poland, Szczecin in the northwest, Lodz--Poland's second largest city--Katowice and Torun, protesting food shortages and opposing the reduction of meat rations and the proposed price hikes.

CSO: 4005/827

WOMAN COMPLAINS TO DENG ABOUT PRC-SRV WAR

OW041451 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] The self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam ended more than 2 years ago. However, the Sino-Vietnamese border has not been calm and our PLA soldiers have continued to shed blood and make sacrifice in unnecessary armed clashes. Although the PLA Political Department has ceaselessly strengthened propaganda work among the troops, the heavy military casualties have doubtlessly affected the morale of our commanders and fighters.

The miserable feelings of parents, brothers and sisters who lost their kinfolks in this endless war can hardly be described. Many parents and other relatives of war victims have written to the central authorities to express their misfortune and misery and to put forth their problems, views and demands in connection with the border clashes.

One of these letters, from (Wu Huisheng), a retired woman schoolteacher in Kunming, to Deng Xiaoping is particularly touching. This letter reflects the innermost feelings of the tens of thousands of parents who have lost their sons. We will now broadcast, for our comrades, the full text of this letter:

Vice Chairman Deng: As I was waiting with an expectant feeling for the return of my youngest son who was soon to be demobilized, I suddenly received a notice about his death in some Sino-Vietnamese border area. The feeling of sorrow in my heart cannot be described. I had hoped that, as my youngest son and the family's sole successor, he would live with me for the rest of my life, since my husband and my daughter had died from hard work during a 3-year period of hardship and my elder son had died in an armed struggle during the 10 years of turmoil. At present I am a lonely and miserable old woman, the only survivor of the family.

Vice Chairman Deng, I understand that every one is responsible for his or her own prosperity or misery and that a man should fight on the battlefield to defend his country so that he will be respected even if he dies in action. However, what I do not understand is why China and Vietnam, which have been friendly neighboring countries and have been class brothers sharing weal and woe, have now become sworn enemies? Why should the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples kill each other? What is the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict for? For whom did my son die in action?

Vice Chairman Deng: I also do not understand how Vietnam, being a small country, can be hostile to our country of one billion people? I do not believe that Vietnam invades our border areas, kill our border people and threatens our security without reason or cause. I believe that we have punished Vietnam to serve our own political motives, thus creating the present situation.

Vice Chairman Deng, I am an old, retired schoolteacher who does not know much about state affairs but I do feel that the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict is meaningless and is not what the people want. The late Premier Zhou has said: All international disputes can be solved through peaceful means. It is you who has reached mutual understanding and established good relations with our old sworn enemies Japan and the United States. Why can you not improve our relations with Vietnam, a socialist country?

Vice Chairman Deng, I understand that you cannot make my son live again but I strongly believe that you can negotiate with Vietnam and reach an agreement to stop the bloody Sino-Vietnamese border conflict.

Vice Chairman Deng, as the mother of a victim of the war, I ask you to save the sons of tens of thousands of other mothers and to consider the feelings of mothers the world over.

[Signed] (Wu Huisheng)

CSO: 4005/827

BRIEFS

HUANG MEETS COUNTERPARTS IN MEXICO--Cancun, Mexico, 2 Aug (XINHUA)--Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua met here the foreign ministers of four countries when he was attending the preparatory meeting on cooperation and development. They had friendly conversations. The foriegn ministers who were met by Huang Hua were Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Jorge Castaneda, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro and French Minister of Foreign Relations Claude Cheysson. [Text] [OW030326 Beijing XINHUA in English 0300 GMT 3 Aug 81]

CSO: 4020/236

PARTY AND STATE

DENG SEEN MAKING SAME MISTAKES AS MAO

OW041301 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] The resolution on historical questions adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee stressed: Likewise, responsibility for the errors committed in the work of the 1956-1966 period rested with the same collective leadership. Although Comrade Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all those errors.

Undoubtedly, this is a correct appraisal of the questions in the history of our party. But, we must add, the central leaders must not be divided among them evenly.

Judging from the merits and demerits of the current veteran leaders on the Party Central Committee, Ye Jianying, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Bo Yibo and Peng Zhen, and of the younger leaders such as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, it is obvious that a larger share of the responsibility for the errors committed in the past should rest with Comrade Deng Xiaoping. This is because among the present veteran comrades Deng Xiaoping had the closest work relationship with Chairman Mao. He was the general secretary of the Party Central Committee for many years, working at Chairman Mao's side and implementing the late chairman's important instruction. So Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Chairman Mao must be held chiefly responsible for all those errors.

An extremely important fact which should especially be pointed out here is that working at Chairman Mao's side for many years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was most profoundly influenced by Chairman Mao and learned from his bad methods of leadership and his bad work style. Even before Chairman Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping used to practice what he learned. He has inherited Chairman Mao's bad methods of leadership and his bad work style. Because of this, he is the most dangerous man in the country.

Everybody knows that after Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement, our cadres and people hoped that he would adopt a correct method of leadership, inherit the party's fine work style and use his rich experience and knowledge and his power to help the Party Central Committee bring order out of chaos so that our party and state would quickly return to the correct road. But facts show that Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who has now reached an advanced age, has acted more and more arbitrarily and has become feudalistic and authoritarian and that he cannot change the erroneous method of leadership and bad work style he inherited from Chairman Mao. Herein lies his tragedy, the same kind of tragedy as pointed out in the party's resolution on historical questions in its appraisal of Chairman Mao.

In other words, summing up these facts, we can say that since his reinstatement Deng Xiaoping has, like Chairman Mao during his lifetime, begun to get arrogant. He has gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively, and increasingly put himself above the Party Central Committee, resulting in a steady weakening of the party's democratic centralism. As a matter of fact, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's erroneous personal leadership has replaced the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee and his authority has reached a peak.

Inheriting Chairman Mao's personal style of making arbitrary decisions and his personal method of leadership, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put himself above the other leaders of the Party Central Committee. Without his permission or approval, even such trusted persons as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang cannot handle questions of prime importance, not to speak of other colleagues. This feudalistic and authoritarian practice has resulted in serious mistakes and tremendous damage to the country and is the root cause of the fact that the people find themselves now in an abyss of suffering.

The resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee said: This state of affairs took shape only gradually and the Party Central Committee should be held partly responsible for failing to correct those errors in good time.

We should understand that if this state of affairs is not corrected promptly, the errors already committed will bring us still greater damage than ever before.

CSO: 4005/828

CADRES DENOUNCED AFTER BEING FOUND GUILTY OF VIOLATING LAWS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 81 p 8

[Article by Li Kuo [2621 1674]: "We Don't Want Secretaries of That Kind"]

[Text] "We do not want secretaries of that kind." This remark is a clear-cut response to a news report (see RENMIN RIBAO of 18 July 1981) that Li Fengzhou [2621 7685 3166], deputy secretary of the Party Committee of Linxiang County, Hunan Province, was dismissed from all his posts both inside and outside the party on the charges of abusing his power in order to serve his personal interests.

The people have ample reason to denounce unhealthy tendencies. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin and Jiang did great damage to the party by tarnishing its image and trampling its workstyle under foot. By then what the people saw in their real life were such rarely seen or seldom seen characters that emerged from among the communist party members: There were elements who thrived on the business of acting as "rebels" or informants intent on hunting and framing the innocent; there were speculators and sycophants who were awarded high official positions; there were double-dealers and opportunists; there were abusers of power, and elements devoted to fighting for the interests of their clans or small mountain-strongholds or for their own interests. In the past, these elements were always subjects of condemnation by people of rectitude and the mass media. The people have ample reason to be angered by the fact that so many years after the "gang of four" was overthrown, there remain figures such as Li Fengzhou who take advantage of their leadership positions to continue their wrongdoings in violation of party discipline and state laws.

"The workstyle of our ruling party is a problem which may spell life or death and survival or demise of the party." This problem has been repeatedly emphasized by the leading comrades of the party Central Committee during the past several years and has been written into the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Has this thoughtful admonition aroused enough attention of our comrades, (first of all our leading cadres)? Have they frequently used this as a rule to control every step they have taken and every statement they have made? A review of what county party committee deputy secretary Li Fengzhou has done during the past 5 years and the process in which he violated the laws and disrupted discipline reminds us that the corrosive effect this unhealthy tendency has had on the organization of our party has reached alarming proportions! Li Fengzhou's new home was a project which called for use of a tract of land owned by two units, building materials taken from 35 units, trucks borrowed from 18 units, a labor force organized by 10 units, and services rendered by 13 bureau directors, section chiefs and higher level cadres. This last point was more essential to his project than anything else. Were these cadres unwilling to bring their respective roles into full play, and to use their respective authorities to support Li Fengzhou, the building of his new home occupying 260 square meters in floor space was absolutely impossible. Needless to say these dozen or so "supporters" played different responsible roles in this case of violating law and discipline. Have any efforts been made to improve the living conditions of ordinary cadres and workers in Linxiang County? Has this county party committee ever mobilized more than 10 section chiefs, bureau directors and higher level cadres and manpower and material resources of scores of units to solve housing problems for the masses? These are something I really don't know.

"We do not want a secretary like that." This expresses a feeling that the masses are wholeheartedly behind the party's action to rectify its workstyle and to dismiss that secretary for violating law and discipline. The Party Central Committee has adopted a correct line, and correct principles and policies, clearly outlining the direction in which we will move and tasks we must fulfill. However, in certain localities, there remain persons like Li Fengzhou who tirelessly devote themselves to building cozy nests for themselves, and who still cherish special privileges and are contemptuous of party discipline and state laws. They have been proved incapable of leading the masses to thoroughly implement the party's policies and resolutions with one mind and one heart or to build our socialist spiritual civilization. The problem concerning the party's workstyle should be solved as a matter of first priority in the course of realizing the four modernizations and building socialist spiritual civilization. The recently published letter from Comrade Mao Zedong to Comrade Lei Jingtian [7191 4842 1131] provides a guiding principle for us to solve this problem. This solution is a reaffirmation and effective implementation of this important principle: "The members of the communist party and Red Army must be more strictly disciplined than the general civilians." Leaders and cadres must be treated more sternly than the ordinary members of the party. Once this principle is put into effect, it will certainly provide faster solutions for those seemingly unsoluble problems. This decision to deal blows to the unhealthy trends and practices and to revive and carry forward the party's excellent tradition and workstyle will convince the masses that our party really means business in its efforts to further rectify its workstyle. This is also a step to win greater support from them.

9574
CSO: 4005/806

LIU DINGYI'S ARTICLE ON REVOLUTION PRAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Sun Dunxiu [1327 2415 0208]: "Story Telling and Reasoning"]

[Text] I have finished nonstop a reading of an article by Comrade Liu Dingyi [7120 1353 0001] entitled "Who Can Lead the Socialist Construction Program to Victory?" This article is a response to a letter from GONGREN RIBAO, an interesting article dealing with the issue of confidence in the revolution. In this article, he conveyed his points in the form of a dramatic story rather than a dull speech full of theoretical phrases. "However, this article is not designed to tell a story alone." It was clearly designed to convey logical and theoretical matters in the form of a story. It can be said that he embodied his logic in his story! Today, some comrades often present their speeches and articles in a dry and undramatic manner which often lulls their listeners and readers to sleep. Their speeches and articles often include quotations from the Central Committee documents, newspapers and journals. Because they are merely a combination of quotations from different sources, they carry no power to appeal to the people. Some articles and speeches written for leading comrades by their secretaries invariably embody worn-out quotes, known principles, phrases, and oft-repeated remarks and therefore, they are nothing more than a scrap of "official paper." Certainly, they carry no power to inspire their readers or listeners.

Someone may ask: "How can a theoretical article be presented in a story form? Generally speaking, it is certain that since a theoretical article is not a story, no one can substitute story for a theoretical article. But the two can be mixed to make an article more presentable. Does it not sound good when an article is presented in a way that can appeal to the people just as Comrade Liu Dingyi has done?

9574
CSO: 4005/806

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG'S PARTY MEMBER CONGRESSES--By the middle of June, 104 municipalities and counties in Guangdong Province, including six districts in Guangzhou Municipality, had held congresses of party members to democratically elect new leadership groups for the municipal and county CCP committees. The municipalities and counties which have held party congresses account for 90 percent of the total number of municipalities and counties. [HK180840 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 28 Jun 81]

TIANJIN NEW PARTY MEMBERS--Over the past 4 years, Tianjin Municipality has recruited 34,000 new party members. Investigation reveals that 337 of the 843 new party members of No 1 Light Industry Bureau, Public Utility Bureau, National Defense Industry Office and 12 subordinate grassroots units of Hangu District have been assessed as advanced producers and outstanding CCP members and eight of them have been assessed as model workers. Party organizations at all levels have paid special attention to recruiting new party members from among the intellectuals. In 1980, 48 high-grade intellectuals joined the party. [HK230208 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 29 Jun 81]

WAN LI WANTS NPC CONVENED--Beijing, 8 Aug (KYODO)--Chinese Deputy Premier Wan Li said Saturday the National People's Congress (parliament) will be convened by the end of this year. Major topics at the congress will include China's next five-year development program and restoration of the position head of state. Wan said this when he met Takao Kameoka, the visiting Japanese agriculture, forestry and fisheries minister, at the Great Hall of the People. Kameoka earlier met Agriculture Minister Lin Hujia, who said China's 1981 harvest will be slightly bigger than last year's but gave no figures of the 1980 harvest. [Text] [OW081309 Tokyo KYODO in English 1248 GMT 8 Aug 81]

POLITICAL ACTIVIST ARREST--Hong Kong, 10 Aug (AFP)--Another Chinese political activist, Huang Yifei, has been arrested in Guangzhou, sources from the Hong Kong-based China Democratic Movement said here today. The sources said Huang, a motor mechanic in his early 30's, was probably arrested for having tried to publish an appeal against the arrest of noted dissident Wang Xizhe in April this year. Huang's house was searched at the time of the arrest of Wang Xizhe, but he himself was not picked up until the end of June, the sources said. There has been a wave of arrests of human rights and democracy activists throughout China since April this year, when activists planned to demonstrate for freedom of publication. Most of the arrested were editors or publishers of underground magazines across the country. [Text] [OW101409 Hong Kong AFP in English 1257 GMT 10 Aug 81]

CSO: 4020/237

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EXEMPLARY HOME LIFE OF GENERAL WANG GUANG-HUA DESCRIBED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Gao Feng [7559 1496]: "Life in a General's Home"]

[Text] Editorial Note: Parties have a party style, nations have a national style and families have a family style. Families are the cell units of a society and if the family style is correct then the party style and the national style can improve. Therefore, all politicians who have a strong sense of responsibility to their own class will be very careful about having a good family style. ZHU ZI ZHIJIA GEYAN--ZHU XI'S MAXIMS ON FAMILY LIFE is an example of the model family style as determined by the political representatives of the feudal class. We of the proletariat see the liberation of all mankind as the highest duty and are faithful to the collective interests of our class, therefore we should exert our utmost to build a good family style.

A style consists of traditions. A good party and national style is the crystallization of the glorious traditions of the party and the nation. The quality of a family style is reflected in how well a familiy head fulfills his own class responsibilities and the level of sincerity the family head has toward class interests. Therefore, those party and national leaders who are esteemed by the people are all very attentive to their own family style. Comrade Mao Zedong taught his son to learn from the peasants, Comrade Liu Shaoqi exhorted his daughter to go to the countryside for training, Comrade Zhou Enlai told his neice to learn from Wang Zhaojun...these all are fine stories which inspire the people. Comrade Chen Yi's poem "SHI ERNU-INSTRUCTIONS TO MY CHILDREN" is very moving, "...I wish to serve the masses, to seek private gain is shameful. When all people can follow this, the world will then be free. What I hate are exploitation and eating but not working. Oppression is hateful, using people like draft animals. Even more hateful are the preachers, who truly are like ferocious adversaries. In rooting out the old system, there can be no decline of revolutionary will. I am an old soldier, now past my sixtieth year.Succeeding generations look to you with hope, so quickly make your plans. Heaven is truly beneficent, do not waste your youth." This article describes how Comrade Wang Guanghua [3769 0342 5478] educated his children and demonstrates how he upholds the party's glorious traditions under the new conditions.

Those who truly love their children should be like Comrade Wang Guanghua and let them strike out on their own. Striking out on their own means to follow the revolutionary line and make continual growth in serving the people.

----The Editors

The name Wang Guanghua is familiar to the older comrades in Hebei. At one time he was commanding officer of the Hebei Military Region and Chief of the Public Security Bureau, and in 1952 was transferred to the General Headquaters Staff. During the last 30 years, especially ever since the ten years of chaos, what have the working and living conditions of this general been like? This paper previously published an article titled JIANGJUN YIJIU ZAI DOUZHENG-THE GENERAL STILL CARRIES ON THE STRUGGLE. Today we wish to describe the general's family style. Even though these are details of family life, they can serve to enlighten and inform us.

General Wang Guanghua has two sons and three daughters. By the age of six or seven when they could perform minor tasks, both boys and girls were exposed to the rules of the house: take care of washing your own clothes and cleaning your shoes, don't let the maid do it. Sunday is the maid's day off so the children must cook. The girls must also learn to sew. The children were fond of playing and resisted by secretly giving their clothes to the maid to wash Once when the maid was secretly washing the children's clothes the general found out and he severely reprimanded them, "Take care of yourselves! If you are raised to have others take care of your clothes and feed you, what abilities will you have when you grow up!"

When the children had washed their clothes and cleaned their shoes the general would conduct an inspection to see if the tasks had been properly performed. Once when the boy named Wang Qi [3769 3823] had very carefully cleaned his shoes, he looked up to his father and said, "Dad, look how well I've cleaned my shoes!" The general made a careful inspection and shook his head saying, "Not quite finished, do it over!" He moved the laces to show the tongue of the shoe and said, "Look, they're still dirty here and need to be cleaned over." He threw the shoes in the bucket and said, "No matter what you do you must have a spirit of thoroughness and cannot be slipshod, careless or just put on a show of fulfilling your duties." His second daughter Jijun [0370 6511] is a factory worker, and whenever she wipes down the machines she does so very thoroughly. Other people ask her, "Who taught you to be so thorough?" and she answers, "First of all it is my teachers, but in principle it was my father--from the time I was small my father taught his children to have a spirit of sincerity and thoroughness."

Fifteen Yuan Living Expenses

The general had another strictly enforced rule: the living expenses could not exceed fifteen yuan per person per month. Their daily fare consisted of cheap tea and plain dishes, with better food on Sundays.

For breakfast each day they ate cornmeal or millet with plain dishes and every Sunday the had two meals of steamed corn bread. The children would beg the maid to buy better food but she would laugh and say, "Yout father only gives me enough expense money for this." The children would then ask their father and he would say, "We are of peasant stock and just about everything we eat and wear is provided by them. Our living standards are already higher than theirs." Isn't it so! The children saw that their friends and relatives from their native place in Shandong wore nondescript clothes and brought gifts of yam bread and millet. By comparison, they were much better off. Their father explained it further, "Haven't you seen in school how the children of workers and peasants eat and dress? You should make more friends among the children of workers and peasants to learn their spirit of hardships and frugality."

A simple life teaches children to have a positive attitude toward suffering hardships. During the "Cultural Revolution" their father was jailed and received no wages. Their mother became ill and received only 80 percent of her wages. Her monthly income of 86 yuan had to provide for a family of six. During this period Jijun took care of the household chores and she very carefully held the daily food expenses for the whole family to three yuan so that they would not go broke. Later, the children went to the countryside to enter the brigades and some went to the May Seven farm of their mother's cadre school to work. All of them suffered patiently and performed labor in an outstanding manner. People could not tell from their attitude toward livelihood and labor that they came from a general's family. Because of their continual good work they were transferred to factories to be workers. The children knew that this was the result of their father's strict teaching.

Making One's Own Way

When the "theory of the unique importance of class origins" was in full force their father was in jail and the children were per force implicated, so their labor sentry posts were rather unsatisfactory. After the general was released from jail and was rehabilitated his children wished to change to different surroundings and asked permission of their father. The eldest son Jixin [0370 2450] was raising chickens at the Beijing municipal barns located in Changping. Since each trip home required two hours, he wanted to be assigned a post in the city. The second son Wang Lin [3769 3829] and the second daughter Jijun both wanted to join the army. In these several years they had seen the children of other families don uniforms and leave. They were very envious! However, because of their father's situation, they were unqualified for military service and could not even join the Nei Mongol construction forces. Right now, their father has been out of jail for the past eight years so a request to join the army is no wild dream.

Jijun remembers very clearly that her father told her more than once the story of how she was named at her birth in Baoding in December of 1949. He said that although the revolution was victorious, national construction needs still required people in Baoding and the army also still needed people, so when she grew up she was to join the army, and so was given a name referring to military service in Hebei province. From an early age Jijun looked forward to joining the army. However, her father said to his children:

"All work is related to the needs of the revolution so why are you so set upon the army? I certainly won't use pressure to help you to be accepted!" His children became nervous, "How is it using pressure, you only need to ask someone!" "This isn't a perquisite that comes with office. Make your dreams come true yourself. Even one word from me would be using pressure and I definitely won't do that for selfish reasons!" Their father stubbornly refused them. Wang Guanghua told his children to make their own way in the world and not depend on their parents. I worked the land since I was a child, was an apprentice, worked in a factory and finally picked up a rifle--I made my own way in the world. You live in the new society and conditions are far superior to those when I was a child. The old saying is right, "Its better to seek for yourself than take from your parents." You can only stand in society if you are personally able, your parents can't follow you wherever you go.

"If dad won't help out, let's do it ourselves." These were strange words for the children, but true. The twin boys Wang Qi and Wang Lin made up their minds to try hard to pass the university entrance examinations. For these two brothers who had only finished the first year of middle school before the "Cultural Revolution" to even dream of passing the university entrance exams after their years of homeless wandering was no easy matter. They had to work in the daytime which left only the evening hours for study. The two brothers fiercely took up the challenge and went every night to the Beijing Steel Institute to study, never eating dinner before ten o'clock at night. When their mother saw them come home tired and hungry to revenously eat their dinner she was heart-broken! However, without bitter toil there is no gain. The two brothers studied hard for two years and in 1979 Wang Qi won entrance to the Beijing Legal Institute and in 1980 Wang Lin won entrance to the Chinese Department of a branch of the People's University. The children were thrilled--this was the accomplishment of courage and hard work.

At this time their father also taught the children, "Its great to gain entrance to university, but don't be vain about it. You must get hold of your genuine abilities in order to make yourself truly and realistically engage in study. Take the time to learn more now so that you can make greater contributions to the people in the future." The boys did not ignore their father's teachings and were very successful in school.

While working at the factory, Jijun also finished the "July 21" University. She is now participating in the all-city worker-peasant-soldier examinations and a passing score will mean promotion to technician.

The children took their father's concern and teaching to heart. They say, "Father's strict demands rid us of our dependency and tempered our personalities."

What is True Love for One's Children?

The general's eldest daughter Jijun is today still working in a small collective factory. The eldest son Jixin is still raising chickens at the animal barns. The children no longer make any requests, but the neighbors who are concerned about the children said they should ask their father to do something for them in the belief that all parents care for their children.

It is true that all parents love their children. But general Wang Guanghua properly asks, "What is parental love? Is it to provide them with everything and let them wait for happiness to come to them? Or is it to teach them self-reliance, to depend on their own abilities and to establish themselves in society?" Obviously the general holds the latter point of view. He believes the this is the true way to show one's love. The general taught his children to be content with their work and to avoid frequent trips home except on Sunday. He also personally went to the animal barns to inspect his son's work and discovered that the chicken house wasn't cleanly swept out. He searched out the barn supervisor and asked that Jixin be ordered to work harder and not let the fact that he was a general's son make his life easier for him. When he came home on Saturday the general criticized him, "How could you be so sloppy in your work and not fulfill your responsibilities! If the chicken house isn't clean they will become ill...."

The general was fond of his daughters, especially Jijun, who was always bright and obedient. In recent years, society has become more conscious of style and makeup, but Jijun still wears the style of tensome years ago. One time a factory helper looked at her faded blue trousers, threadbare white shirt and plastic-soled cloth shoes and said in a half-joking, half-satirical manner, "Jijun, your clothes from the 50s really are too countrified. You ought to be more stylish rather than be unchanging in the face of constant change."

Jijun just smiled at her, but said to herself, "You ought to see my parents. Dad only wears army uniforms and mom isn't dressed as well as some of the old ladies around here." That evening, Jijun told her father of this incident. The general said, "Clothes should be plain an and loose fitting, why pursue vulgar fashions! Moreover, young people are busy with their studies and shouldn't be concerned with clothes and makeup." Jijun makes full use of her time at both work and study. Her teacher is an old worker who is very strict with his apprentices. But he can find no fault with her. He frequently expresses his satisfaction by saying to her, "Jijun, don't think that you are an anonymous worker, you actually bring glory to your parents! We workers are especially fond of hard-working girls like you."

This is praise from the people for high level cadres and also is praise for the general's family style.

11582
CSO: 4005/810

'BA YI RADIO' MARKS PLA FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY

OW031555 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Commanders, fighters and comrades: We wish to extend to you our highest revolutionary salute on the occasion of this lofty "1 August" Army Day.

Comrades, since its founding on 1 August 1927, the Chinese PLA has traversed a glorious course of 54 years. In the civil war, the anti-Japanese war, the war of liberation and throughout the various revolutionary periods, the PLA valiantly fought battles and shed blood. It eventually accomplished its military, political and historical mission.

Since the founding of the PRC, the PLA has successfully defended the nation's territorial integrity, including its territorial waters and airspace. It joined the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, defeated the U.S. imperialist invading troops and safeguarded the security of the nation.

Politically, the PLA took part in the land reform and helped to stop the increasingly intensified armed struggles in the tumultous years of the cultural revolution.

The PLA made even greater contributions in the economic sector. During the past 31 years the PLA built more than 13,000 kilometers of railroads, or 37 percent of the total mileage built since liberation. The PLA capital construction engineering corps completed 81 key national projects. The broad masses of cadres and fighters also joined civilians in the construction of more than 100 large-scale water conservancy projects. At the same time PLA units energetically developed agricultural and sideline productions. In the past 20 years the PLA produced over 22 billion jin of grain and some 1.5 billion jin of meat.

Furthermore, the PLA conducted numerous rescue operations during floods, typhoons and earthquakes and rescued more than 3 million people from distress. Particularly in fighting the recent floods in Sichuan, Hubei, Guangxi and Heilongjiang Provinces, PLA commanders and fighters valiantly rescued people regardless of the risks involved. They have left a glorious chapter in the annals of the army.

However, during this short span of 31 years, the PLA also encountered trials and hardships. Some schemers and careerists within the party regarded the army as their private property and used it for usurping power, preserving autocratic rule and eliminating dissidents. After achieving their goals, they ruthlessly suppressed army cadres, particularly leading cadres, like killing the hounds for food once all the hares are bagged. They did so during the cultural revolution and after the overthrow of the gang of four. The number of leading army cadres persecuted to death was several times more than that of those who died during the war years.

This particularly stands since Comrade Deng Xiaoping took over the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, the active role of army cadres, especially of leading cadres, in society has been played down and restricted. The attempt to restrict the army cadres to the barracks has been extremely detrimental. The revolutionary PLA has trained tens of thousands of outstanding cadres to administer the party, the nation and the army.

The important achievements made on all fronts in the first 10 years following the founding of the PRC is inseparable from the role played by army cadres. In his article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Chairman Mao pointed out: The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Without conducting propaganda among the masses and without organizing them, arming them and helping them establish revolutionary political power, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

It can thus be seen that the attempt to restrict the army to the barracks runs counter to the tradition of the army and the party. In greeting the 54th founding anniversary of the PLA, the commanders and fighters of the whole army must strive to raise their military, political and cultural levels and vie for playing a more active role in the political and social life of the nation.

CSO: 4005/829

'XINHUA' NOTES NAVY BUILDING 'CARRIER-BASED FORCE'

OW102043 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1133 GMT 10 Aug 81

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporters Yu Fengyuan and Wang Jinzhong: "Brave the Wind and the Waves"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--During a visit to our country last fall, a Western admiral showed great interest in the various types of warships and boats moored in Shanghai's Wusong harbor. Pointing at the precision instruments on the bridge of a missile destroyer, the admiral asked: "You made all these yourselves?" The skipper nodded.

Later, pointing at the power system in the engineroom, he asked: "You made this yourselves?" The skipper again nodded.

Stopping under a missile launcher, he again asked: "Did you make this yourselves, too?"

The skipper smiled and answered: "Yes. Everything on this warship is made by our own country."

The admiral nodded approvingly. During a toast at a banquet afterward, he exclaimed: "I have been in the navy for more than 30 years and I have visited more than 50 countries. I can say without any exaggeration that the Chinese Navy is one of the finest navies in the world. I congratulate you for having such beautiful warships."

During the building of the People's Navy, there were serious frustrations as well as times of rapid development. After the crushing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the building of the People's Navy entered a new stage and a new leaf was turned.

It was early summer. The surface of the Yellow Sea was brightened by many sunrays. Here we witnessed a highly demanding technique of the modern navy--lateral supply. When this technique has been mastered, a warship can extend its range and can travel on the vast sea far away from its base.

On that day, we saw our missile-equipped destroyer, braving wind and waves, quickly approaching an oceangoing supply ship. When the two ships were many meters apart, we heard a loud thud and saw a cable, like a dancing rainbow in the sky, shoot from a launcher, instantly linking the two ships. Soon afterward, steel cables were hoisted and large, pliable pipelines were quickly connected. Square containers began to travel between the ships and fuel oil, fresh water and staple and nonstaple foods were delivered to the destroyer from the supply ship.

The quick mastery of this new technique has been accomplished by the navy in implementing the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Early last year, when the supply ship was newly completed and the equipment for lateral supply was just installed on the destroyer, a large number of seamen, workers and technicians were from various quarters assembled for the trial. But nobody had any experience in this field. However, with support and encouragement from various departments, the plan sumbitted by chief mechanic Xing Haoli, an ordinary technicians, was successfully implemented. Not only was the amount of fuel oil delivered to the destroyer much greater than originally planned, but the speed of replenishment was doubled.

The wisdom and talents of the broad masses of navy commanders, fighters and scientists, which were repressed for many years, have been set free by the party's correct line, which has eliminated the spiritual yoke that fettered these broad masses. With emancipated minds they now dare to challenge the "forbidden zones" and scale the heights. New things have been continually introduced into the navy in just a few years:

The first submarine, which traveled a long distance in deep waters for many days and nights, has triumphantly returned. It has blazed a way for naval vessels to make long-distance journeys.

The first naval training center has been set up, greatly speeding up the training of naval units.

The first generation of carrier aircraft pilots [jian (chuan) zai ji fei xing yuan 5324 (5307) 6528 2623 7378 5887 0765] has been trained. This training has provided precious experience for building the carrier-based force [jian zai ji bu dui 5324 6528 2623 6752 7130] of the People's Navy.

Each of these "firsts" marks a breakthrough in the modernization of the navy.

To work in coordination with the launching of China's carrier missiles into the Pacific, new China's first special composite unit on the sea first left its wake in the distant South Pacific during the first spring of the 1980's. That long journey was a review of the modernization of the People's Navy, and it marked the new level of the combat capability of new China's Navy. The world gasped in admiration that "China's naval force has achieved remarkable success."

The size of the special composite unit's fleet, the distance and duration of the journey and the difficulty of the mission were all unprecedented in the history of the Chinese Navy. The mammoth fleet of the oceangoing supply ships, salvage ships, twoboats, precision instrument-equipped survey ships and investigation ships looked like scientific fortresses moving on the sea. The magnificent warships sometimes fanned out to open a passageway for the survey ship fleet and sometimes formed a protective steel screen to escort the survey ship fleet. On these warships, with their five-star red flags and the 1 August army flags fluttering in the breeze, missile launchers pointed proudly to the sky, and their radar and sonar systems were constantly watching the sky and sea bottom. Commanding this oceangoing fleet were two veteran soldiers of the Red Army who took part in the long march. Every aspect of the mission--from charting the fleet's route to forming and commanding it--reflected their painstaking efforts.

During our visits to various naval units on China's vast territorial waters, we were happy to see that new China's Navy--which was built on the foundation of the ground troops--is showing the brilliance of the old traditions while also gradually mastering the constantly renovated equipment and technology resulting from the country's economic and national defense development. Twenty years ago our predecessors from a speedboat unit on the East Sea front once initiated this sonorous and forceful slogan: "Fix our torpedoes with bayonets." They meant that they were determined to display the army's spirit of fighting with bayonets, to get close to the enemy and to destroy the enemy ships with the powerful torpedoes. With this spirit, they repeatedly displayed their invincible might in one sea battle after another and sank four enemy warships and damaged three others. Due to the renovation of equipment, the speedboats' torpedoes have now been replaced by more powerful modern missiles, and the new generation of seamen are much better educated in science and culture. Despite this, their predecessors' spirit of fighting with bayonets still remains. Now, to suit the new situation, they have again loudly proclaimed that they will "equip our missiles with bayonets." Also, many well-trained radar operators, nautical chart readers, engineers and missile firing experts have come to the fore. During the several live missile firing tests conducted in recent years, they all hit their targets accurately and relentlessly.

CSO: 4005/829

BRIEFS

PLA PUBLICATION--A book entitled "Views of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De on Socialist Spiritual Civilization," compiled and published by the PLA Fighters Publishing House, will be off the press soon. The book will be distributed to PLA units in September. It contains 18 articles by Mao Zedong, 6 by Zhou Enlai, 3 by Liu Shaoqi and 3 by Zhu De. Some of the articles are published for the first time. [OW071231 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 6 Aug 81]

CSO: 4005/829

STUDY OF TOTAL POPULATION TARGET

Xian XI'AN JAOTONG DAXUE XUEPAO [JOURNAL OF XI'AN JIAOTONG UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 2, Apr 81 pp 115-125

[Research article by Hu Baosheng [7579 0202 3932], Wang Huanchen [3769 3243 1057], Zhu Chuzhu [4281 2806 3796], Li Weiyue [2621 4850 1471]: "Research and Study on Total Population Target in China"]

[Text]

Abstract

In this paper the problem of total population target in China has been investigated and discussed. More than 20 factors affecting the total population after 100 years have been analyzed from the trends of development and the viewpoints of natural resources, environments, economics, state of population, psychology of all nationalities, etc. System's engineering's multiobjective decision-making techniques have been used to try to treat the dynamic relations among these interactive factors. The optimal target of 0.7 billion is obtained from our investigation. If the results of our efforts are better than our estimations, or if the standard of living of the people is lowered, the optimal population can be increased from 0.7 to 1 billion.

Foreward

What is suitable for "human" habitation at present is our earth. This sets limits to the population of mankind. The whole earth has a surface area of 510 million square kilometers including land area of 148.9 million square kilometers and ocean area of 361.1 million square kilometers. The natural growth rate of world population is 1.8 percent at present. Estimated on the basis of 1 square meter per capita, human beings will fill the land area in 585 years and spread to the whole globe in 653 years--mountains, lakes, plains, deserts, forests, and oceans.

Today, human activity has reached such an extent as to affect nature and the earth itself. This fact poses a question for mankind: Are "the growth in the population of mankind and the improvement in living quality" compatible with "the growth in human capacity" and in harmony with "the environment on which mankind depends for survival?" This question involves social problems of the whole world and each sphere of human activities. Even if it is confined to one country, the factors involved are so numerous and the relationships are so complex that it is difficult to make a generalized study. In this paper, an attempt is made to use the technique of multiobjective decision-making in systems engineering to probe into this question. First, we separate the inter-connections among various factors and separately study the partial effects of individual factors and then sum up their total effects, giving consideration to the interconnections among the various factors.

Through theoretical analysis and estimates, the major cycle of population growth in our country is estimated at about 70 years, which is close to the average lifespan of man. Therefore, in approaching the problem of population control in our country, we should go beyond 70 years to consider policy measures to be taken today. Thus, in this paper we take 100 years as the time range of discussion. This will take account of the tremendous inertia of population process and the possibility of forecast while leaving room for approximate change in the development of things and the policy decision.

Opinions vary over the problem of total population target. Some say 200 million is just right. Others say 300-400 million is proper. Others say 500-700 million is optimal. Still others say 800 million to 1.5-2 billion is also feasible. This shows people are universally interested in this problem. In this paper we join in the discussion and offer our views; more importantly, we apply systems engineering methodology and offer a scientific policy-making method.

We approached the problem from 20 angles, then combined them into nine categories, and finally summed them up as "possible and satisfactory" extent of total population, which is used to reflect the rationality of the total population target in relation to "needs and possibilities," thereby providing a basis for determining the total population target.

1. Land Potential

Our country has 9.6 million square kilometers of land, equivalent to 14.4 billion mu. As things stand at present, there are 1.5-2 billion mu (10-14 percent) of cultivated land, 1.83 billion mu (12.7 percent) of forests, 4-5 billion mu (28-37 percent) of grassland, more than 4 billion mu (27 percent) of wasteland and barren hills, 300-400 million mu (2-3 percent) of fresh water surface, and more than 2.2 billion mu (15.9 percent) of barren soil like deserts and gobi.

Forests play a very important part in regulating the climate and weather and in conserving water and soil. The rates of world forest cover are 22-28 percent, 34 percent for the U.S., 40 percent for the Soviet Union, and 29 percent for Europe. According to estimation by experts in the fields of agriculture, forestry, and ecology, the optimal rate of forest cover is around 30 percent. As far as our country is concerned, forest cover should reach 4.3 billion mu. Within this context, a forest cover rate of 30 percent and more may be considered fully satisfactory. Thus, we take the "satisfactory extent"-- Q_1 ($\geq 30\%$) = 1.0. The present rate of 12.7 percent is extremely unsatisfactory; we take Q_1 ($\leq 13\%$) = 0. The satisfactory extents between 13 percent and 30 percent cover rates are connected with a straight line as indiciated by diagram 1(a).

At the present stage, more than 60 million mu are afforested each year. If the annual afforestation decreases progressively (with afforestation becoming more difficult as time goes on), in 50 years afforestation will increase by 1.5 billion mu, and in another 50 years the forests will be stabilized, bringing the total forest area to 3.33 billion mu and the cover rate to 23 percent. We take the possibility --P_1 ($\leqslant$ 23%) = 1. By afforesting 70 percent of barren hills and wasteland and 30 percent of deserts and barren soil, the cover rate can be brought to 37 percent. We take the possibility --P_1 ($\geqslant$37%) = 0. The curve is as indicated by figure 1(a).

As to cultivated land, the average around the world is now 10.8 percent; 10.8 percent for the Soviet Union, 22.4 percent for the U.S., and 14.3 percent for Japan. In our country, the reclaimable wasteland is estimated at 1.5 billion mu. This plus 2 billion mu of existing cultivated land may bring the total rate to 24 percent. But there are people who estimate that there is not much wasteland that can be reclaimed and that expansion of forests will affect land reclamation. Now we take the possible extent --P_2 ($\geqslant$ 24%) = 0, and take P_2 ($\leqslant$ 14%) = 1. The possible extents between 14-24 percent rates of cultivated land are connected with a straight line as indicated by figure 1(b).

2. Water Potential

Our country has 2.7 trillion tons/year of surface water (river runoff) and 1 trillion tons/year of shallow groundwater. These sources of water are replenished by rainwater. In terms of the present water per capita, they are up to only one third the world level (not counting groundwater). The total volume of water used for industrial and agricultural purposes in 1979 accounted for about 18 percent of surface water.

In the United States, annual river runoff amounts to 2.4 trillion tons/year, of which 25 percent had been developed as of 1975, and it is estimated that 40 percent will be developed by the year 2000. Japan has 200 billion tons of surface water and as of the seventies was utilizing 45 percent.

We take the possibility of 50 percent utilization of surface water in our country after 100 years--P_3 ($\leqslant$ 50%) = 1, and take the possibility of 100 percent utilization--P_3 ($\geqslant$100%) = 0.

As for groundwater, we leave it out of account because it is not possible to take groundwater as an independent water source. Besides, over-exploitation will cause earth subsidence.

70.8 percent of the earth's surface is oceans, and sea water accounts for 97.2 percent of the total volume of water on the earth--1.3-1.4 billion cubic kilometers. Ice accounts for 2.16 percent, and fresh water 0.64 percent. Thus a huge volume of water is in the oceans. Desalination of sea water consumes enormous amount of capital and energy and we should not place great hope on it at present.

The situation being what it is in various countries of the world, what should be particularly guarded against at present is the pollution of water sources. Our country should pay full attention to this problem and prevent water pollution in the next hundred years. So the curve for the potential of utilizable water is indicated by 1(c).

3. Air Potential

Man is breathing at all times and all animals breathe. They keep inhaling oxygen and exhaling carbon dioxide. Mineral fuels consume enormous volumes of oxygen when burning and generate carbon dioxide.

The supply of oxygen is attributable to photosynthesis of plants. There are 26 billion tons of plants on the land of the earth and 18 billion tons of green planktons in the oceans, consuming 1.6 trillion tons of carbon dioxide and generating 1.2 trillion tons of oxygen.

The percentage of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is increasing at present. Whether this phenomenon is good or bad has not been determined. Some scientists are of the opinion that the greenhouse effect caused by the increase of carbon dioxide will increase the average temperature on the earth and cause the polar icecaps to melt, submerging vast tracts of land. Others take the view that pollution of the atmosphere and the increase in powder and dust will decrease the quantity of heat of sunlight on the earth, thereby bringing about a new ice age. According to an agriculture science station in the United States, at the present level a one percent increase in carbon dioxide will accelerate photosynthesis 0.5 percent and lend itself to a bumper harvest in agriculture. It has been reported that bumper harvests were gathered in the vicinity of carbon dioxide wells in some parts of our country.

Thus, it is not known what the ideal density of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is. However, it may be preliminarily affirmed that changes of carbon dioxide and oxygen should approach a balance after 100 years.

Since the atmosphere is a global phenomenon, it has no national boundaries. However, regional effects caused by uneven regional distribution are still existent.

In our country, on the basis of 4.3 billion mu of forests, 5 billion mu of grasslands, and 3.5 billion mu of farm crops, the total capacity for absorbing carbon dioxide is estimated at about 95 billion tons/year. We take the possibility of achieving this as 0, and the possibility of a 35 billion tons/year CO_2 absorption rate with present forests/cultivated land as being 1. The corresponding curves are shown in diagram 1(d).

The ratio of capacity for generating oxygen and that for absorbing carbon dioxide is about 32:44. Thus, there is no need to take carbon dioxide into separate consideration. As for other harmful air pollution, where pollutants cannot be absorbed by green plants, additional measures should be taken to solve the problem.

4. Energy Potential

All activities of mankind are inseparable from energy. Our country is comparatively rich in energy resources. Verified coal reserves have reached 641.8 billion tons, petroleum 2.74 billion tons. and natural gas 700 billion cubic meters. Among the regenerated energy resources, there are about 680 million kilowatts of waterpower, and 1-2.5 billion kilowatts of solar energy. In addition, geothermal, tidal energy and wind energy have exploitable potential, but relatively speaking this is not great. On the other hand, atomic energy and nuclear-fusion have exceedingly great potential.

Taking the country as a whole, in the near future we should fully utilize mineral fuels, particularly coal. Taking a long-range view, we should vigorously develop new energy resources like solar energy and atomic energy. In this way, if all the water energy and solar energy that can be technically and economically opened up are put to use after one hundred years, the total volume of energy will be equivalent to 870 million-1.37 billion tons of standard coal/year. Further, assuming that atomic energy and other new energy resources fully supplant all the energy resources we have at present, there will be energy resources equivalent to 2 billion tons of standard coal/year. After 100 years, this level will be reached if the 1979 energy production level is increased at a progressive rate of 1.175 percent a year.

The annual rate of energy growth was 3.4 percent in the U.S. during 1950-1973. According to estimates by the International Energy Organization, the annual rates of energy growth in the U.S. will be 3.7 percent in 1976-1985, 2.9 percent in 1985-1990, and 2.2 percent in 1990-2000. Corresponding growth rates will be 5.9 percent, 5 percent, and 4 percent in Japan; 2.7 percent, 2.1 percent, and 2.2 percent in the United Kingdom; and 4.9 percent, 4.1 percent and 4.1 percent in France.

During the periods of "first 5-year plan," "second 5-year plan," three-year adjustment, "third 5-year plan," and "fourth 5-year plan," annual rates of energy growth in our country were respectively 18.6 percent, 11.4 percent, 4.5 percent, 9.1 percent, and 7.9 percent. The average rate of annual growth was 10.7 percent during 1953-1978.

In all, the likelihood of an average 2 percent energy growth in 100 years from now on may be taken as 1, and the possibility of a 5 percent annual growth rate may be taken as 0. The curves are indicated by 1(c).

5. Potential in Per Mu Output of Grain

Average output per mu in our country was 137 jin/mu.year during 1949, 332.1-442 jin/mu.year (calculated on the basis of 2 billion or 1.5 billion mu) during 1979. The average annual growth rate was 3.00-3.99 percent. As to world average level of output per mu during 1979, it was 740 jin/mu.year in Japan, 591 jin/mu.year in France, 486 jin/mu.year in the United States, and 528 jin/mu.year in Denmark. During 1949-1979, the average amount of annual grain increase was 6.5-10.2 jin/mu.year in our country. Calculated by arithmetical progression, in 100 years per-mu output will also increase to 982.1-1,461.8 jin/mu.year, and the average annual growth rate will be 0.8 percent-1.1 percent.

In light of the world level mentioned above, we take the possibility of 500 kilograms per mu p6 (≤ 500) = 1. And the possibility of 1,500 kilograms and more p6 (≥ 1500) = 0. The curves are indicated by figure 1(f).

6. Aquatic Production Potential

World catches were 21 million tons during 1950, and reached 69.70 million tons during 1975, with an annual growth rate of 4.9 percent. In addition, worldwide breeding of aquatic products is expected to reach 70 million tons by the year 2000, topping the total volume of the present worldwide catches.

In Japan, where coastal waters are utilized, the area of unit output of fish has reached 5.3 tons/hectare. Our country has 13.5 million mu of shallow coastal waters and 24 million hectares of coastal waters equivalent to domestic shallow water surface. Estimated even on the basis of unit output of 1 ton/hectare, output is expected to reach 24-48 million tons/year.

If estimated according to bait, world fish output may increase by 10-100 times. At a certain ratio our country may have a share amounting to 45.5 to 455 million tons/year.

China's total output of aquatic products was 4.305 million tons during 1979. In light of the above state of affairs, we take the possibility of reaching 20 million tons/year in 100 years, p7 (≤ 0.2) = 1, and take the possibility of reaching 150 million tons/year, p7 (≥ 1.5) = 0. The curves are indicated by 1(g).

7. Economic Development Potential

Except for the 7 items mentioned above which are limited by resources, the various necessities of human life--food, clothing, shelter, and transportation--may be incorporated into the economic development potential and considered in these terms.

GNP is an index of the relative strength of the national economy. GNP may approximately demonstrate the consumption scope in a country.

The ratio of energy growth rate to the rate of gross industrial output is called energy elastic coefficient. Our energy elastic coefficient was 0.95-1.0 during 1950-1978. On the whole, the trend of development of elastic energy coefficients in various countries is on a gradual decline. For example, it was 0.94 in the U.S. during 1950-1973. It is estimated that it will decline to 0.6-0.7 by 1978-1985 and to 0.55-0.65 during 1985-2000. The trend is particularly evident in energy-deficient Japan: it was 1.0 during 1960-1979 and declined to 0.43 during 1975-1978.

Therefore, as far as our country is concerned, along with the spread of energy conservation techniques it can be predicted that in 100 years the energy elastic coefficient will gradually decline to at least 0.5. Thus, on the basis of the possible extent of an annual energy growth rate as indicated by diagram 5 of curves, we can work out the curve of the possible annual growth rate of the GNP. Take 3 percent and 7.5 percent as the turning points, and we get what is indicated by figure 1(h).

8. Per Capita Food Requirements

Man's nourishment is very rich in content, but the most principal and representative indicators are calories and proteins. The World Health Organization has set one standard: 3,000 large calories/person.day for an adult male and 2,800 large calories/person.day for an adult female. The former standard set by our country is close to that while the standard set in the United Kingdom is said to be 2,470-2,567 large calories/person.day. As for protein, the United Nations has proposed 70 grams/person.day, of which 40 percent should be animal protein. China formerly had a standard of 80 grams/person.day. Therefore, we may adopt 2,500 large calories/person.day and 80 grams of proteins/person.day. Animal nourishments accounting for 40 percent are taken as standard nourishment converted into food forms: 400 grams of cereals, 100 grams of animal meat, 80 grams of fish, 48 grams of eggs, and oil, sugar and vegetables.

Thus, the standard grain ration is 400 grams/person.day. This plus fodder grain which is about seven times the amount of meat and also industrial grain and loss which double the amount makes a total of about 800 kilograms/person.year. We take the satisfactory extent -- P_9 ($\geqslant 800$) = 1. As to 400 kg/persons.year, which does not include grain for industrial purposes and loss, we take the satisfactory extent--Q_9 (400) = 0. These are indicated by figure 1(b).

9. Per Capita Livestock Requirements

From the above we come to know that animal meat per capita is 100 grams/person.day, which converts into 3.65 kilograms/person.year. Per capita output was 10.8 kilograms/person.year during 1979.

Total production of pork, beef and mutton amounted to 10.624 million tons during 1979. The corresponding number of pigs was 319.705 million head, that of cattle 71.346 million head, that of sheep 183.42 million head. Now, on a pro rata basis we can work out per capita livestock requirements: 1.1 pigs/person, 0.25 cattle/person, 0.63 sheep/person. Reduced to standard livestock of 50 kilograms each, it is about 5.2 standard head/person. We take the satisfactory extent--q10 ($\leqslant 5.2$) = 0, and take the satisfactory extent (with 50 percent as surplus)--q10 ($\geqslant 7.8$) = 1, as indicated by figure 1(f).

10. Per Capita Fish Product Requirements

From item 8 we know fish requirements per capita are 80 grams/person.day. It is estimated that fish good for food make up about 75 percent of catches, and that half of them are waste. It is known that per capita fish product requirements are 78 kilograms/person.year. We take the satisfactory extent, Q_{11} (78) = 1, and half the satisfactory extent, Q_{11} (39) = 0, as indicated by figure 1(g).

11. Per Capita Energy Requirements

Human activities are inseparable from energy. On the basis of 2,500 large calories/person.day required to maintain the life of each person, the requirements are equivalent to 0.13 ton of standard coal/person.year. And to produce foods with so many calories it is necessary to consume more energy to the extent of from 0.013 to 1.56 tons of standard coal/person.year, depending on the kinds of foods produced. In addition, under conditions of modern society, clothing, food, shelter, transportation, culture and recreation require large amounts of energy. On the basis of 3,099.5 large calories/person.day, it is estimated that 1.615 tons of standard coal/person.year are required.

Per capita consumption of energy is the highest in the United States. Per capita consumption of energy was 11.574 standard tons/person.year in 1977. Japan, a country "deficient in energy" pays great attention to energy conservation; per capita consumption of energy during 1977 amounted to 3.806 tons of standard coal/person.year. Actual levels of consumption in the three major cities of Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin during 1979 were respectively 2.24, 1.70, and 1.47 tons of standard coal/person.year. On this basis, we select the satisfactory extent of per capita consumption of energy as follows: q12 (4.0) of 4 standard tons/coal.year = 1, and q12 (1.6) of 1.6 tons of standard coal/person.year = 0, as indicated by figure 1(e).

12. Per Capita Water Requirements

Man cannot live without water. With the development of industry and agriculture, water is increasingly showing its value. Per capita consumption of water in the U.S. reached 2,300 tons/person.year during 1965 and increased to 2,880 tons/person.year during 1975. It is estimated that by the year 2000 per capita consumption of water will reach 4,550 tons/person.year. Per capita consumption of water in Japan reached 789 tons/person.year in the mid-seventies.

In our country, consumption of water for industrial, agricultural and living purposes was approximately 400-500 tons/person.year during 1979. We take the satisfactory extent of 2,880 tons/person.year in the U.S. in the mid-seventies, q13 (2,880) = 1, and take the satisfactory of 500 tons/person.year in our country, q13 (500) = 0, as indicated by figure 1(c).

13. Per Capita Air Requirements

An adult needs 1,000 liters of air a day, inhaling 0.75 kilogram of oxygen and exhaling less than 1 kilogram of carbon dioxide equivalent to approximately 0.365 tons/person.year. In addition, per capita livestock requirements are 5.2-7.8 standard head/person. It is not possible to estimate wild animals. For the time being, we estimate them on the basis of the same number of domestic animals.

The ratio of mineral fuels to energy resources after 100 years is estimated at 50 percent at the highest and 5 percent at the lowest. Carbon dioxide thus generated will be about 0.73-7.3 tons/person.year.

Altogether, the amount of carbon dioxide averages about 4.8-13.4 tons/person.year. The oxygen needed may be worked out at a 32:44 ratio. Figure 1(d) is the curve of the satisfactory extent of per capita carbon dioxide.

14. Per Capita GNP Requirements

From discussions in item 8 it may be realized that this indicator can roughly reflect people's living standards. According to figures released by the World Bank, in 1978 per capita GNP was US$12,700/person.year in Kuwait (world's highest); US$9,960/person.year in Switzerland; US$8,640/person.year in the U.S.; US$5,640/person.year in Japan; and US$3,011/person.year in the Soviet Union. The world average was US$1,800/person.year.

Our country's per capita GNP level is now about one sixth the average world level. The highest world level is 47 times ours. Therefore, it is not so satisfactory for us to reach the present world level after 100 years. We should take q15 (1,800) = 0. The curve is indicated by figure 1(h).

15. Per Capita Housing Space and Land Requirements

The per capita housing space is 29 square meters in West Germany, 18 square meters in the U.S., 13 square meters in Japan, and 7.2 square meters in the Soviet Union. Per capita housing space is 3.6 square meters in our country, and some people estimate that by the year 2000 it will reach 10 square meters. We take 30 square meters and 5 square meters as the turning points of the satisfactory extent of per capita housing space. Housing space accounts for about 65 percent of the area of structure. Streets account for approximately 10-30 percent of the urban areas. It is assumed that land for public buildings is offset by the ground area saved from high-rise buildings.

Urban afforestation area is included in forests and grassland. Factories, mines and transportation use large amounts of land. Over the past 30 years they have taken up 150 to 180 million mu of land.

Taking all this into account, we may take the satisfactory extent of per capita use of land, 0.3 mu/person, q16 (0.3) = 1, and the satisfactory extent of 0.18 mu/person, q16 (0.18) = 1 [as published; should be 0] as indicated by figure 1(i).

16. Possibilities of Land Used for Housing, Industry, and Transportation

Forests, cultivated land, barren hills and waste land make up approximately half of the total area of our country at present. If we want forests to take up 37 percent and cultivated land 24 percent in the future, we will have to turn to deserts, gobi and grasslands, and must use the land sparingly. In the 20 years from 1957 to 1977, cultivated land in our country decreased by 180 million mu, or 10 percent. It is assumed that 15 percent and 30 percent are taken as the low and high points in the possibilities of land for housing, industry and transportation. Taking account of the possibilities of cultivated land (see item 2), we can work out the low and high points, 2.1 percent and 7.2 percent of the total area nationwide.

17. The Lowest Total Birth Rate Acceptable to the Masses

The total birth rate (B) is approximately equivalent to the average number of children begotten by a married couple in their lifetime. The number of births was 2.2 in 1979. If childbirths follow the trend of the past few years and drop by 0.1 a year, childbirths are expected to drop to 1.5 by 1986. By that time, in the rural districts, which account for 80 percent of the total population, 40 percent will have one child and 6 percent two children each. In cities, which account for 20 percent of the total population, 90 percent will have one child each and 10 percent two children each. It is predicted that after 100 years the population will be 603-777 million. We take this possibility, p18 ($\geq$7.0) = 1. If within 100 years 100 percent of the population will have one child each, it is predicted that the population will be 233-370 million after 100 years. Under the conditions of our country, it is difficult to achieve this. We take the possibility of this, p18 ($\leq$ 3) = 0 as indicated by figure 1(j).

18. Limit to the Ageing Coefficient

The ratio of persons aged 65 and over to the total population is called the ageing coefficient (l_2). Distribution of the ages of the present population being what it is in our country, to lower the level of the total population in 2080 will certainly bring about a growth of l_2. L_2 in the next hundred years. It is necessary to put forward the hopes for limits of l_2.

From analysis we come to know that with present mortality rates, the corresponding base value of L_2 is about 0.14. This being so, we think that as long as L_2 is smaller than or equivalent to 0.15 it is satisfactory, and that L_2 larger than or equivalent to 0.3 is unsatisfactory. Through calculations based on more than 30 schemes, we have worked out the corresponding total population after 100 years to be 1.4 billion and 500 million. Therefore, we take the satisfactory extent, q19 ($\geq$14) = 1, and q19 ($\leq$5) = 0. The curves are indicated by figure 1(k).

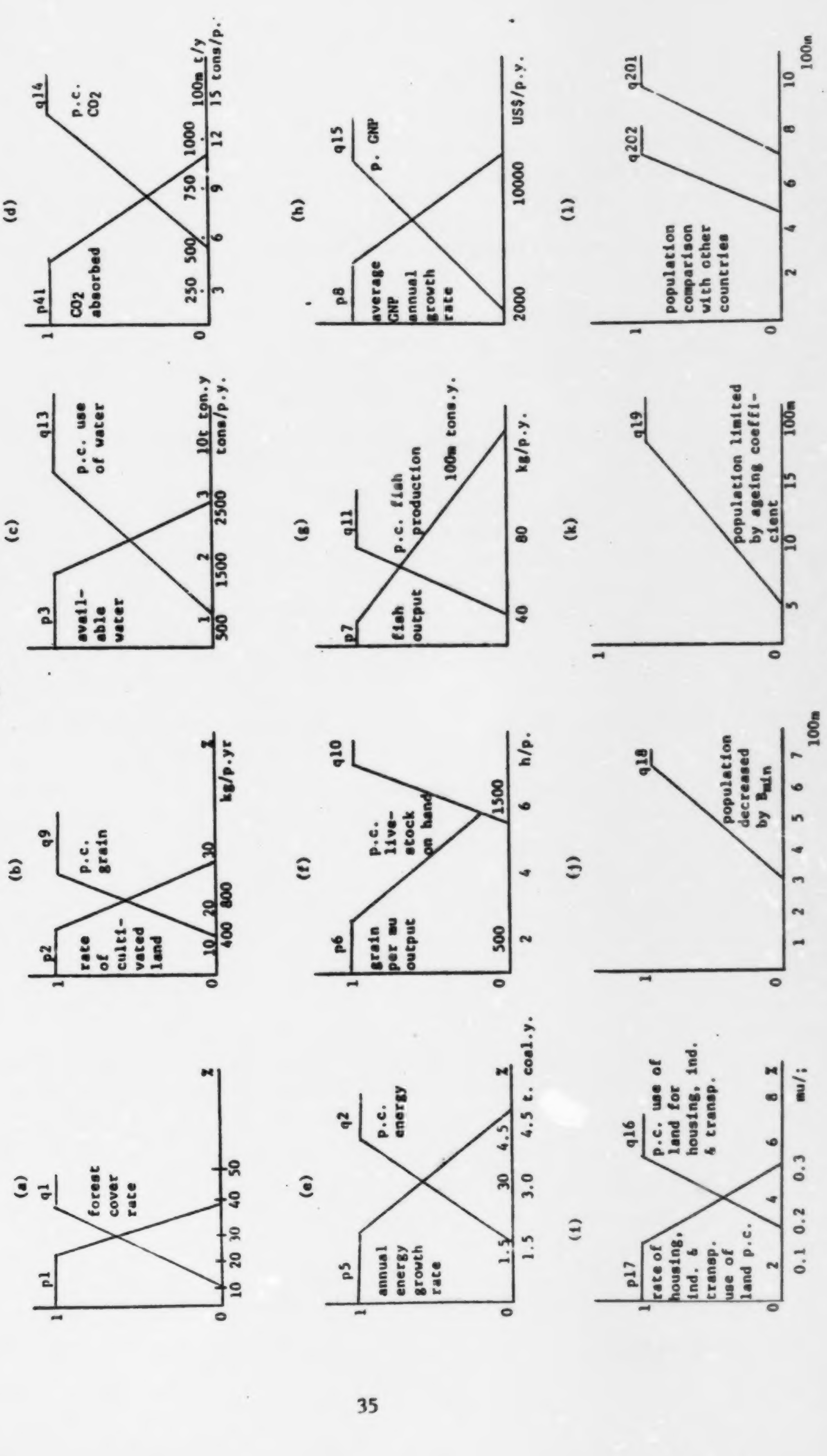
19. Comparison of Total Population with Various Countries

Our country has always been the largest one in terms of population. Total population is one aspect of national strength. Therefore, a direct comparison with various countries should be taken into consideration.

Countries with a population of 100 million or more are China, India, the Soviet Union, the U.S., Indonesia, Brazil, and Japan. In the case of the last four countries, the maximum population does not exceed 260 million. Therefore, what we need to watch is the development of population in the Soviet Union and India.

The Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of population growth. Its present population is 264 million and its natural growth rate is .9 percent. In 100 years constant growth will bring its total population to 647 million. We take its satisfactory extent - q_{20R} ($\geq$6.5) = 1 - and take the satisfactory extent of 450 million (30% less) - q_{20R} ($\leq$4.5) = 0.

Figure 1


(a)
p1
q1
forest cover rate
1
0
10 20 30 40 50
%
(b)
p2
q9
rate of culti-vated land
p.c. grain
10 20 30 %
400 800 kg/p.yr
(c)
p3
q13
avail-able water
p.c. use of water
1 2 3 10t ton.y
500 1500 2500 tons/p.y.
(d)
p41
q14
CO2 absorbed
p.c. CO2
250 500 750 1000 100m t/y
3 6 9 12 15 tons/p.
(e)
p5
q2
annual energy growth rate
p.c. energy
1.5 30 4.5 %
1.5 3.0 4.5 t. coal.y.
(f)
p6
q10
grain per mu output
p.c. live-stock on hand
500 1500 h/p.
2 4 6
(g)
p7
q11
fish output
p.c. fish production
100m tons.y.
40 80 kg/p.y.
(h)
p8
q15
average GNP annual growth rate
p. GNP
2000 10000 US$/p.y.
(i)
p17
q16
rate of housing, ind. & transp. use of land p.c.
p.c. use of land for housing, ind. & transp.
2 4 6 8 %
0.1 0.2 0.3 mu/;
(j)
q18
population decreased by B_min
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
100m
(k)
q19
population limited by ageing coeffi-cient
5 10 15 100m
(l)
q202
q201
population comparison with other countries
2 4 6 8 10
100m

India has a population of 667 million and its natural growth rate is 2.1 percent. By the end of this century it will grow to 1.0107 billion. Its maximum population is estimated at 1.6 billion. Therefore, we take its satisfactory extent - q_{201} (≥ 10) = 1 - and take q_{201} (≤ 7) = 0. The above curves are indicated by figure (1).

20. Overview

The above are more than 20 factors considered. Figure 1 indicates the possible extents and satisfactory extents of the various factors. They may be combined by using the technique of multiobjective decision-making techniques in systems engineering. The process of their combination is illustrated by figure 2 with the following results:

1. Viewed from the aspect of grain, the possible-satisfactory extent of total population is 1 when it is less than 1.26 billion, and 0 when it exceeds 6.48 billion.

2. Viewed form the production of fish, the possible-satisfactory extent of total population is 1 when it is less than 260 million; thereafter, it begins to decline slowly.

3. Viewed from the use of land for industrial, transportation and living purposes, the possible-satisfactory extent of total population is 1 when it is less than 1 billion, and will decline to 0 when it exceeds 5.67 billion.

4. Viewed from the use of water, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when the total population is less than or equals 450 million, and will drop to 0 when it exceeds 5.4 billion.

5. Viewed from the changes in oxygen and carbon dioxide, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when land is rationally distributed and the total population is less than or equals 2.6 billion.

6. Viewed from standpoint of energy, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when the total population is less than or equal to 640 million.

7. Viewed from GNP, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when the total population is less than or equal to 640 million.

8. Viewed from the process of population development, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when it exceeds 1.4 billion and is 0 when it is less than 500 million.

9. Viewed from the comparison of population with other countries, the possible-satisfactory extent is 1 when the total population is larger than 1 billion, and is 0 when it is smaller than 450 million.

Curves of the above possible-satisfactory extents are indicated by diagram 3. If these factors are satisfied fully and simultaneously, the highest possible-satisfactory extent is only 0.25, which is obviously not good enough. Here we can find that water consumption, GNP, and population development process produce the greatest effects. The process of population movement is caused by the present surging distribution of population ages. As a result of estimations and calculations based on "scores of plans," it is discovered that the proportion of old people around 2040 will be too large, making it necessary to make arrangements at an early date. As to use of water, care should be taken to use water rationally and to prevent pollution. As to GNP, efforts must be made to strive for steady, high-rate growth.

From different viewpoints, six plans are listed below (see "Comparative Table of Six Plans for Total Population Target in China"). From the table it may be noted that if we consider only food and things for use and the economic strength, it would be advisable to keep the population target below 540 million; if mutual compensations for certain factors are permitted as indicated by plan 4, then the population target should be kept below 760 million, and its possible-satisfactory extent is above 0.9. However, we cannot but consider the actual conditions of population development, particularly the average number of births by a married couple that is acceptable to the masses of our country. As to the peak of ageing coefficient that will appear in the forties of the next century, we may use our economic strength to tide us over.

Thus, plan 5 is formed with 700 million as its population target and 0.65 as its possible-satisfactory extent. It seems plan 4 is desirable and, if mutual compensation for certain factors is permitted, plan 6 is formed. Here the population target may be raised to 700 million-1 billion.

Diagram 4 indicates the possible-satisfactory extents of the six plans. From the curves we can clearly see that after 100 years from now on 700 million appears to be optimal target of total population and that if things are stretched a bit, the target may be raised to 700 million-1 billion.

We feel that the problem of total population target is one of utmost importance to our country. With this target set, we can find out the best tactics to control the process of population development, and a clear orientation for population control in our country. At the same time, we can know from various conditioning factors which are serious, which are moderate, which should be given double care, which are the focal points of work. This will led itself to the planning and coordination of various kinds of work.

With time, the development of science and technology, the progress of society and the deepening of our knowledge, we may keep determining the total population target to be reached 100 years from now on and aim all policy decisions at this target. In this way, we shall always be in control.

Plans for Comparative Table of Total Population Targets in China

Plans	Factors considered										Total pop. in 2080 (100m)	Possible-satisfactory extent (degree of rationality)
	food		things for use			strength		process of population movement		Compared with other countries		
	grain	fish	land used	water use	air	energy	GNP	no. of births	ageing coeffi-cient			
1	Fully and simultaneously satisfied										10.5	0.25
2	Mutual compensation of factors considered							simultaneously satisfied			14	0.68
3	Satisfied simultaneously							not considered			5.4	0.9
4	Mutual compensation of factors considered							not considered			7.6	0.9
5	Satisfied simultaneously							simul. satis.	not consid.	simul. satis.	7	0.65
6	Mutual compensation of factors considered										7(~10)	0.83

Figure 2

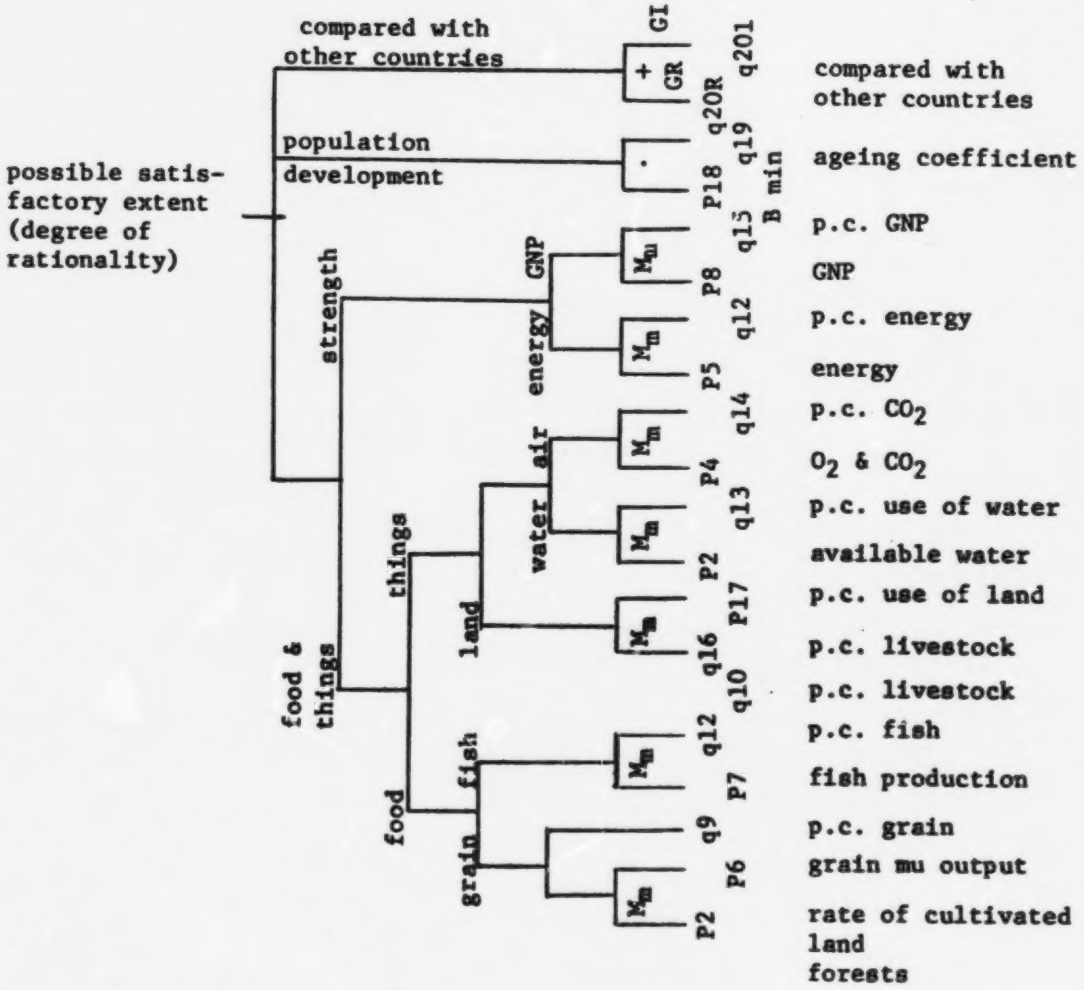

possible satisfactory extent (degree of rationality)
compared with other countries
population development
strength
food & things
things
food
GNP
energy
air
water
land
fish
grain
GI
+
GR
·
Mm
q201
q20R
q19
P18
B min
q15
P8
q12
P5
q14
P4
q13
P2
P17
q16
q10
q12
P7
q9
P6
P2
compared with other countries
ageing coefficient
p.c. GNP
GNP
p.c. energy
energy
p.c. CO2
O2 & CO2
p.c. use of water
available water
p.c. use of land
p.c. livestock
p.c. livestock
p.c. fish
fish production
p.c. grain
grain mu output
rate of cultivated land
forests

Figure 3

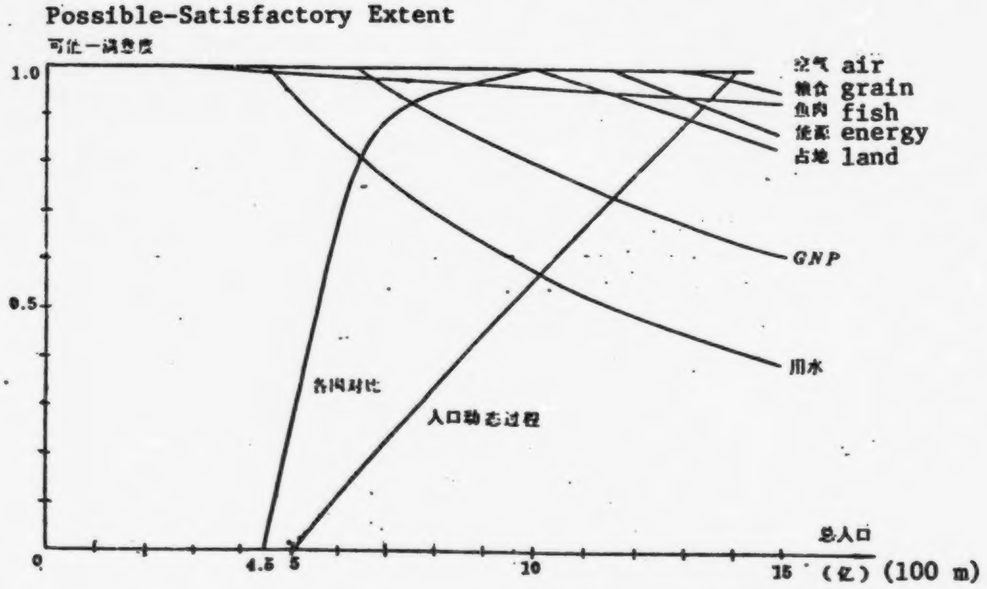
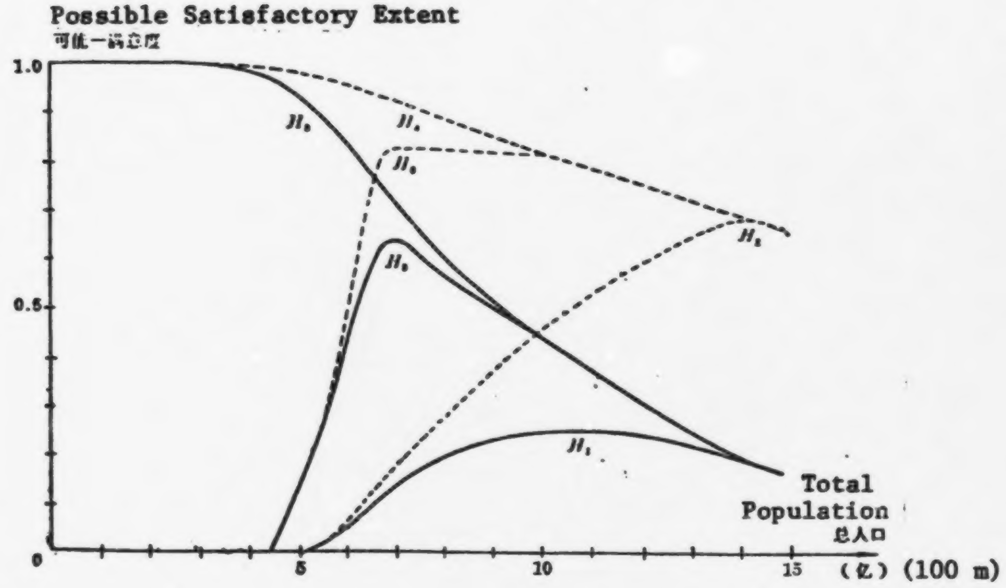


Figure 4



9780
CSO: 4006/411

PRC COLLEGES READY TO ENROLL FRESHMEN STUDENTS IN AUGUST

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by XINHUA correspondent Yang Jianye [2799 1696 2818]: "Millions of College Bound Students Take Uniform Entrance Examination This Year"]

[Text] (XINHUA), Beijing 12 July--The 1981 uniform college entrance examination taken by some 2.58 million students from all over the country has come to an end. The evaluation of test papers which is now well under way in various parts of the country is expected to be completed by the end of July so that major institutions of higher learning can begin their enrollment of freshmen students in August.

This year's uniform college entrance examination was preceded by an initial selection of students in 13 provinces and autonomous regions. Among them were Sichuan, Gansu, Xinjiang, Hubei, Shanxi, and Heilongjiang. Added to the list of provinces selecting students this way this year were Henan, Jiangsu, Shandong, Guangxi, Jilin and Shaanxi. This initial student selection process was accomplished by these provinces and autonomous regions in connection with the last examination taken by high school graduates. In the 13 provinces and autonomous regions, students who took initial tests were estimated at 3.68 million, 1.26 million of whom were selected to take the uniform college entrance examination. Students who took the uniform college entrance examination this year were estimated at 720,000 less than in 1980 because some provinces and autonomous regions adopted the initial student selection procedure. Examination rooms were mostly located in counties throughout the country. In each examination room, test takers were seated in single tables separated from each other.

From 7 to 9 July, no disorder was reported in all examination rooms throughout the country when tests took place under the watchful eyes of responsible overseers. Test-takers were mostly in high spirits, and were willing to observe discipline while quietly pondering and conscientiously answering test questions and confidently conveying their academic achievements to their motherland and awaiting its final decision. Many personnel involved in the recruitment of college freshman students this year reflected that this year's examination room order seemed better than in any previous year, saying that this reminded us that the programs to build socialist spiritual civilization and to carry out the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities have reaped fruits.

This year, there were 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions where high school graduates applying for colleges and junior college level vocational schools were asked to take the uniform entrance examination at the same time. Those who pass examination will be admitted to colleges or vocational schools in accordance with their respective wishes. Among these provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions were Hebei, Anhui, Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and the aforementioned 13 provinces and autonomous regions which have adopted the initial student selection procedure. Of the 117,900-odd students who took the nationwide uniform college entrance examination in Beijing Municipality this year, 27,900-odd students applied for the junior college level vocational schools, 59,400-odd students applied for both colleges and vocational schools, and students who applied for colleges alone were estimated at more than 30,500. In this connection, facts similar to Beijing Municipality were also reported in other parts of China.

Test questions for this year's college entrance examination have received favorable response from many high school teachers and test takers. At a forum attended by a cross-section of high school teachers in Beijing Municipality, the consensus is that all test questions for this year's college entrance examination were all based on the high school teaching program and high school textbooks and therefore, compatible with the real objective of secondary education to test the ability of students to grasp rudimentary knowledge. Although the test questions vary in depth, none of them can be considered odd or catch questions. They added that test questions given this way will be helpful in improving the quality of secondary education, in guiding students to concentrate their energy on acquiring rudimentary knowledge well and in emancipating the minds of high school teachers and students from the "strategy to conjure up a large number of potential test questions" and a great variety of refresher material.

9574
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DEPENDENTS OF ARMY BORDER DEFENDERS NEED ASSISTANCE IN LOCATING JOBS, SCHOOLS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 81 pp 1, 4

[Circular of the State Council and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on Locating Jobs and Schools for Children of Army Cadres Stationed in Remote Areas]

[Text] (XINHUA), Beijing, 14 July--The State Council and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee recently issued a circular calling on various localities and army units to make joint efforts and take proper measures to solve the problems of army cadres stationed in border or unpopulated areas and on off-shore islands in locating jobs for their accompanying dependents and schools for their accompanying sons and daughters.

The circular says: The PLA units stationed in border or unpopulated areas and on off-shore islands and the people's armed police troops stationed at border defense outposts have been assigned the glorious task of guarding and defending the frontiers of their motherland. These army cadres with their units mostly stationed in the economically and culturally undeveloped remote areas now face many practical difficulties in locating jobs for their accompanying dependents and schools for their accompanying children.

Various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as leading organs of the army at all levels must conscientiously and thoroughly implement job placement policies and measures set forth by the Central Committee. Joint efforts must be made by the local governments and army units to actively create employment opportunities, to broaden the prospect of employment in a way suitable to the specific local conditions and to make proper arrangements for these dependents of the army units to engage in work and productive labor. In coordination with the local economic development programs, the army units can take advantage of their access to various natural resources to build factories or service and processing industries operated by their dependents. The local governments and departments concerned must advise them of technical know-how on production, supply and marketing and help them establish contact with enterprises and their associated units. Through consultations with the local governments, the army units can build army dependent family activity centers or bases at the strategically selected points where the widely scattered army dependents can be concentrated to engage in productive labor. Individual economies can be developed within the framework of the state policies and regulations in areas where the employment opportunities are nil.

The circular says: Wives of army cadres who originally worked in units of public ownership or collective ownership at the county, district and higher levels can be temporarily placed in positions with the army-operated enterprises and establishments or dependents factories when they follow their husbands from one station to another where no suitable jobs are really available to them. Their original positions and grades must be retained, their length of service must be counted on a continuing basis, and their wages and salaries must be rated in accordance with the relevant regulations of the local governments. Army cadres receiving orders of transfer to border defense outposts and off-shore islands may leave their families in their original places in order to relieve their units in border areas and on off-shore islands of difficulties in resettling them. Families living with the army units must still be taken care of and controlled by their original units. Those living in civilian residential areas must be taken care of by their original employment units and local governments. First consideration must be given to those families which experienced housing difficulties in the allocation of new housing units.

The circular says: Sons and daughters of army units stationed in border or unpopulated areas and on the off-shore islands and armed police units at their border defense outposts, who are on the waiting list of employment must be included in the labor-employment programs and must be employed on a priority basis. Those physically suitable sons volunteering to be enlisted in active service must be processed and approved on a priority basis. Daughters of army cadres deserve similar consideration in the drafting of women soldiers in the army. Upon their retirement from active duties, those provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions which originally drafted them into active service must assume responsibility for resettling them in civilian life. In case their parents have been transferred elsewhere upon their retirement, the districts in which their parents are located should take up the responsibility for their resettlement.

The circular urges local governments at all levels to give strong support and assistance to the aforementioned army cadres in solving the problem of schools for their sons and daughters in accordance with the principle of assigning them schools nearest to their homes. It says: Schools operated by the departments of education are advised to admit these students on a priority basis, and can be compensated by tuition from these students in accordance with the regulations of the state. But they are prohibited from accepting any extra fees for this purpose. In localities where no such schools are available, they can be enrolled into schools run by enterprises, communes and brigades and other collectives and establishments which have no reason, whatsoever, to reject these students. The army units can do everything possible in their power to support those civilian schools which have enrolled a large number of children of army cadres. Local governments must plan to build new schools or expand existing ones in their areas where no schools are available or new schools need to be built or existing ones need to be expanded to enrol children of army cadres stationed there. The army units stationed there must give them necessary assistance in carrying out such projects. In localities where no resources are available to build any schools for the time being, the army units stationed there should build schools of their own in accordance with the principle of economization with the support and assistance of the departments of education which should provide instructions, teaching materials and equipment, teachers and facilities for their training. Graduates from such schools must be considered for promotion to other schools or for jobs along with their counterparts from other schools under a unified plan. The departments of education must actively help army units in localities with no schools send children of their cadres to schools in nearby cities or in remote areas. If these schools cannot provide board and room for students, army divisions and higher level units should provide such facilities for middle school students.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED FOR WRITERS TO ESTABLISH COMMUNICATION WITH LIFE URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 81 p 5

[Article by Du Ai [2629 1002]: "On Understanding of 'Plunging Into the Thick of Life' Once More"]

[Text] Some comrades maintain that today since the subject matter for creative works has been broadened and restrictions on writing have been lifted, we have much to write and therefore don't have to pay any attention to what is going on in real life. There is also a misunderstanding of the slogan "keep in close touch with life" among some individual comrades who contend that this slogan, which was proposed under a specific historical condition and therefore applicable only to a specific historical circumstance is no longer "valid" today as the situation has changed. This shows that an accurate evaluation of the relationship between life and writers remains a matter of concern that commands the great attention of our writers, especially young writers.

Social life is a base in which literature and art are created while knowledge of life is a preparation essential to writers. Literary and artistic works are a reflection of social life which can be expressed from a single angle or many different angles and in one form or many different forms. In whatever form their works take, they must be based on social life, rather than pure imagination and free-wheeling fabrications which are unlikely to give the public any good masterpieces of lasting value. Good works usually come from writers who have experienced life to a certain degree and who have undergone specific training in literature and art. In this sense, life is the first and decisive factor essential to the writers. Those famous realistic works of ancient and modern times at home and abroad were fostered by writers on the soils of real life. Had Tolstoy been deprived of the chance to fight in the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey, he would have been unable to produce his "War and Peace." Maxim Gorki's "Mother" and other outstanding works did not come until he accumulated adequate experiences in life and struggles. Likewise, Lu Xun's "A Madman's Diary" and "The True Story of Ah Q" would never appear if he failed to keep in close touch with the life of old China and to achieve a deep understanding of peasants who were trampled under foot as the lowest class of society at that time. Some young writers of our time such as Jiang Zilong [5592 1311 7893], Wang Meng [3769 5536], and Gao Xiaosheng [7559 2556 5116] have published some good and relatively good works. Their successes have very much to do with their rich knowledge of life and their deeper tastes of life as it is reflected in their works.

On the other hand, there are also some works which have proved unsuccessful. In the final analysis, such failures have something to do with their writers' attitude toward life. Some of our current literary and artistic works have proved low in quality and unpopular with readers. Although many reasons can be cited for their failure, what is most important is that these works were fabricated. Fabricated works usually come from writers who live in isolation from life. There are some writers who have portrayed certain aspects of life without making efforts to get acquainted with them or demonstrating any willingness to communicate with them and/or getting any tastes of them. Works produced in this way will prove unacceptable.

Some people argue that knowledge of life is required for works of the realistic style but not for historical stories. This understanding is wrong. Creative works dealing with history also face a problem of how to get acquainted with the life of the past. Works of historical interests deal with historical life unfamiliar to their writers. Before writing such works, they must conduct careful and thorough investigations and interviews, read volume upon volume of historical documents, and conscientiously analyze and study them. Otherwise, they will find it impossible to get the job done. Without getting the knowledge of historical life, Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995] would have found it impossible to produce his work "Li Zicheng." Nor would Ling Li [0407 0500] have found it possible to produce his work "Star-Like Grass." Therefore, the assumption that knowledge of life is not required in the writing of historical works is wrong. On the contrary, without knowledge of life, no realistic works can be produced. Even the fictitious myths cannot break with what is going on in this mundane world. Fundamentally, the reason that all the world-renowned myths have been handed down from generation to generation stems from the fact that they dramatically reflect the social life of their specific historical periods and in a sense express the people's aspirations and demands of those historical periods.

As it was stated earlier, as far as the writers are concerned, there are two types of life: 1) the type of life personally experienced by them; 2) the type of life not directly tasted by them. When a life is personally tasted by a writer, he will have a deeper impression and understanding of it and will find himself in a position to early comprehend and express it. But any writer must use other people's practical experiences to enrich his own through the reading of books and printed materials. Such efforts are not only justified but also necessary. As far as literary and artistic works are concerned, such direct and indirect forms of experience in life complement each other rather than tamper and conflict with each other. Whatever a writer is going to create--either realistic or historical works--he must conscientiously taste the life of our time, and make his presence felt among the masses so that he can draw nutrition from them and achieve rapport between literature and the masses of people. He must first understand the life, aspirations and demands of the people before he can produce any works conforming to their desires.

A writer needs to know life. This requirement is consistent with the Marxist materialist theory of reflection. But this does not imply that once he plunges into the thick of life, he will be able to solve all problems he faces and to produce good works. The opposite is true. Life bears a striking resemblance to a rich mineral deposit whose development calls for hard work. If a miner has no knowledge about mining, he may be unable to produce any valuable ore no matter how hard he works. Life also resembles a piece of crude jade covered with dust, whose shining splendor will be revealed only after it is polished. What is important is that a writer must achieve an "in-depth" understanding of life. If he communicates with life in a way that touches only its surface, if he behaves like a fleeting cloud skimming over the water or a dragonfly stopping short of going deep into the water after a delicate touch upon its surface, he will find it impossible to solve problems he faces in writing. What is important is that he must delve deep into life, and broaden his horizons of the world so that he can gain a thorough understanding of it. Writers are required to make painstaking and unremitting efforts and adopt various ways and steps to get close to the masses, and to get accepted by them as members of their own. They must share weal and weo with the masses so that they can observe, appreciate, study and analyze their activities.

Of course, many different ways can be devised by a writer to communicate with life. He can do this in ways that takes into account his age, experiences, character, and interest. For this reason, the leadership of the organization of literary and artistic workers should refrain from imposing general, and absolutely arbitrary regulations on writers demanding that they can keep in touch with life only in one way but not in another way. Flexibility rather than rigidity should be emphasized in this connection. Writers should be allowed to communicate with life in various ways, especially those aspects of life totally unfamiliar to them. Middle-aged and young writers are urged to find part-time jobs or active practical work or locate specific positions which will bring them into direct contact with life. This should be regarded as a very ideal and effective method of communication with life.

The reason is that practical work can provide a writer with an easy access to the masses and an opportunity to understand them. We writers must join the masses in accomplishing the great four modernizations program and the transformation of life, and make ourselves acceptable to them as members of their own. Only thus can we place ourselves in a position to know, observe and analyze their activities from a vantage point. Writers who feel that they can do this, and consider it necessary and are willing to do this must go out of their ivory tower as many times as possible in order to broaden their horizons of the world. Only in this way can they win more opportunities to enrich their life in terms of breadth and depth.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OBSERVANCE OF DISCIPLINE, FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES BY WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Li Sheng [7812 3932]: "An Analogy"]

[Text] Xun Zi [5424 1311] of the era of the Warring States once drew up lively analogy to emphasize the indispensable role of teachers in the learning process. In this connection, he said: "Although Huali, Qili, Qianli and Green Ears were good horses of the ancient times, they could not run a thousand miles a day until they were harnessed with saddles and long lashes and trained by Zao Fu." I consider it very appropriate to use this analogy to depict the dialectical relationship between discipline and freedom and between restriction and liberation and to explain that our writers and artists must accept the Marxist theory of literature and art as a guide, supervision from the masses of people and the leadership provided by the proletarian political party.

Of course, a good stallion which gallops at a speed of 1,000 li a day will feel neither free nor comfortable when it is saddled and mounted by a rider with a long lash in hand. However, please imagine that once it is really relieved of all this equipment, and set free, and once it gets everything it wants, it will lose its sense of purpose and direction and stamina which is its source of strength for galloping a long distance. This being the case, can it still move toward the intended destination at a speed of 1,000 li a day? Can it still deserve to be called a good horse capable of running 1,000 li a day? By then, the horse will become heedless of orders and will run amuck just like any other horses of bad temper. This shows that discipline and freedom and restriction and liberation are elements which oppose and complement each other. Once the former is separated from the latter, the latter will loss its counterpart on which its existence depends and will change its original character. Nothing seems simplier than this reasoning in this case.

True, just as Comrade Zhou Enlai once pointed out, we cannot wilfully "frame and pick up on people. Nor can we trace their roots, impose political labels on them and wield big sticks in their faces," shut their mouths and make them timid in action. Meanwhile, he added: "Marxism is a framework. We have a larger framework. Therefore, generally speaking, we do not oppose framework." The four basic principles constitute a large framework which we cannot throw away. Any decision to free our writers and artists from the Marxist theory of literature and art as a guide, supervision and lashes from the masses of people and the leadership of the proletarian political party may appear to be something to the delight of some people. However, if we all regard such restriction, supervision and guidance as nuisances, I am sure by the time a truly revolutionary and talented writer or artist is relieved of this "painful rope" by a "savior," he may suffer even a greater pain, become more puzzled than ever, and get bogged down in the bourgeois quagmire of individualism, anarchism and liberalism. His original desire to free him from a specific type of shackles may find himself being bound up by another kind of more painful ropes. This is a logic of life that seems always working against the wishes of people.

Actually, such terms as "reins," "lashes," and "guidance" do not originate from objective reality alone. They also reside in our high sense of responsibility to society, the literary impulse to praise the true, the good and the beautiful and to condemn the false, evil and ugly things, ideals of devotion to the development of socialist literature and art and feelings of excitement. Can we call these self-imposed invisible reins, lashes and guidance that exist in the consciousness of revolutionary writers and artists?

In a quotation from the German proverb, Lenin said: "No analogy is perfect." Using this comparison between man and horse to convey a point that the writers and artists dedicated to "a national crusade in which they believe" should submit to the revolutionary theory, and heed the instructions of a political party and people is probably not a very ideal analogy. But I can take some comfort from the fact that the truth is identical. I sincerely hope that my bold attempt to use an ancient example to parody modern life will do nobody any harm.

9574
CSO: 4005/786

CURRENT TRENDS IN LITERATURE, ART ANALYZED

Nanchang XING HUO [A SPARK] in Chinese No 6, 1981, pp 76-77

[Article by Guang Qun [0342 6746]: "Avoid Two Types of 'Inertia'"]

[Text] At present, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the entire party membership is committed to strengthen the political and ideological work. Socialist literature and art are an important weapon to influence the people in their ways of thinking, to enhance social stability and unity, and to build our socialist spiritual civilization. Under the current new situation, certainly the literary and artistic front should consider it necessary to make conscientious efforts to improve its work, carry forward its achievements, examine and correct its shortcomings and mistakes that really need to be corrected so that it can live up to the needs of the party and people.

However, lessons drawn from our past experiences teach us that vigorous efforts really must be made to overcome interference from the two types of "inertia" in order to improve and strengthen our work and develop our productive power in creative writing. What does it mean by interference from the two types of "inertia"?

When the guidelines come from the top echelons, instead of conscientiously studying and striving to comprehend the documents or instructions, the people involved just roughly and perfunctorily go over them as "a matter of formality." They seem more interested in gathering unofficial information and unreliable speculations. As a result, two types of "habitual" behavior will quickly come into action: 1) This will be seized by some people as an opportunity to look for "targets of attack" everywhere and as a starting point in their crusade against the "rightists." Among them are people who under the heavy influence of the "leftist" influence disagree with or have misgivings about the guidelines of the Third Plenum. Actually, attention must be paid to the problems that arise from the process of creative writing, problems which can be satisfactorily solved through the use of literary criticism as a weapon, and through the process of reasoning, persuasion and critical analysis which proves helpful in raising the political consciousness and improving the works of writers. But the quality of literary and artistic works cannot be enhanced by any subjective judgment of certain persons as "rightists" and certain works as poisonous weeds. Such behavior is not only harmful to writers themselves but also will mess everything up.

For example, some people have viewed the excellent situation characterized by cultural prosperity and competition among a hundred of blooming flowers produced by a new generation of writers as an "ideological confusion" and a dark cloud. Are you confused? A little bit. For example, a few people have mistakenly thought of an attempt to break away from party leadership while another small group of people is under the influence of an unhealthy tendency to ignore real life and the Marxist ideology as a guide in their writings. Criticism of these people is absolutely necessary. Earlier, those devoted to theoretical critical work made mistake of failing to criticize this tendency vigorously. Can we call our current main trend in literature and art and in writing an "ideological confusion"? A friend of mine who denounced a television program for showing "two platoon leaders vying for the love of one girl" said caustically: "Our army prohibits conscription soldiers from courting any girls. This television drama is counterproductive to the difficult and painstaking work done by instructors among the fighters!" I agree that all television programs catering to our army fighters must be carefully selected, and that special caution must be exercised against those "love scenes" in the programs which may have a bad effect on them. I feel that this consideration is right. Anyway specific analysis in this is necessary. All indiscriminate and blind criticism must be avoided. For example, that television drama mentioned by my friend and watched by me deals with a fighter who gradually changes his mind about his fiancee back home in the countryside following his promotion to the position of army cadre and who refuses to see her upon his return to home. Knowing this, a platoon leader voluntarily pitches in to persuade that fighter to change his wrong idea on this matter and to make him return to the right path in love affairs. Therefore, I argued that this drama is basically healthy and good and it absolutely has nothing to do with "two platoon leaders vying for the love of one girl." But my friend did not agree with me. He still stubbornly stuck to his views. Coincidentally, on that day another friend of mine--an instructor from the railway corps--also came to see me. In his presence, I asked whether he had seen that television program. The instructor said yes. Then I asked again: Did you see any problem with that drama? He said: "It is a very good drama of educational value! There are also some fighters who come from the countryside in my company, and who were engaged before joining the army. After seeing this drama, they called it an immunization shot in their arms. When a soldier is assigned to a station in a city, he must particularly guard against such characters as Chen Xi [7115 0823], a character in the novel 'A Sentry Under the Neon Lights,' and the way he thinks. That drama is actually a criticism of erroneous ideas harbored by persons like Chen Xi. Is it fair to say that the novel on 'sentry' is right and that television drama wrong?" This remark from the instructor's personal experiences was a strong rebuke to the argument by my friend who stood silently without a word.

2) This type of "tendency" affects mostly writers and editors for some publications in the literary and artistic circles who are sensitive and fragile and who often mistake wind for rain. This state of mind is understandable because they suffered punishment in the past. These are people who lack an independent thoughtful mind and a habit of analyzing and judging problems independently. For example, some writers these days have to "check the climate and see which way the wind is blowing" before displaying any courage to write. Some may say that right now we have to wait until the "reading season is over." Some hide their

finished works in the drawers and are not yet ready to publish them. Some even have written letters to the editorial departments requesting the return of their works mailed earlier.

It is ironic to note the following regulations from the editors to writers: 1) you can write only stories of the four modernizations; 2) you can only write about positive characters and heroes; 3) you can only write about new socialist personalities. What will happen to works dealing with other themes? They will all be returned to their writers. Some publications have become nervous and are ready to face punishment and criticism for publishing articles not compatible with these regulations. Does this sound like self-punishment? A calm and careful analysis will reveal that actually, the reaffirmation by the Central Committee of the guidelines calling for upholding the four basic principles and for further enhancing stability and unity and strengthening the ideological and political work is in every sense a continuation and development of the guidelines of the Third Plenum and compatible with its principles and emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one to look forward. The guidelines of the Third Plenum on literature and art call on us to persist in moving in the direction of "serving the four modernizations and the people," and to gear literature and art to serve the people in a better way, to enhance the socialist construction program, social stability and unity, and to provide high quality spiritual food for the people to satisfy their growing needs to better their spiritual and cultural life. To this end, we must make conscientious efforts to implement the "double hundred" policy with the aim of diversifying the theme, and style of literature and art, and inspiring free discussion of creative writing and free competition for better literary and artistic styles. Is there any change in the guidelines of the Third Plenum? No. It is certain that we need more than any other time to encourage and promote the production of works boosting the morale and stimulating the spirit of our people, works directly reflecting the contradictions and struggles through the development of four modernizations, and portraying the pioneering heroes dedicated to the four modernizations program. Any judgment of this as the only demands and other themes as "formula" writing is a big misunderstanding of the guidelines of the Third Plenum and the "double hundred" policy requiring literature and art to "serve the people and the four modernizations." If the air is permeated with this "formula" writing, the atmospheric pressure will drop, and the people will experience difficulty in breathing and become nervous. Although a certain degree of excitement may be o.k., too much excitement may spell troubles. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the consistent aim of our party's original policy is to encourage, promote and support the program to broaden the prospect for writing. This prospect may have been dimmed by action taken by some people. The metaphysical "formula" writing consistently opposed by our party may be revived among a certain segment of the population, thus slowing down or even bringing to a standstill the development of the productive power in writing or even pushing it backward. The broad masses of people will certainly never allow the literary and artistic front to return to the days of monotony, dullness and hibernation. Nor will they allow it to go back to the era of the "gang of four" in which only uniformity was emphasized and ten thousand horses were muted.

The Central Committee has called on us to study the new problems and understand the new situations and to move forward. Our primary task is to study humbly, in order to truly understand and comprehend the essence of the Central Committee instructions. We must achieve a correct understanding of this essence as a basis for building up our ability to consider, analyze and judge problems independently in conjunction with the realities of specific units and departments and in a way that takes into account the actual local conditions. Only in this way can we find solutions for problems. We should no longer parrot the words of others, mistake wind for rain, "drift along with the wind," and torture ourselves as well as others. (This article was drafted on 12 February and revised on 19 March 1981.)

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QUALITY OF FILM TECHNIQUE COMPARED TO ATHLETIC ACHIEVEMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 81 p 5

[Commentary by Wang Yicheng [3769 0001 6134]: "Gold Medals and the Quality of Film Technique"]

[Summary: The great contribution made by our athletic enterprise to revive Chinese prestige is inseparable from their constant hard training. It reminds me of the less-than-ideal situation of our cinematography. In cinematic circles, it is rather rare for someone to engage in serious study or even to learn a bit of his own trade. cinematic workers must resolve to overcome difficulties to acquire broad knowledge through diligent study. The crux for improving film quality lies in ideological liberation, intensive study, and keeping in close contact with new realities through practice. Cinematic workers must strive to grasp the knowledge and method of social and natural sciences. They must learn some historical materialism and some history itself. It is the honorable duty of literary and art workers to contact the masses, to be responsive to their opinions and to improve the quality of cinematic art.]

[Text] Not long ago, Vice Minister of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, Comrade Rong Gaotang [2837 7559 2768] spoke to the reporters of the New China News Agency, "In the two and a half years since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress...our athletes have won 598 gold medals in international competition. Last year alone, they won more than 300 gold medals...20 individual athletes and one team representing such categories as volleyball, soccer, hockey, gymnastics, track and field, basketball, and ping-pong have been chosen as the best athletes and the best athletic team. This is unprecedented in Chinese sports history."

These heartening words made me believe that our athletic enterprise is forging ahead out of the confines of Asia to the world arena and making a great contribution in reviving the prestige of China. In the meantime, however, I naturally thought about our literary and artistic enterprises. Athletics as well as literature and art have been heavy disaster areas during the decade of internal turmoil. Among those who perished or suffered persecution under the two counterrevolutionary groups led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, there are perhaps more from the literary and art world than from athletic circles. Following the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress, literature and art, like athletics, are rapidly recovering under the correct guidance of the Party Central Committee. Emerging from the literary and art contest held last year and this year are a large number of middle-aged and young writers, playwrights, directors, artist, performers and singers distinguished in literature (short story, novella, reportage, modern poetry), drama, fine art, movie and music. In general, however, among the categories, in literature and art as well as in athletics, there is some imbalance. For example, in literature and art, greater achievement is scored in short stories, novellas and modern poetry, whereas movies, which are highly mass-oriented, are less satisfactory.

In athletics, ping-pong has long been held in high esteem in international competition. In the 36th world ping-pong tournament, our team took first prize in all seven categories. Volleyball, gymnastics and diving have also broken through the confines of Asia and are moving world levels. Soccer and track and field have also made appreciable progress in the last two years. But watching the matches between the two Yugoslavian teams and our teams, anyone can tell that our soccer teams do not stand much chance to rank among the first eight in the world tournament. In certain categories of track and field, we are already leading in Asia, but seldom do we set world records. Traditionally the achievement in soccer as well as in track and field is often used to gauge a country's athletic level. Therefore, this unbalanced development deserves our attention and more effort.

Imbalance can also be termed disproportion. This problem is even more conspicuous in literary and art circles than in the athletic world. Compared with the decade of internal turmoil, the development of literature and art is obvious. In terms of quality and quantity, literature and drama have reached or even surpassed the level of the sixties and there are indeed talent and works. How about the movies which are watched by millions of people every day? Frankly, those which can reach or even surpass the level of the cities are only a small percentage of the total output. Moreover, even those films winning Hundred-Flower Prize and Golden Rooster Prize are not free from obvious shortcomings. Recently it came to my attention that many film studios sent finished film to Shanghai Film Studio for "dubbing," because the mandarin pronunciation of many actors from those studies is not good. This is why a troubleshooting comrade commented that the basic problem lies in the way actors are chosen. When directors of film studios and movie directors choose actors and when movie academies recruit new students, they tend to take into account only the applicants' appearance without paying attention to other factors which make an actor. This is not a new problem. Back in the sixties, premier Zhou Enlai said more than once that the so-called "stars" in foreign countries could not only act but also sing and dance. And our actors? Their speech is slurred, intonation inarticulate, they can neither ride a horse, nor swim or dive. Premier Zhou painstakingly admonished our performing artists (including play actors) to be committed to practice, determined to become "qualified actors." These words heard by many people, were, I remember, also published by some newspapers.

Why could athletes score such great achievement within the short period of two and a half years? My view is that it can not be separated from their daily practice and training. Not long ago, I saw a new film the "Sea Gull" which draws its theme from the making of a volleyball player. It made me even more aware of the inadequate quality of our film industry. Of course, the actor who plays the "Sea Gull" is a veteran player from the Beijing Volleyball Team, not a professional actor. It is impossible to demand a professional actor to possess that level of athletic expertise. What the film reminds me of is the long and persistent training (not limited to volleyball) traditionally required of an athlete. A comrade who went with me to see the "Sea Gull" could not hold back his tears at the scene of the athlete winning trophy at international competition which came after long period of hard training. As for myself, I was thinking of the problem of "dubbing" in our movies. China is a vast country. In the past when communication was poor, it was not unusual to speak with a local accent or not to speak mandarin well. It is not necessary for art academies to impose mastery of mandarin as a requirement on applicants. Having become a movie actor, one has made the decision to go for this trade or has been chosen for this trade, and he must be determined to overcome all the difficulties to become a qualified literary and art worker. No matter how attractive is one's appearance, slurring speech, inarticulate intonation and unaltered "thick native accent" are not acceptable. Of course, to become a qualified actor, language is but a minimal requirement. For any literary and art worker, especially at this time when we are at a turning point of fast approaching a highly democratic and highly civilized new China, there are many subjects which need to be learned and should be learned.

Literary and art workers differ from physical workers in their need of comprehensive knowledge and experience. Comrade Hu Yaobang time and again emphasized the importance of learning in his speech celebrating the 60th anniversary for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Exhorting us to study Marxism-Leninism, he said, "The tenets of Marxism are truths that have been repeatedly verified in practice. However, it does not embrace all the truths in the unending course of human history, nor can it possibly do so. For us revolutionaries, the theory of Marxism is the guide to action and by no means a rigid dogma to be followed mindlessly." Exhorting us to study history, he said, "We must continue to apply ourselves to the study and investigation of the history of Chinese revolution. For the China of today has grown out of the China of yesterday, a China about which we know, not too much, but too little." Exhorting us to sum up past experiences through studying, he said, "Whether it is the experience of success or that of failure, we should through analysis absorb whatever is useful in others' experience and lessons. We must, therefore, study and analyze the experience of other countries, other regions and other people while studying and summing up our own." What he spoke of is the great truth and concerning overall problems. But I also consider this talk for us literary and art workers, especially cinematic workers, as a sincere demand which also rings a stern warning. Perhaps this is my radical view: I have a feeling that in cinematic circles, the habit of seriously and persistently reading a little every day, learning a little philosophy, a little economics,a little science, or even a little about one's own trade is rather rare.

Our screen play based on revolutionary history often consists of good guys as 100% good and bad guys as 100% bad. Revolutionaries are perfect men of red-hot revolutionary zeal, counterrevolutionaries are born villains. War movies often depict our army as ever-victorious, never suffering any setback; enemies collapse at the first encounter, forever retreating. This is what Comrade Chen Yi once criticized as the God of "Thunder smashing beancurd" style. Isn't this kind of creative thinking metaphysical and the result of not seriously studying dialectical materialism and historical materialism? Isn't this the reason why the "creative method" of "three distinctions" advocated by the "gang of four" once prevailed in literary and art circles?

In recent years, few movies depicting rural scene have been made. Many writers contend that with the changing agrarian policy, such stories have a low "survival rate." Of course, this thinking indeed reflects certain reality. China is a vast country. Natural conditions vary a great deal between the northwest and the southeast and the economic development is also uneven. Thus the difference still exists between poor brigades and rich brigades. Because of this practical situation, even witin the same region which follows the same production responsibility system, the methods of implementation are different. As a whole, if we seriously study and analyze the agrarian policy promulgated since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, we can see there is no change from step-by-step eradication of the ultra-leftist thought in the agrarian policy of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary groups and promoting great agricultural enterprises, large-scale food production, bringing life to agricultural production and letting some farmers get rich first. Moreover, literary work draws its theme from men, the relations between men and men, the thought and emotion of men under certain circumstances. We only need to focus on the overall situation and to look out for the entirety, avoiding partiality and leaving aside those secondary questions which are still being tried out without concluding evidence. Thus there should be broad possibilities for stories based on rural themes. For example, up till now, isn't the struggle still going on between the party's agrarian policy and those stubborn cadres whose thoughts are ossified and those cadres who cling to the ultra-leftist thought? Isn't family conflict reflected in the movie "Happiness" and the play "Celebration" still in existence? Therefore, I consider that the solution to the basic problem still lies in ideological liberation and intensive study. As long as we keep in touch with new realities through practice while grasping the knowledge and the method of social and natural sciences through hard work, our fear will disappear and the "survival rate" of our work will increase. The material which we can use for our stories will be rich and varied and the quality of our work will rise rapidly.

We must study Marxism and the thought of Mao Zedong as well as social and natural sciences. At the same time, being a literary and art worker, it goes without saying, we must be committed to diligent practice and to learn the specialized knowledge of our trade. Movie is a comprehensive art: for cinematic workers, many things need to be learned and a great scope of knowledge to be acquired. Judging from the writing of screen plays, we see the phenomenon of conspicuous imbalance. Some writers are well trained and widely read. But we cannot fail to notice that from some published plays, some writers are narrow. It is obvious that they have no interest in reading and studying the party's present policy, important document and articles on literary creation. For example, there are quite a few plays based on the authentic story of old revolutionaries. This of course is a good thing. But in those plays concerning important events of the party history, there are quite a few distortions of historical reality, conjectures and fictitious plots. Those plays, thus written by playwrights, without careful scrutiny and verification by directors of film studios and editors of film publications are published, filmed and shown. This caused ire and protest from those who were connected with the event or were themselves participants. It happened more than once in the last year or two. This situation also gives rise to another abnormal reaction. Individual writers who cannot accept criticism, getting incensed and taking criticisms of good intention as intervention or "strangling" of revolutionary themes. Hasn't the party asked us to seek truth from facts, to start from realities and to restore history's original face?

Historical museums and memorial halls have followed this, so have newspapers and journals. Why should movies which are the most mass-oriented art willfully distort history and indulge in subjective fictionalization? I do not want to be "sermonizing," but I do hope that literary and art workers seriously study a little historical materialism, or at least study a little contemporary and modern history. Literary workers have an unshrinkable responsibility to the movement of "five insistences and four niceties." Thus it is quite necessary for literary and art workers to have the "graciousness" to learn from the leaders and the masses with humility.

Since the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee party congress, our party and country are in a period of bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead. The party invests high hopes in literary and art work. Today, it is the honorable duty for every revolutionary literary and art workers to study, to practice, to contact the masses, to learn from their views and to raise the quality of our film technique continuously.

9507
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'HSIN WAN PAO' ON MAKING SOUTHEAST ASIA NEUTRAL ZONE

HK101030 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 10 Aug 81 p 2

["New Talk" column: "The Chief Culprits in Southeast Asia: The Soviet Union and Vietnam"]

[Text] Zhao Zhiyang and Mahathir raised the subject of establishing a peaceful, free and neutral zone in Southeast Asia. This is the desire of the ASEAN countries which China supports. Mahathir further stated that the basis for the establishment of such a neutral zone would be that the great nations would not interfere in the internal affairs of various countries in this zone. He also expressed his concern about the possibility that disputes in Indochina would spread and undermine peace and neutrality in this zone.

What he meant by great nations were the Soviet Union, the United States and China, in particular the Soviet Union and China.

Some people say that the disputes in Indochina reflect the contention between the Soviet Union and China. Actually, this is only a problem involving the Soviet Union.

China is a big country which is fully occupied with its own work. It will spend a score of years on modernization alone. Does it have time to meddle in Indochina and Southeast Asia?

Zhao Ziyang said in the Philippines that China has never attempted to establish a sphere of influence in any region. And it will never do so in Indochina, Southeast Asia...Does China not support the proposal of establishing a peaceful and neutral government in Kampuchea?

Zhao Zhiyang also stressed in the Philippines that China will neither interfere in the internal affairs of the Southeast Asian countries nor meddle in the internal matters of various communist parties in that region. China will neither concern itself with how various governments treat communist parties in their respective countries, nor how various communist parties cope with their governments. People can see more and more clearly this stand taken by China. In recent years, ASEAN countries have explicitly noticed the great efforts made by China in this respect. This problem should no longer obstruct China and the ASEAN countries from developing their relations.

The key to the problem of Southeast Asia lies in the Soviet Union and Vietnam which dances to the former's tune.

It is obvious to all and a matter of record that the Soviet Union is carrying out aggression and subversion in various areas throughout the world. The crimes it has committed in Indochina and Southeast Asia are absolutely vile.

Southeast Asia is not a bone of contention between China and the Soviet Union. But, there is conflict between the two because the Soviet Union carries out hegemonist acts of aggression directly against China. It does not tally with the actual situation to regard the problems of Southeast Asia as the results of contention between China and the Soviet Union. Viewing Southeast Asia as a place of contention only helps Vietnam, the small hegemonist in distracting people's attention and shirking responsibility.

To maintain peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia, we should defeat Moscow and Hanoi--the axis of war. The fact that China taught the Vietnamese a lesson has played a great role in checking their ambition.

CSO: 4005/827

PARTY AND STATE

AUTHOR OF 'SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION' DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 81 pp 46-47

[Article by Zhang Zhidong [1728 0037 2767]: "Looking at Ideological Trend in China Through a Book"]

[Text] Last fall, the Tianjin People's Publishing House publishing Li Honglin's [2621 3163 2651] collection of articles as a book entitled "Science and Superstition." The collection includes 24 articles and a parable. It may be said that all of these articles represent the author's reflections and explorations regarding history since the founding of the Chinese communist state, and they played an energetic promotive role in the current ideological liberation movement in Chinese society.

Man of the Hour in Ideological Liberation

Li Honglin is a theoretical cadre of the CCP Central Propaganda Department. Since 1979, he has always advocated ideological liberation and has published many authoritative articles in RENMIN RIBAO, LISHI YANJIU, DUSHU and similar newspapers and journals, and put forward many thought-provoking and exciting themes for discussion. Some time ago he published an article in the magazine DUSHU entitled "No Taboo Area for Reading." He thinks there should be no taboo area for reading, and even that the "Collected Works of Chiang Kai-shek" and "Plum Blossoms in the Golden Vase" (abridged version) should also be published. Later, he also published a long article in RENMIN RIBAO entitled "Leaders and the People" to lay out a critical discourse on the relationship between leaders and the masses of the people that was turned upside-down by Mao Zedong during the "cultural revolution" period, expressing the opinion that "leaders should be loyal to the people," and not "the people should be loyal to leaders;" at the same time, he also held that we should adhere to collective leadership and oppose the viewpoint about "one single leader," and he likewise criticized the way Mao Zedong personally designated a successor. Meanwhile, he also published such articles as "Historical Initiatives and Historical Limitations," "What Kind of Party Leadership Do We Adhere To," "What Kind of Socialism Do We Adhere To," etc. These articles promoted the CCP learning and studying Marxist theories anew. The above articles are mostly included in the "Science and Superstition" collection. After the collection was published, on 11 November 1980 Li Honglin again published an article entitled "What Does the 'Crisis of Belief' Illustrate?" in RENMIN RIBAO. At the beginning of this year, he further published articles like "What Kind of Cat Do We Need?" in XIN SHIQI magazine. From all of these, we can see that Li Honglin's articles are all proffered in response to realistic and sensitive questions in society; he really deserves to be viewed as an activist in the CCP's ideological liberation movement.

A Collection of Articles Crowded With "Poisonous Weeds"

The last article in this "Science and Superstition" collection is an "old story in a new edition" entitled "Who Really Understood the Divine Farmer." It tells the tale of how Li Shizhen had a label attached to him by the emperor's imperial hospital and was almost beaten with a stick because he revised the "Divine Farmer's Herb Medicine Classic" of ancestral days. It is said that after the story was published, someone immediately wrote to the newspaper office to say that it was a poisonous weed. If the "whateverist" viewpoint of yesterday were taken as the base, which article in this collection could be other than a poisonous weed?! Viewed from the standpoint of the CCP's current noise in urging the "four adherences" and its criticism of Mao, even if Li Honglin's articles may not be designated as "traitorous and heretical," they most certainly can be said to be "overdoing in the handling of ideological liberation." The reason why articles in "Science and Superstition" could be collected and published last fall was linked with the antiprivilege and antibureaucratic process last year; it was the result of the ideological liberation movement, and a direct product of the CCP's "holiday for opinions" in August, September, and October last year.

New Points of View Expressed by the Collection

As a CCP theoretical cadre, Li Nonglin's articles and ideas cannot but be subject to the restriction by the CCP's political environment; they must have their limitations. But as the more open side of the CCP's thinking, they also put forward many rather new points of view.

First, the collection engenders a sense of history in people with historical facts. Many of the articles criticize a certain idealistic and metaphysical attitude in claiming I alone am revolutionary and I alone am correct; they propose, instead, to treat historical facts with dialectics and historical materialism. In history, "the great is sometimes turned into the preposterous, and the solemn is sometimes turned into the ludicrous" (words of Goethe); this has already become a law. "The historically unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution" has turned out to be a "catastrophe for the proletariat." Yet "after this great disaster, the Chinese people have understood many truths from pain" ("Historical Initiatives and Historical Limitations"). Most people are of the opinion that the "cultural revolution" does not have a single bit of historical meaning; yet the people and the state have paid a very high price. But the "cultural revolution" did promote the awakening of the people. It is very difficult to imagine that without the "cultural revolution" the CCP would have such self-reflection and the people would have such a degree of consciousness. Being aware of this, people will realize that the CCP is a product of China's revolutionary history; it belongs to history. It is not a case of "without the CCP there would have been no New China;" this is historical materialism.

Second, treat "party leadership" correctly. In the article "What Kind of Party Leadership Do We Adhere To" he, unlike some people, does not adhere "unconditionally" to "party leadership." He says: "There is no absolute authority in the world, nor is there natural leadership. All leaders arise from struggle and practice and must continue to be tested in practice." He points out: The question of party leadership arose from history and must be solved in history. He proves with historical facts from the time of the Opium War that during the democratic revolution of the past there is no doubt that the CCP became the leader of the New Democratic revolution. But can the CCP continue to play the leadership role today? He points out: in order to really adhere to party leadership, we must continue to improve party leadership. This is also to say that if "party leadership" cannot be improved, the people and history will not acknowledge it.

Third, they suggest that we can only adhere to scientific socialism. In the article "What Kind of Socialism Do We Adhere To" Li Honglin points out that from Hitler's state socialism to the feudal fascist socialism of the "cultural revolution" period, all kinds of socialisms have come into existence in the world; if we wish to adhere to socialism, we can only adhere to the scientific socialism of Marx, and we can only do so in struggle against various sham socialisms.

The Collection's Limitations

From the above views thus expressed, we can see that as a CCP theoretical propagandist Li Honglin is different from a propagandist rigidly confined to "directives from superiors." His thinking is relatively emancipated, and he shows singular and profound understanding of China's problems. Where "Science and Superstition" falls short is that it places emphasis only on the scientific nature of the analysis and solution of problems but fails to elevate their democratic nature to a comparable status for study. He merely makes the point that the CCP must seek "self-improvement," but he does not elevate "participation by the masses" to the same status. Because democracy is a means and at the same time also an end, without the masses of the people being real masters of their own house (that is, enjoying democracy), no party's "self-improvement" can attain real scientific socialism. Similarly, according to Li Honglin's view that leaders should be loyal to the people, we think that the CCP should not at this time loudly cry about "adherence to party leadership;" instead, it should loudly cry about adherence to uniting with the masses" and thereby make itself a real representative of the interests and wishes of the masses of the people. Only by doing this would the people acknowledge the CCP's "leadership" even without the CCP itself "adhering" to it. Because in past history the CCP still operated in a drifting state in relation to the people's interests, therefore what the collection reflects has more to do with the CCP's interests and less to do with the people's interests.

Far-Reaching Significance of the Ideological Liberation Movement

In the "Science and Superstition" collection, we see great improvement in CCP theoretical propaganda; the fact that there are such keenly innovative ideological liberation elements in the party is really a sign of hope for the CCP.

In 1919, because the feudal ethic was found to be "cannibalistic," because a traitorous government forsook sovereign rights and brought humiliation to the country, and because of the propagation of Marxism, the embers of anger piled up in the hearts of the Chinese people 10 years after the 1911 revolution burned into an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal conflagration and stirred up the momentous 4 May Movement, and thereby started the overture of the New Democratic revolution in China. Under this movement the Chinese people ultimately built a republic of their own after 30 years of bitter fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party. In 1976, because of dictatorship and superstition and because of the collapse of the people's confidence, the resentment piled up in the people's hearts through the 10-year "cultural revolution" suddenly exploded. And similarly, the earth-shaking 5 April Movement arose at Tiananmen Square. The ideological liberation movement today is a continuation of the Tiananmen Movement, or we can even say it is a continuation of the 4 May Movement. The reason these movements have such unlimited vitality is because they were not like those artificially started by Mao Zedong; they were spontaneous and they proved to be historical inevitabilities when the state and the nation were situated in moments of crisis. As a CCP critic said: The ideological liberation movement since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee "in essence must be irresistible because it reflects history's inevitable needs. If it encounters obstacles, it will merely become an undercurrent, but it will definitely not be stopped."

"Democracy" and "science" were the two banners of the 4 May Movement. Li Honglin's "Science and Superstition" has already held up one of the two in behalf of the CCP innovative faction. We hope that the CCP will wish to be even more courageous in raising also the big banner of "democracy;" that would really deserve to be regarded as inheriting the bequeathed will of the revolutionary martyrs and representing the interests of the masses of the people. Only thus can they overcome the "three crises of belief, confidence, and trust" and rebuild the people's confidence in communism.

9255
CSO: 4005/776

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'TA KUNG PAO' RECOUNTS HISTORY OF PLA AIR FORCE

HK060150 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in English No 787, 6-12 Aug 81 Weekly Supplement p 14

[Article by Li Ying]

[Excerpt] On 1 October 1949, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other Chinese revolutionary leaders reviewed a march-past of troops from a rostrum in the heart of Beijing upon the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Above them, 17 propeller-driven planes captured from the fleeing troops of Chiang Kai-shek flew over in ponderous formation. This was the fledgling Republic's Air Force.

Thirty-two years later, this branch of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) is a force of highly-trained pilots flying Chinese-made aircraft, combat troops servicing antiaircraft artillery and ground-to-air missile batteries, paratroops and support units, radar and signal corps.

China's Air Force owes its origins and its fighting spirit to the tough revolutionary period that also produced People's China.

As early as the 1920's, the Chinese Communist Party began to send cadres to study aeronautics in the Soviet Union. In 1939, the party sent 40 military veterans to be trained in flying and aircraft maintenance in Xinjiang, northwest China, then ruled by warlords independent from Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT) troops.

By March 1946, the communists had set up their first aviation school in Mudanjiang, an area freed from KMT control in northeast China. The school was equipped with planes made from parts cannibalized from old machines captured from the Japanese during the Second World War.

The only "advanced" trainer was patched in 125 places and many times the planes had to be fueled with alcohol for lack of gasoline.

Nonetheless, the school managed to turn out 100 competent pilots who were to become the backbone of the PLA Air Force.

In 1949, Mao Zedong called for the creation of an air force that would "defend the motherland and be prepared to defeat invaders." Its mission has not changed since then.

"Our goal is to serve the people heart and soul," the present Air Force Commander Zhang Tingfa says. "Our mission is to safeguard our territorial skies against invasion by imperialists and hegemonists, including regional hegemonists, and to help China's socialist construction."

Enemy 'Ace Pilots' Gunned Down

Soon after its formation in 1949, the ill-equipped and largely-untested air force backed up naval and infantry forces in battles to liberate China's offshore islands and fought back KMT air fighters now based on Taiwan.

During the Korean war, the pilots of the air force of the Chinese People's Volunteers, with less than 100 flight hours gunned down enemy "ace pilots" who had gone through the Second World War and flown at least 3,000 hours.

China began its own arms research and arms production in the early 1960's, and now makes its own fighters and bombers.

Pilots undergo strict selection and training. "Young recruits are very eager to enlist in the air force, but our standards are high," said Zhao Qun, a veteran Red Army man and adviser to an aviation school near Beijing.

Qualification For a Pilot

Trainee pilots must have graduated from high school with good marks at age 16 to 18, and be fit and intelligent. Before going to training school they take preparatory courses in military affairs, politics, general knowledge and physical training.

The whole program lasts 3 years and entails 240 flight hours. Those who pass the overall final examination earn diplomas and are assigned to the air force as pilots.

The new pilots must take another 2-year practical training program, which includes all-weather and instrument flying, stunt flying, simulated combat missions and formation training.

CSO: 4020/238

PROBLEMS IN GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK

HK310456 Hong Kong CHENG MING JIH PAO in Chinese 29 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by correspondent Lo Ming: "Why Is There Still Lawlessness?--The Ultra-leftist Practice of 10 Counties and Municipalities in East Guangdong in Planned Parenthood Work"--continuation of second installment]

[Text] Criticism From Provincial and Central Authorities

After attending the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Prefectural Party Committee at the end of May--a meeting that used the "foreign policy" in launching the "Huai-hai campaign"--Secretary Du immediately went to the provincial capital to make a report. Before he left, he boasted that after his return, he would continue pressing on with his efforts. However, after he submitted his report in the provincial capital, he did not return immediately. Instead, he headed north (Beijing). Why? It was said that the Provincial Party Committee took a different view of these extremite actions. Du had taken things into his own hands, bypassing the immediate leadership and reporting directly to the higher levels. It was said that after debriefing him and reading the relevant data, the leadership of the State Council concerned said: Judging from what you say, it must have been quite a terrible scene the way things were done. This was actually a negation of the actions of those extremists. After Du returned to Huiyang, he did not reassert himself, instead, he drew in his horns. He walked down the steps in a quiet and subdued manner.

Why was such "criticism" from the relevant leadership of the Provincial Party Committee and the State Council so superficial? Why did they not check the "leftist" outrages in Huiyang in time? Some truth may be noted in a NANFANG RIBAO report on family planning: "The leadership must take a firm stand. Leading cadres at all levels must support family planning and should not freely condemn the practice." Thus, what cadres would dare to come out "against" the "revolutionary act" of fighting an "annihilation battle"--a battle for family planning? Therefore, "leftist" poison swept Huiyang Prefecture with disastrous consequences.

The Voice of Cadres and the Masses

A cadre said to this reporter: "Judging from the process as a whole, a 'leftist' mistake has been made in the current campaign for family planning, as far as the guiding thought is concerned. This finds prominent expression in the quest for instant results in disregard of objective realities and possibilities. This has resulted in a reckless push forward which armed many cadres and people. Such a practice is also a violation of party discipline and state laws and an encroachment on the people's democratic rights. It is a case of turning promotion of a policy into a compulsion and acting against the instructions of the Provincial Party Committee. It is a case of resorting to administrative means instead of following an elaborate and conscientious process of ideological and political work. It is also one of approaching the masses with a hostile attitude. As a result, the Communist Party's prestige has suffered. Relations between the party and the masses have been further strained."

A scientific and technical worker said: "The practice of Huiyang Prefecture is holding this generation responsible for all the debts incurred by the several preceding generations. This is imposing 'too heavy a burden.'"

A worker concerned said: "Thumbing through all official documents, newspapers and magazines, we could not come up with anything that says that only one child is allowed. Nor could we find anything that says that without a 'one-child' certificate, we can be subjected to 'three interruptions of supply.' If there is a national requirement for only one child, then why should the state have not dared to make it a law? Only with laws in force, can people be made to obey." "On my last visit to Guangzhou, I got in touch with comrades in many areas. Their areas basically did not get involved. The site where the provincial government is located--Guangzhou--has never witnessed any upsurge in such a campaign." Meanwhile, the worker said that at the provincial work conference on family planning, it was pointed out that we could not erroneously interpret the universal encouragement of one child for every couple as a leftist policy. Since it was a matter of "encouragement," how could it be interpreted as "policy?" On the contrary, if we did things the way Huiyang Prefecture did, carrying out the "policy" on a compulsory basis, then it was obviously a case of being "leftist."

It was said that some cadres at the bureau level in Huiyang Prefecture considered this "Huai-hai campaign" as really a case of carrying things too far. Those workers involved regarded this as a "leftist" activity which was an encroachment upon human rights. Those victims should be allowed to have their verdicts reversed. Those rural commune members hold the view that this practice is even worse than what the Kuomintang did. Those who work in judicial departments said privately: Is there any law after all? Should laws be respected? A cadre at the level of deputy director of an office of a party committee or a department of an area raved in private: Du Ruizhi was really like a mad dog that went around biting people.

From the above, we can see the unpopularity of what is "leftist."

The "Three Stages" of the Huiyang Disaster and Du

People in Huiyang have pointed out the "three stages" of the Huiyang "leftist" disaster. The first was the "expansion" of party power among the people. The second was Li Fulin's causing an unnecessary drain on the country's manpower and financial resources. The third concerned the extreme actions on the part of Du Ruizhi. Everyone holds that Du Ruizhi is most unpopular and is an object of hatred.

Dang Xiangmin acted as secretary of the Huiyang Prefectural Party Committee during the period of the gang of four. In 1975, he enlarged the scope of the campaign to "restrict bourgeois rights," arousing great discontent among the people. The higher levels were compelled to transfer him away from Huiyang. Then Li Fulin acted as secretary of the Prefectural Party Committee. Several years ago, he promoted the "Tonghu project" in a campaign to learn from Daizhai in agriculture, causing a great waste of labor and money in several counties. The Guangdong Provincial Party Committee then under Xi Zhongxun ordered the suspension of the project.

After Li Fulin, Du Ruizhi served as acting secretary of the Prefectural Party Committee. It was learned that this man was a secretary of the Fushan Prefecture in the 1950's. He was always talked down to or railed at others. Some of his colleagues said: "He lacked a humanitarian character." During his term of office, he fooled around with women, satisfying his animal desires. Later he climbed up to be a vice chairman of the Provincial Agricultural Commission. It was said that he also served as a member of the Provincial Party Committee. Early last year, after he was transferred to Huiyang Prefecture, he lived it up by sampling the charms of women. He stayed all the time at the palatial room of the guesthouse of the Prefectural Party Committee (the West Lake guesthouse), living like a king. At a cadre meeting this year, this man [Du] said: "When he (Hua Guofeng) was secretary of the Prefectural Party Committee, I was also a secretary of the Prefectural Party Committee. He is not one to be taken seriously." He was filled with "leftist" poison, but he said, "all cadres under 40 are products of the 'leftist' line." Just a few words show that he is full of vainglory. This explained why the masses bestowed on him the glorious title of "Du Xisi" ["Du the fascist"]--a nickname.

The Crisis Continues

It was said that Secretary of the Dongguan County Party Committee Ouyang De will be promoted to be deputy director of the administrative office of the Huiyang Prefecture. This is of course because the magnificent contributions he had made to this "Huai-hai campaign" had endeared him to Du. But it was recently again learned that the Guangdong authorities had announced the transfer of Du Ruizhi back to a provincial organ. It is still not known for certain whether he is being promoted for his "good" performance or being demoted for his bad performance.

Though Secretary Du is soon to be transferred away, Ouyang De will take his place. If the higher-level organ lets them "act freely," it seems that Secretary Du's promise to start another "Huai-hai campaign" "between September and October" is likely to be fulfilled.

CSO: 4005/831

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TAIWAN 'SPECIAL AGENTS' ON U.S. CAMPUSES DENOUNCED

OW110108 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1532 GMT 9 Aug 81

[Report by XINHUA correspondent Yu Zhiheng]

[Excerpts] United Nations, 8 Aug (XINHUA)--At the memorial service for Dr Chen Wen-cheng at Carnegie-Mellon University in the United States, quite a number of Taiwan students and scholars present covered their heads with paper bags. At the same time, among the marchers and demonstrators protesting the murder of Chen Wen-cheng in various parts of the United States, many were also seen covering their heads with paper bags. People cannot help asking: Why?

It is because the tentacles of Kuomintang special agents have long since extended into Chinese communities in various large U.S. cities and especially university campuses. Therefore, the students and scholars from Taiwan had to cover their faces with paper bags when participating in demonstrations and attending memorial services to protect themselves from persecution by Kuomintang special agents or accidents.

How do the Taiwan authorities keep watch on the activities of Taiwan intellectuals in various parts of America? As recently exposed by the MEIZHOU HUAQIAO RIBAO [OVERSEAS CHINESE IN AMERICA DAILY], the Kuomintang usually maintain surveillance over intellectuals in the United States through the "Anticommunist Patriotic League" or organizations like the "Party Groups" and so forth. According to a report by the University of Minnesota News Bureau dated 20 April 1976, there were 118 Taiwan students in the university, 4 of whom were being investigated and 10 under close surveillance. If Taiwan students were found discussing issues or reading books and periodicals published by mainland China, their passports would not be extended and their relatives in Taiwan would be punished. They would not be able to go back to Taiwan. If they did go back, they would not be allowed to leave Taiwan again and might even be imprisoned.

The backgrounds of those taking part in the Taiwan authorities' espionage activities are very complicated. They include graduate students directly sent to U.S. schools by Taiwan's espionage agencies, graduates from military schools, and Kuomintang's professional students. In the early 1970's, a major general of the Kuomintang Taiwan Garrison General Command, Tuan Chia-feng, who sneaked into Colombia University in New York under a "study" program, was often found at political discussion meetings of Taiwan students, gathering information on their political tendencies.

The Kuomintang Overseas Work Association and Taiwan's personnel stationed in the United States also frequently and directly take part in campus activities to keep watch on the students' movements.

Judging by reports, editorials and articles published by the MEIZHOU HUAQIAO RIBAO, the REIMEI RIBAO [NORTH AMERICA DAILY], the NIUYUE RIBAO [NEW YORK DAILY] and other Chinese-language papers and periodicals as well as speeches made at discussion meetings, many overseas Chinese are of the opinion that the tragic death of Dr Chen Wen-cheng was the inevitable criminal result of the Kuomintang's espionage activities abroad. As long as these espionage activities are allowed to continue, more and more overseas Chinese will be persecuted in the same way as Chen Wen-cheng was. Taiwan's espionage activities have swept into U.S. campuses like a gust of biting cold wind, chilling and threatening. Therefore, people strongly demand that the U.S. Government expel the "campus special agents" and also demand that the Taiwan authorities stop all espionage and terrorist activities and let people study and work in a peaceful environment.

CSO: 4005/830

BRIEFS

TAIWAN LEAGUE TEA PARTY--Beijing, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--The general office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League gave a tea party in Beijing on 23 July to honor the little league baseball team of Taiwan youth residing in the United States. Cai Xiao, chairman, and Li Chunqing and Su Ziheng, vice chairmen, of the league, as well as well-known Taiwan figures in Beijing were present at the tea party. The baseball team arrived in Beijing on 10 July. It will leave for Chengdu, Chongqing, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shanghai and other places on 24 July. [OW041543 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1505 GMT 23 Jul 81]

CSO: 4005/830

TAIWAN ASSOCIATION OFFICIAL ON PROFESSOR'S DEATH

OW031248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Aug (XINHUA)--A thorough investigation by Taiwan authorities into circumstances surrounding the death of Doctor Chen Wen-cheng, has been demanded by an official of the preparatory group for the establishment of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots.

Dr Chen Wen-cheng, an assistant professor at Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon University in the United States, was found dead in Taibei on 3 July after a 12-hour interrogation by Kuomintang secret agents.

In an interview with XINHUA yesterday, the federation official said that judging from overseas press reports and statements by Chen Wen-cheng's relatives and other persons in Taiwan Chen Wen-cheng was apparently the victim of illegal interrogation and persecution by Kuomintang secret agents and the Taiwan authorities are responsible for his sudden and mysterious death.

Over the past 30 years, the federation official continued, the Taiwan authorities have exercised a reign of terror. The lives and security of the people of Taiwan are not protected and Dr Chen's death is a case in point.

"Dr Chen's death has aroused the deep concern of the people on the mainland and abroad," he said. "We wish to extend our deep sympathy and solicitude to the family of Chen Wen-cheng."

The official demanded the Taiwan authorities guarantee that no such political persecution will occur in the future and that Taiwanese living abroad have the right and freedom to visit their relatives in Taiwan.

He also demanded that Taiwan authorities terminate the so-called "martial law" which has lasted for more than 30 years, curtail the activities of secret agents and put an end to the political persecution of the people of Taiwan and ensure their democratic rights and their lives and security.

CSO: 4020/239

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TAIWAN ORGANIZATIONS' REACTIONS TO CHEN WEN-CHENG'S DEATH

Association Head Remarks

OW112022 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1246 GMT 10 Aug 81

[Text] Shanghai, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--In a statement to the press here, a leading member of the preparatory group for the Association for the Promotion of Friendship Among Taiwan Compatriots in Shanghai pointed out that Chen Wen-cheng, a doctor of mathematics residing in the United States who was visiting his relatives in Taiwan, died suddenly and tragically as a result of a reign of terror instituted by the agents of the Taiwan authorities. He said the Taiwan authorities must stop their political persecution of the innocent compatriots in Taiwan and safeguard the Taiwan compatriots' democratic rights and security.

The leading member of the preparatory group said: The 1,500 or so Taiwan compatriots residing in Shanghai are very concerned about the case. After analyzing the case, they maintained that Chen Wen-cheng's tragic death was obviously political, resulting from illegal interrogation and cruel persecution by the special agents of Taiwan's "garrison command." They also maintained that the Taiwan authorities' investigation report covered up the facts of the case. It is fully justified for Chen Wen-cheng's family to reject the death certificate issued by the Taiwan authorities and to reject the remains of the deceased. While extending our deep condolences to Chen Wen-cheng's family, we firmly support the family's stand and the stand of all compatriots at home and abroad in demanding a thorough investigation of this case.

The group for the preparation of the Association for the Promotion of Friendship Among Taiwan Compatriots in Shanghai was set up in Shanghai on 7 August. The preparatory group is composed of 15 Taiwan compatriots. Guo Zhalie heads the group and Lin Chaoquan, Lin Renhe, Lin Minmin and Liang Suqing are deputy heads. Since its formation, the preparatory group has been soliciting the opinions of Taiwan compatriots in Shanghai. It will also draft the regulations of the association, discuss the nomination of representatives, sponsor a meeting of the representatives of the Taiwan compatriots in Shanghai and formally set up the association.

Control of Death Report

OW070546 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1708 GMT 6 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--Taiwan's control yuan's 31 July investigation report on the cause of death of mathematician Dr Chen Wen-cheng, who was returning from the United States, covered up the true story.

After the sudden tragic death of mathematician Dr Chen Wen-cheng at dawn on 3 July, the Taiwan authorities said he "committed suicide to escape punishment." However, Chen Wen-cheng's relatives and Taiwan's public figures do not think he would commit suicide and doubt his death was a political assassination perpetrated by the Kuomintang. In the past few days, U.S. personages and Taiwan compatriots residing in the United States have condemned Taiwan authorities' U.S. espionage activities and their despicable acts of brutally persecuting Taiwan compatriots. They strongly demanded that Taiwan authorities thoroughly investigate the Chen case and give sincere and responsible explanations. On 31 July Taiwan's control yuan published an investigation report on the cuases of Chen Wen-cheng's death.

The investigation report rejected the Taiwan authorities' allegation at a 6 July press conference that "there is a possibility that Chen Wen-cheng committed suicide to escape punishment." It also admitted that there was only a slight possibility Chen Wen-cheng committed suicide.

According to the investigation report, from the morning of 2 July to the dawn of 3 July, Chen Wen-cheng "was extremely exhausted--physically and mentally--after 20 hours of emotional excitement. It is more logical to suppose that after mounting the safety ladders he straddled the rail and fell because he was in a trance or was feeling giddy."

The investigation report did not touch on the important question that Chen Wen-cheng's death was a political assassination--a question raised by people concerned about the case. The report rejected that Chen Wencheng was murdered, saying: Chen Wen-cheng died near Taiwan University's research library. He was not moved to that site after his death. Chen Wen-cheng could not have been thrown from the safety ladders.

Fujian's Taiwan Association Remarks

OW042342 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1241 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Fuzhou, 4 Aug (XINHUA)--A responsible person of the Association of Taiwan Compatriots in Fujian Province called for the Taiwan authorities to account for the truth in the tragic death of Dr Chen Wen-cheng and to guarantee that no similar incidents of political persecution will occur. A native of Taiwan and a professor of mathematics in the United States, Dr Chen Wen-cheng died a tragic death while visiting his relatives in Taiwan.

In issuing a statement to this XINHUA correspondent on 3 August, the responsible person of the association pointed out: An analysis of Taiwan and foreign press reports on the case shows that Chen Wen-cheng's tragic death was apparently a political incident deliberately created by special agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command and an outcome of stubbornly clinging to a reactionary stand, refusing to work for the peaceful reunification of the motherland and practicing the reign of terror and special agents on Taiwan by the Taiwan authorities. People in Fujian are deeply shocked by Chen Wen-cheng's sudden tragic death. In the past few days, they have condemned the Taiwan authorities' despicable acts of persecuting Taiwan compatriots and have voiced their support for the stand of Chen Wen-cheng's relatives and Taiwan compatriots who demand that this case be thoroughly investigated.

The responsible person of the Association of Taiwan Compatriots in Fujian Province said: It is reasonable for Chen Wen-cheng's relatives to refuse to accept the death certificate issued by the Taiwan authorities or to identify and take back his body. We express our deep condolences to the relatives of Dr Chen Wen-cheng and call on the Taiwan authorities to clearly account for the truth in the Chen Wen-cheng case and to effectively guarantee the safety of Taiwan compatriots' lives.

League Leaders Comment

OW111135 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin to Taiwan 1500 GMT 10 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing--In the past few days responsible persons of the general headquarters of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League have made remarks one after another strongly condemning the Taiwan authorities for causing the Chen Wen-cheng murder case and demanding efforts to find out the root cause, sternly punish the murderer and insure the safety of overseas Chinese returning to Taiwan. They also extended their sincere condolences to Chen Wen-cheng's family.

Li Chunqing, vice chairman of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said: By suppressing the compatriots in Taiwan through political assassination the Taiwan authorities will never succeed in maintaining and consolidating their reactionary rule but only create grave consequences.

Su Ziheng, vice chairman of the league, said: Many compatriots from Taiwan who reside in the United States told me that students and scholars from Taiwan residing in the United States have been closely watched by special agents sent out by the Kuomintang authorities. Professor Chen Wen-cheng's death this time is eloquent proof of this. By ruthlessly persecuting the compatriots in Taiwan the Kuomintang authorities show their weakness and their fear of the people in Taiwan.

Tian Fuda, vice chairman of the league, said: In handling the murder case of Professor Chen Wen-cheng, it is necessary to thoroughly investigate the matter of criminal liability. He said that the compatriots of Kaoshan nationality on the mainland are indignant over the Chen Wen-cheng case and that they wish to extend their sincere condolences to Chen Wen-cheng's family.

Xu Mengshan, secretary general of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said: A year ago Lin I-hsiung's mother and two daughters were murdered in Taiwan. Until today this case has not been solved, and this time Chen Wen-cheng has been murdered. This fully shows that there is no guarantee for the lives of the compatriots in Taiwan and for their freedom.

CSO: 4005/830

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON TAIWAN FLYER'S HOMESICKNESS

HK140007 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Wei Tong [3634 0681]: "A Home on the Map--The Thoughts of a Taiwan Flyer of Mainland Origin on Returning Home"]

[Text] Recently, I happened to read the first letter written in 32 years to his mother by someone who has gone to Taiwan. His homesickness genuinely touched me and it was a long time before I could calm down.

The letter said: "Dear mama, do you know how many times I have used a ruler to measure the distance from home? Mama, do you know how many times I have drawn the route back home? Mama, do you know that it would take only 1 hour for me to fly to your side. However, I can't....

"I was away from home for only 8 years during the war of resistance against Japan, however, the civil war has separated us for 32 years. How many times can one have 32 years? In these 32 years, I dreamed many times that I had returned home. The homeland is so endearing and charming to a wanderer in a strange land like me. I cannot help feeling homesick whenever I fly back from abroad. I look at the homeland on the map. It is so very close. Silently I say to myself: O homeland, my mother. When can I return to your side.

"Mama, I now find the only shortcut to return to your side; it is to go to foreign countries first before I return to the mainland, my motherland.

"Going to foreign countries first and making a detour back home is a shortcut--who could believe it? Take the air distance between Shanghai and the United States for example; it takes about 20 hours to fly from San Francisco to Shanghai; however, it takes a Boeing 747 only 1 hour to travel from Taipei to Shanghai. It is clear that a detour is not a shortcut to the mainland. Nevertheless, this is the fact. Taiwan compatriots who leave Taiwan have their wishes fulfilled, and they have reunions with their relatives in the mainland. However, compatriots who stay in Taiwan can only long for the motherland and sigh under the moon on the other side of the sea."

In view of this, the letter continued: "I have already applied for release from military service. As soon as I have got approval, I will apply for immigration to other countries and then the day for our reunion will not be far away."

After reading this sincere and touching letter, who cannot feel sad about the splitting of our motherland into two parts?

Chinese are, after all, Chinese, and it is our great happiness if we, the wanderers, can return to the motherland and have reunion.

However, many Taiwan compatriots must first become foreigners or overseas Chinese before they can return to the motherland, otherwise, they can only see a home on the map. What a ridiculous thing this is.

CSO: 4005/830 END

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10 September 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 216

Selections from JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Nos 4-6, 1981

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CHINA REPORT

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SELECTIONS FROM JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Nos 4-6, 1981

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SUBMARINE SCHOOL OFFERS NEW TRAINING PROGRAM

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 18-21

[Article by Chen Jianxin (7115 0313 2450)]

[Text] A naval submarine school, located on the outskirts of a city close to the clear and blue ocean, has the task of training cadres for submarine units.

The school was reopened after the smashing of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. At that time, a majority of the students were only at the junior middle school educational level and teaching was done on a separate-course basis. In order to develop talents earlier and faster, it is imperative that students have a strong theoretical foundation and specialized knowledge which meet the needs of modern naval warfare and newer equipment and technology. The school's party committee, on numerous occasions, organized personnel to go solicit ideas from the units concerned and from submarine units, to study the training situations at same types of foreign naval institutions and to discuss and revise one by one the teaching program and course plans on classes for department heads and deputy ship captains. Plans were also formulated to change separate-course training to comprehensive-course training, basic college-level courses were added and the study of specialized basic theories was stepped up. After classes for department heads were changed to comprehensive-course training, there was more study time for such courses as higher mathematics, general physics, electronics and electronic computers. Moreover, courses such as operations research, automatic control, English, general chemistry and general ship operations knowledge have also been added, closely integrating scientific education knowledge with specialized technical courses. Students trained in this way have a solid foundation, broad knowledge and strong adaptability, which is beneficial to developing talents earlier and lowering the age of cadres.

The school leadership also used submarine units as a mirror to test teaching quality, maintained relations with them on a regular basis, solicited their ideas on the school's education and checked on how the graduates were doing. Every year they also send a number of instructors to take part in submarine training at sea and keep track of the units' training experiences so as to closely integrate training with practice, continuously enrich training content and improve teaching plans.

Today the submarine school has taken on a new look. Educational and specialized studies have become the order of the day. It has started to use modern teaching facilities, and teaching quality has continued to improve. One group of strong red and expert talents after another has been assigned to submarine units and are plying the great territorial waters of the motherland.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. A new school term begins and the students take on the new study tasks with pride and enthusiasm.

2. Students study diligently to become proficient in the operation of submarine control instruments.

3. Remote radio control is used to simulate diving tests as a way to provide object teaching for the students.

4. Instructor Zhan Qishu explains higher mathematics to students.

5. Instructor Wang Heli (female) shows students how to do simulation tests with static electricity.

6. In a class for deputy ship captains, students learn to use the periscope to zero in on surface targets.

7. Physics instructor Wang Jinsheng explains the electromagnetic waves to students.

CSO: 4005

PLA CARRYING OUT VARIOUS TASKS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 30-31

[Articles: "Economy is Strictly Practiced Everywhere"]

[Text] Adhere to Diligence and Frugality in Military Training

A certain unit of the Beijing Garrison adheres to diligence and frugality in military training; it has undertaken to make large quantities of substitute training equipment by itself. The artillery detachment [fengdui] uses gauze to make targets in order to save wooden boards and steel bars. The antiaircraft artillery detachment's self-made "artillery firing training board" reduces the operation of actual artillery, radar and fuel-consuming engines and also reduces the friction wear of machine parts. The tank detachment substitutes rifle for cannon and thereby saves ammunition consumption. Last year, this unit accomplished outstanding training tasks and saved more than 4,800 yuan in training expenses. Reported by Pan Quan [3382 3123]

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Artillerymen undertake to make targets with gauze.

2. The tank squad substitutes machine gun for cannon in carrying out firing practice.

Rebuild Training Area

Basing itself on the spirit of "spending less money, accomplishing better military training," the antiaircraft artillery battalion of a certain unit of the Lanzhou Units undertook boldly to rebuild its original antiaircraft artillery training area, and set up flexible flight paths to assist the operation of the training area. In this training area, it is possible to practice firing at moving targets along 12 different flight paths and to indicate such tactical features as more directions, grouping and layer of planes, which is good for the high-level cadres in training in their organizational and command capabilities and for the quality of training. The funds spent for rebuilding were more than 4,700 yuan less than the original budget. Reported by Deng Daju [6772 6671 5282]

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. In the rebult training area, arrangements are rational, easy to use.

2. To raise the quality of antiaircraft artillery firing training, battalion commander Zhao Jingang [6392 2533 0474] (second on the left) studies with comrades the rebuilding design blueprint for the training area.

Make Teaching Equipment Themselves

The Missile Technology Institute has given full scope to the spirit of running a school by diligence and frugality and has mobilized teachers, staff and workers to suggest plans and approaches in solving difficulties relating to teaching instruments. In the process of repairing and restoring the physics laboratory, the second teaching and research office made careful and detailed calculations and thereby saved nearly 10,000 yuan in investment. Cadres and workers in the institute's attached factory, in close coordination with the teachers and students, repaired and reconstructed as well as made by themselves more than 250 different instruments. During the past few years, in running the school by diligence and frugality the institute saved about 1 million yuan; this played an active role in stimulating teaching and scientific research activities. Reported by Li Jurong [2621 1565 2837]

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. The sighting instrument successfully researched and produced by teachers Dong Xianxiang [5516 0341 4382] and Wang Hangong [3769 3352 0501] is suitable both for teaching and for use in practice by troops.

2. Guided missile simulation equipment produced by the plant attached to the institute.

CSO: 4005

SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS GROUND STATION

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 4 Apr 81 p 37

[Article by He Mingjun [0149 2494 0689] and photographs by Wang Liangyuan [3769 5328 0337]]

[Text] With the development of scientific enterprises, the use of satellite communications has become increasingly more important in building up the national economy and national defense. To realize satellite communications, in addition to launching a communications satellite, satellite ground stations must be constructed for the transmission of television picture signals, radio broadcast programs, analog telephone, digital telephone, radio facsimile, telegraph, Morse and data signals.

According to mobility satellite ground stations can be differentiated into two types, stationary and mobile. Mobile stations can be mounted on vehicles or ships. Stations can be separated according to [transmission] mode into three types: analog, digital and one type which is compatible to both. At the present time, the PRC has developed analog and digital satellite ground stations.

A complete satellite ground station is equipped with an up line system (also called a transmitting system), a down line system (also called a receiving system), antenna, feed and servo systems. In many ways satellite communications ground stations resemble ordinary communications systems. The distinguishing feature of satellite communications is that a satellite placed in high-altitude is used as a relay station. Since synchronous satellites are positioned 36,000 kilometers out over the equator, at this distance signal attenuation is very substantial. This requires ground stations to have high-power transmitters and high gain antennas. Commonly parabolic antennas are used with diameters ranging from 10 to 30 meters. The ground station's preamplifier must be a low-noise amplifier. Usually parametric amplifiers are used and operate inside refrigerators in a surrounding temperature of approximately -253°C. This method reduces the internal noise level of the receiver to a minimum.

Most of today's communications satellites are synchronous satellites. Although the PRC expands over a vast area, one synchronous satellite approximately placed would facilitate communications and liaison between all of the nation's ground stations. It will not be long before the PRC's satellite communications network is established.

Photo captions [photo not reproduced]

1. A satellite communications scheme.

2. The antenna system of an analog satellite communications ground station.

3. The satellite ground station's frequency transformer, modulator, demodulator and terminal equipment room. Here, the work is all automated.

4. The main monitor station which monitors the operations of ground station equipment. Malfunctions are reported automatically and the work is switched over to backup equipment.

5. The modulator and up (line) frequency converter bay. The baseband signal is modulated onto an intermediate frequency and becomes a modulated intermediate signal. Then, the intermediate signal is converted to a radio frequency appropriate for transmission on a satellite channel.

6. The ground station's color television microwave relay equipment.

CSO: 4005

CHINA'S FIRST HIGH-FLUX REACTOR TEST

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 38-42

[Text] China's first high-flux engineering test reactor was completed and put into operation by the Southwest China Reactor Engineering Research and Designing Institute under the Second Ministry of Machine-Building at the end of last year. The reactor has a thermal power of 125,000 kilowatts and a coolant water flow of 5,600 tons per hour. The reactor core is equipped with multi-layer sleeve tube fuel elements made of highly concentrated uranium. The maximum thermal neutron flux is 620 trillion neutrons per square centimeter second. To insure safe operations and to effectively utilize the reactor for developing scientific research work, physics, radiochemistry, materials radiation behavior research (hot room), isotope production preparations, and other corresponding laboratories were also built around this project. Only a few industrially advanced countries in the world can build such large-scale high-flux reactors.

The completion of this reactor will play an important role in developing China's science and technology in atomic energy. This is a major scientific and technological achievement made by the broad masses of scientists, technicians, workers, and cadres on China's scientific research and production fronts in the spirit of cooperation and after overcoming all kinds of difficulties. This shows that by relying on our own technical force and industrial foundation and actively adopting the advanced experiences of foreign countries, it is entirely possible to develop our atomic energy program independently and with our own initiative.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Reactor hall. The long-shaft tool on top of the reactor is used for loading and unloading operations.

2. The reactor's inner structure. The reactor core is the active zone. Automatic return tubes are in the center. Ionization room pipeline is located around the reactor.

3. "Hot Room" where radioactive materials are being processed and radiation behaviors tested. The workers, separated by a protective wall and lead glass, are performing operations at a distance by means of mechanical hands.

4. This reactor can make multi-purpose activation analyses, such as cultural relics and industrial products, to determine the characteristics, age, elements, and quantity.

5. This reactor can make radiation tests on the new materials and system components of other reactors to determine whether or not their performances are up to the requirements. Photo by Li Fochuan

6. The reactor can produce radioisotope having a mass number--cobalt 60--and can treat cancer and other diseases, or can be applied to industrial and farm production. Photo by Song Houjun

7. The reactor can carry out radiation research on new-type fuel elements for nuclear power stations to determine their possible applications and production.

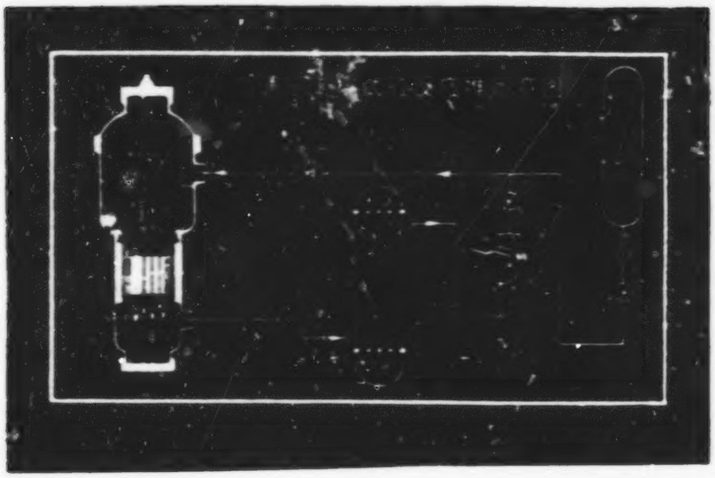
8. Illustration of chain-type uranium nuclear fission.

9. Illustration of uranium atomic structure. The center is the nucleus (consists of protons and neutrons). Revolving the nucleus is the electron.

We know that when a neutron with a specific energy (level) bombards the nucleus of Uranium 235 (U 235) the U nucleus will split into two of relatively equal mass releasing a large amount of energy and releasing 2-3 new neutrons at the same time. This process is called nuclear fission. The tremendous energy released by the nuclear fission process is what's commonly called atomic energy. Under the right conditions, using neutrons born of the fission process to continue to bombard other U 235 nuclei, this nuclear fission process will go on continually. We refer to this type of nuclear fission as self-sustaining chain reaction. The nuclear reactor is just such a facility to effect a self-sustaining chain reaction.

Installed within the nuclear reactor, fuel elements contain enough U 235 for fission. The tremendous energy released by nuclear fission-atomic energy can be used in many areas which would build up the national economy such as generating power, supplying heat and powering ships. This high-flux reactor is different from most power reactors in that it does not utilize the energy released by nuclear fission, but uses the large amount of neutrons produced by fission to conduct scientific experiments and production, such as radiation testing of reactor fuel elements and materials and production of radioisotopes. It is a research measure essential to the development of nuclear power stations, nuclear power and atomic energy. Also, the heat produced by nuclear fission is conducted out of the reactor by pumping coolants cycling through the reactor core. Afterwhich, the heat is passed over to the secondary coolant at the heat exchanger and carried away.

Diagram of High-Flux Engineering Test Reactor



[Key to Diagram]

1. Reactor Pressure Casing

2. Incline/Tilted Passageway. It is the passageway for changing radioactive parts inside the reactor such as fuel element, beryllium bars and radiation ?target? parts.

3. Active Zone (Reactor Core). Ur 235 nuclear fission takes place here inside the reactor. The reactor fuel elements and material used in radiation testing and radioisotope ?target? part production take place inside this specially designated radiation passage.

4. Control Rod Driven Mechanism.

5. Water Coolant Outlet.

6. Control Rods. It is highly absorbent to neutrons and is used to control and regulate the fission process within the reactor.

7. Coolant Inlet.

8. Automatic return tubes used for radiation testing

9. Heat Exchanger.

10. (Coolant) cycling Pump.

11. Pressure Stabilizing Tank. It is used to maintain the pressure of the reactors first cycling [return circuit] system to ensure the safe use of the reactor's fuel elements.

CSO: 4005

COMMANDERS TRAIN IN EXERCISE USING AGGRESSOR UNITS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 5, 1981 pp 12-15

[Article: "Be A Commander Who Knows the Enemy and Knows Himself"]

[Text] Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat. By becoming familiar with the enemy's situation and our own, finding out his plans of operation and using these plans to arrange our own operation, once war breaks out it would be possible to suffer no defeat.

To "know the enemy" means it is necessary to fully and systematically study foreign armies, their combat doctrines, their establishment and equipment and the combat characteristics of the service arms in the initial stage of a future war. This is an important issue before commanders at various levels as well as a breakthrough in the aim to improve our armies' tactical training and to step up training.

Wang Jusheng [3769 5112 3932], deputy commander of a training unit of an unidentified unit of the Nanjing Units, has over the past ten or more years diligently studied foreign armies. During training he used materials of foreign armies to set up a more realistic combat situation and presented as far as possible the combat characteristics of the "blue army" to enable the "red army" to continue to improve its tactical skills in training exercises.

Presented here is a tactical training exercise which was set up by Wang Jusheng with the "red and blue" armies going against each other.

"Red army" lands itself in a passive position, "blue army" strikes first with its forces.

As soon as the blue signal flare was shot into the air, a "blue army" armored unit under the command of Wang Jusheng launched a surprise attack against the "red army." In no time, the "red army's"position was heavy with the smoke of gunpowder which billowed out everywhere... Under the continuous all-out attack of the "blue army" armored unit, the "red army" was thrown into a passive position.

"Blue army's" attack runs into obstruction, "red army" launches counterattack.

The "battle" is fiercely under way. With the "blue army" launching a surprise attack, the "red army" swiftly ascertained the situation, studied countermeasures, readjusted deployment plans, massed its forces and held its strategic point.

Against the "blue army" armored unit, it adopted the method of making distant attacks and nearby bombardments, combined indigenous and foreign methods, and used the tactic of deploying small groups of men from many directions to flexibly destroy the enemy.

Difficult to distinguish victory and defeat on both sides, the two armies fiercely engaged in battle.

The "battle" reaches an intense level. Wang Jusheng came up with an idea and directed the "blue army" to change its original main attack direction to a feint attack, use the forces of the 2nd echelon formation to outflank the "red army" on its weak side, launch an all-out attack and finally break through the frontline position of the "red army." The "red army" fought with all its might and the two sides were engaged in a bloody battle making it hard to differentiate the victor from the loser.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Wang Jusheng showing the exercise plans to the commanders of the "red and blue" armies. An all-out "battle" is about to begin.

2. Wang Jusheng commands the "blue army" armored unit in launching an attack against the "red army."

3. The "blue army" taking advantage of the darkness of night to quickly make its advance.

4. The "blue army" deploys chemical warfare weapons, and the "red army" quickly takes protective measures.

5. Commanders of the "red army" simultaneously directing attacks and readjusting deployment plans to block the "blue army's" advance.

6. The "red army" uses defense fortifications to make concealed advances to provide support to the frontline units.

7. The "red army" lays antitank mines to slow down the advance of the "blue army's" tanks.

8. The "red army's" infantry soldiers use the fighting method of attacking to small groups from numerous directions to penetrate and cut up the enemy forces. They are using antitank weapons to attack "enemy" tanks.

9. Wang Jusheng, acting according to changing conditions, commands the "blue army" to immediately change its main attack direction and go against the weak position of the "red army's" defense.

10. The tanks of the 2nd echelon of the "blue army" outflank the "red army" from the rear and launch a new attack.

11. The "red army" closely watching the "blue army's" movements to command engineers who wait for an opportunity to quickly make antitank trenches.

12. With no hesitation about losing large numbers of men, the "blue army" launches continuous attacks. But the awesome firepower of the "red army" makes it hard for the "blue army" to achieve deep penetration.

13. The "blue army" launching a surprise attack with firepower against the "red army."

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MISSILE BATTALION TRAINS CRACK MEN

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 5, 1981 pp 18-19

[Article: "Meticulously Train Crack Troops"]

[Text] "Fine workstyle breeds fighting strength"--this is an experience obtained in war with blood. If a troop unit can cultivate, in peace time, the workstyle of enduring great hardship, undergoing intense labor, marching whenever necessary, fighting whenever necessary, shrinking from no storm, and remaining forever firm and indomitable, then in time of war it can surely withstand the confusion and the test. The surface-to-air missile battalion of a certain unit of the air force is now precisely hammering out such a fine style of fighting.

When a troop unit's workstyle is strict, cadres are the key. The fact that battalion commander Wang Tingsheng held an examination on a stormy day is a good illustration of this question. One afternoon, an ocean breeze carrying a drizzle swept the missile training field; battalion commander Wang, together with his company commanders and staff officers, proceeded to inspect the basic training of the new fighters. Once the oral command was issued, the entire training field became intense and serious, and the fighters began to operate the crane, open up the shield, push forward the missile, dovetail and tighten.... Their maneuvers were quick, precise and well-coordinated; within the required time limit, a missile was soon assembled and mounted on the transport truck. The new fighters fully expected that they would hear a word of praise from the battalion commander, but little did they expect that the battalion commander would declare: this missile fell short of meeting the requirement of war preparedness. Pointing at a screw beside the main wing of the missile he said: "This tightening screw looks like it is tightened, but actually it is still a few twists from that." Then, he picked up the wrench to twist it a few more times, and further solemnly and patiently said: "When the missile is in flight, it is affected by powerful air currents; the slightest lossening of the screws leads to the danger of our losing control of it. Then it would be impossible to fulfill the heavy trust the party and the people have placed in us!" These words gave everybody a profound education; the fighters all admired from the bottoms of their hearts this meticulous, fine workstyle on the part of their battalion commander. Although sweat and rain flowed together on their faces, none of them failed to feel that, in order to have their own skills meet war requirements, they must exert themselves and train harder.

Skills are trained; workstyles are also trained. Once, the missile battalion had to cross a strait to carry out tasks of war preparedness. When the unit arrived at the shore, it suddenly started raining cats and dogs and a heavy fog hovered over the sea. In the face of such gusts and waves, the fighters' morale remained very high and their fighting will was utterly assertive; with vehicles pulling and men pushing, they loaded the heavy weapons into the vessels and safely crossed the strait. When they climbed to the other shore, they found the road muddy and their vehicles sinking; their missiles could not be placed in stable positions. The commanding officers feared no difficulties whatsoever; they deliberated and worked together, and came up with the method of using the vehicles to pull the missiles and using men in turn to push the vehicles to traverse a dangerous passage on the road. They finally arrived at their position ahead of time and completed their war preparations.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Fighters seize every minute and every second, estimate and test conscientiously, so as to assure placing the missile in position quickly.

2. Battalion commander Wang Tingsheng [3769 1694 3932] (right) usually presides personally over the area during training and requires strict compliance when issuing commands.

3. A vessel carries missiles across a strait in war preparation tasks.

4. Their operational skills are proficient and their maneuvers swift as they proceed with war preparations according to the appointed schedule.

5. After the exertions of comrades of the entire battalion, one missiles after another accurately flies toward the target.

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GOOD NEWS FROM THE KAMPUCHEAN LIBERATED AREAS

Beijing JEIFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 5, 1981 pp 36-37

[Article by Chen Xiong (7115 7160)]

[Text] Good news has recently continued to come from the Kampuchean battlefields. The Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas have repeatedly gone on the attack, killed and wounded large numbers of Vietnamese aggressors and opened up many new combat areas. Battlefield situations are undergoing thorough changes, becoming favorable for the Kampuchean people and detrimental to the Vietnamese aggressors.

People remember that in January two years ago the Vietnamese authorities, supported by the Soviet Union, launched a blitzkrieg against Democratic Kampuchea and occupied Phnom Penh and large areas of Kampuchea. They also publicly declared that Democratic Kampuchea had been wiped off the map and that in two or three weeks they could "completely calm" the situation. However, the heroically unyielding Kampuchean people were by no means cowed and stubbornly carried out a struggle to resist the Vietnamese and save the country. In more than two years, the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas have appeared on various battlefields throughout the country, adopted such tactics as blocking attacks, night sorties and ambushes, eliminated enemy bases, cut his communications and transport lines and attacked his tanks and vehicles, even penetrating deeply into such cities where the enemy is holed up as Phnom Penh, Battambang and Kompong Som, severely punishing the Vietnamese occupying army. In February of this year they again attacked the Vietnamese army at its major supply base in Western Kampuchea--the O Sralau airstrip.

Thus far, Vietnamese army bases in the Melai mountain district have completely been cleared out. Democratic Kampuchean units have also been continuously opening up new combat areas, liberating and controlling new enemy bases and annihilating the enemy's effective strength. At present, Democratic Kampuchean units have already joined together in bases in southwest, west, north and northeast Kampuchea and their combat strength continues to increase.

At this time, some patriotic Democratic Kampuchean forces have already begun to move towards unity, which will give further impetus to the developing situation to oppose Vietnam. If the Kampuchean people only strengthen their unity they will certainly achieve the final victory.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. A fighter of the brave Democratic Kampuchean National Army.

2. Democratic Kampuchean Premier Khieu Samphan in his work quarters.

3. Map showing the situation of Democratic Kampuchea's armed struggle to oppose Vietnam. (Data as of August 1980). [Orange areas: severe fighting between Kampuchean armed forces and the Vietnamese army. Yellow areas: Democratic Kampuchean armed forces and guerrilla areas. Gray areas: areas controlled by the Vietnamese army.]

4. An area occupied by the National Army.

5. A literature and arts team performing for the army and the people.

6. Using elephants to transport goods.

7. Cleaning weapons during a lull in fighting.

8. Training medical personnel.

9. Democratic Kampuchean units continue to develop their strength during combat.

10. Women's transport unit enthusiastically supports the front.

CSO: 4005/826

ANTI-AIRCRAFT ARTILLERY COMPANY HONES SKILLS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 10-11

[Article by Yu Jiasheng (6079 1367 5116) et al.: "Thinking Moves Ahead, Skills Scale Greater Heights"]

[Text] The party branch of the 3rd Antiaircraft Artillery Company of a certain unit of the Nanjing Units is a strong fortress. They have launched "three-hand" activities closely around "four-have," "three-emphasis," and "two-fear-no" to educate the fighters to unite their far-reaching revolutionary ideals with seriously doing a good job in fulfilling tasks at their own posts and to understand that practicing their skills well, strengthening national defense, and protecting the four modernizations are the ideals of revolutionary fighters.

In launching the "three-hand" activities, cadres and fighters of the whole company strive for advancement in their thinking and attempt to scale greater heights in their skills, and firmly drill well in the basic maneuvers. They repeatedly emphasize that if the artillerymen wish to demonstrate their total power in fighting, they must establish the collective concept; if there is one person whose orientation proves incorrect, who cannot focus on the target, or who fails to bring forward the needed artillery shells, the whole fighting situation will be affected.

In the past, the 3rd Antiaircraft Artillery Company grasped relatively well the acquiring of scientific and cultural knowledge and activities in physical education; they are now even more conscientious. After his assiduous study of the knowledge of weapons, second sighter Yang Guifeng [2799 6311 1496] has not only become proficient in the operations of his own post but also learned the fourth sighter's handling skills and the squad leader's organizational and command capabilities; he is therefore called a skillful hand. Fifth artilleryman Xu Ronghua [1776 2837 5478] adheres to physical training every day and has thus strengthened his prowess; during his training, he boldly proposed to compete with the company's top man in skills, Qian Lianghong [6929 5328 3163]. Whether going to the drilling ground or entering the classroom today, cadres and fighters of the 3rd Antiaircraft Artillery Company all pay attention to their military appearance and discipline; they are very courteous when speaking or answering questions; everyone consciously observes discipline at the artillery ground and the classroom. They say proudly: only when one is not afraid of difficulties and hardships and obeys orders and follows commands in peace time can he be unafraid of bloodshed and sacrifice and can he bravely and stubbornly fight, winning battles in time of war.

Photo captions [photo not reproduced]

1. The 3rd Company organizes contests in operational skills so that cadres and fighters can learn to compensate for their own weak points with other people's strong points.

2. The 3rd Antiaircraft Artillery Company gives full scope to the roles of crack artillerymen and skilled hands in doing a good job of deploying air defense and coordinating training.

3. Crack artilleryman Xu Ronghua persistently practices opening and shutting maneuvers in order to heighten speed in loading and unloading artillery shells.

4. Crack artilleryman Zhang Bin [1728 2430] has not only mastered operational skills of a fourth artilleryman but also practiced the shell-forwarding maneuvers of a sixth artilleryman.

5. Crack artilleryman Cao Guiliang [2580 2710 0081] searches for his target with concentration and earnestly practices his skills well.

6. Team of fourth artillerymen carries out technical "joint diagnosis" to ascertain the laws of determining a target's flight route while facing the sun, a highly difficult task.

7. On the basis of the enemy planes' battle functions, fighters study the key points of shooting at them.

8. Company commander Sun Jingdong [1237 2529 2639] painstakingly studies military theories and command skills; he is appraised as a fine commanding officer.

9. Skilled hand Yang Guifeng has resolved his key technical problems as he manipulates the command module dexterously here in search of targets.

10. Skilled hand Du Guanbiao [2629 1351 2871] has acquired speed, accuracy, and steadiness in his skills in searching for following targets.

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KHRUSHCHEV'S ATTEMPTED ARMED INTERVENTION IN POLAND RECOUNTED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Jul 81 pp 27-29

[Article by Wang Bingnan [3769 3521 0589]: "Recollection of the 'October Incident' of 1956 in Poland"]

[Text] In 1956, a change that commanded worldwide attention took place in the international communist movement. Under the pretext of opposition to the "worship of personal cults," Khrushchev delivered a "secret report" to the "20th CPSU Congress" shocking the world with a comprehensive denunciation of Stalin. At that time, I worked in Poland and found that this not officially announced but already widely circulated top secret document was once used by someone at a marketplace as wrapping paper, something which greatly surprised me. Later, I learned that this top secret document was picked up by a defected Polish military officer of Jewish origin and brought to the United States as an important piece of intelligence. Soon it was published by the NEW YORK TIMES. This "secret report" became explosive world news immediately after its full text was published, jolting communist parties in the Western European countries, forcing many of their members to quit the party, and causing great damage to their organization.

The convocation of the "20th CPSU Congress" had a tremendous adverse impact on Poland. Because the Soviet Red Army played a direct role in the liberation of Poland during the World War II, the Polish people consistently had high regard for Stalin as "a savior." By the time they read the "secret report," however, their "savior" fell to the ground and turned out to be "a butcher" and "murderer" in the eyes of the Polish people. The Polish people felt that they had been deceived by Soviet propaganda. The impact of this mental shock drove many people to tears and they quit the party in droves. Under this impact, the originally very active Polish-Soviet friendship assocation was quickly paralyzed and the people were ideologically confused to a great degree. The already instable situation was aggravated further by the loss to the Polish people of their most popular leader Boleslaw Bierut, chairman of the Polish United Workers' Party, who died in Moscow shortly after the close of the "20th CPSU Congress." In the face of this situation, the Polish party called its Central Committee into a plenary session and elected Edward Ochab its first secretary with the blessing of Khrushchev. However, the situation in Poland continued to deteriorate. On 28 June, rioting, strikes, and bloody fighting occurred in Poznan.

The impact of the "Poznan incident" was far reaching although it was suppressed. There existed in Poland disputes over the outcome of the "20th CPSU Congress," the evaluation of Stalin, and ideological confusion among the people. These were problems the Polish party had to face up to and for which it had to find a swift solution. For this reason, the Polish party launched its entire membership into a discussion. Articles full of doubts and denunciation concerning the socialist system appeared in the newspapers and journals. This discussion proved unsuccessful in unifying the thinking of the entire party membership and the people throughout the country, on the contrary, the situation finally got out of control. Particularly noteworthy were the historical reasons that pit the Polish people against the Soviet big-power chauvinism and their deep-rooted discontent with the way the CPSU repeatedly interfered in the internal affairs of the Polish party. Their distrust of the Soviet Union soon grew into a credibility crisis. As a result, a demand for the independence of the Polish party and state and for a change in the abnormal relations between the two parties and two countries and the voice of opposition to Soviet big-power chauvinism and Soviet intervention grew into a storm which erupted like a volcano in October.

Earlier, Ochab had headed a Polish party delegation to attend our "Eighth Party Congress" held in September. Shortly after his return to Warsaw, he appeared at the National Day reception given by our embassy at our invitation. At the reception, I noticed Ochab and the members of the Politburo huddled in a corner whispering. The mood was tense, and one got the feeling that something big had either already occurred or was about to happen within the Polish party. Fed by speculations from the Warsaw diplomatic corps at that time, the situation in Poland became a subject of popular concern.

The mood of dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union grew steadily with the close of the "20th CPSU Congress," during which the massive purge of Stalin's enemies was exposed along with other mistakes committed by him and the Polish United Workers' Party. The Polish people pinned their hopes on Gomulka, standing behind a strong demand for his return to power. Gomulka was general secretary of the party from 1943 to 1948. In 1948, he was accused of committing right deviationist and nationalist mistakes. In 1949, he was expelled from the Central Committee, and later imprisoned as a target of contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. In 1954, he was released from prison. After that, he worked for a grassroots unit and did not hold any important post. After eight years of obsecurity, Gomulka suddenly became the center of the storm. The Soviet leaders long considered Gomulka a strong anti-Soviet and nationalist element, and therefore were extremely opposed to his return to power. On 19 October, the development of the situation forced the Second Polish Party Central Committee to hold its eighth plenary session. At that time, I saw Polish workers and students take to the streets, and massive parades and demonstrations. Demonstrators encircled the Party Central Committee building shouting slogans demanding that the party return Gomulka to power and hand over the proposed list of the members of its Politburo to the masses for discussion. The holding of the eighth plenary session of the Polish party and the strong popular demand for Gomulka's return to power angered the Soviet Union which regarded itself as the "father party," because the Polish party did not seek prior Soviet clearance of its major leadership reshuffle as it had in the past. Many high-ranking Polish military leaders such as commanders of the naval and ground forces and their general chief of staff held dual nationality, being citizens of both Poland and the Soviet Union. The then vice premier and concurrent minister of national defense, Rokossovskiy, who controlled the Polish armed forces was a Polish-Soviet citizen and a Soviet Marshal. This absurd relationship reminded the Polish people that the Polish party was nothing more than an appendage of the Soviet Party. They were at the mercy of the Soviet Union and had lost their independence. This abnormal relationship had to be changed right now.

In order to prevent the holding of the Party's Eighth Plenary Session and Gomulka's return to power, Khrushchev lost no time in bringing his interventionist tricks into play. On the one hand, he secretly ordered Rokossovskiy to move troops toward Warsaw and to place it under the threat of armed intervention. On the other hand, on the day of the opening of the Eighth Plenary Session, he boarded a plane with Gakanovich, Molotov and Mikoyan for a nonstop flight to Warsaw without invitation from the host country. But the Warsaw airport refused to clear the plane for landing, and ordered it to return. However, Khrushchev insisted on landing, so he kept his plane circling. Eventually the plane issued a warning that it was low on fuel, so the return trip was impossible. If it were not allowed to land immediately, there would be a serious accident. Under these circumstances, Poland permitted the plane to land.

By then, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee was underway, discussing the matter of returning Gomulka and others to the Central Committee. Nevertheless, the unexpected arrival of the Soviet delegation forced the Polish party to put the proposed resolution to a vote under a tense atmosphere. The sesssion adjourned temporarily after agreeing to Gomulka's return to the Central Committee. The plenary session also adopted a resolution inviting Gomulka to join the Polish leaders in a meeting with the Soviet delegation. After its adjournment, Ochab, Cyrankiewicz, Zawadzki, Gomulka and others hurriedly arrived at the airport to meet the Soviet visitors. Some high-ranking Soviet military leaders were also on hand at the airport to welcome the Soviet delegation. They stood on one side of the plane. What particularly attracted the people's attention was that Khrushchev appeared very angry upon alighting from the plane and shook hands first with the Soviet military leaders before moving toward the Polish leaders. When moving toward the Polish welcome party, he did not shake hands with his hosts but pointed his finger at Cyrankiewicz, saying: "Do you know that Poland was liberated by the Soviet Red Army. We will not allow you to betray it." At this time, many drivers and security guards stood by watching the drama take place. According to their recollection, Cyrankiewicz replied sternly: "May I remind you, Comrade Khrushchev, that you are in the territory of Poland and we are the hosts. Please be a little more polite!" Considering that a public quarrel would serve no useful purpose, the Polish leaders later persuaded Khrushchev and company to accept the offer of a ride into the city.

Following a heated debate, the Polish and Soviet parties reached no agreement. The Polish party wanted the Soviet delegation to go home, promising to send a delegation to the Soviet Union for a meeting following at the close of its current plenary session. Khrushchev returned to Moscow empty-handed after failing to prevent the return of Gomulka to power. But he never gave up his attempt at intervention. The Soviet party immediately summoned all communist party leaders in the Eastern

European countries except for Poland to Moscow for a meeting in an attempt to bring pressure to bear on Poland through the issuance of a joint communique. At the same time, the Soviet Union sent Mikoyan to China to meet Chairman Mao, requesting that he send a Chinese Communist Party delegation to the Moscow meeting. Following a dispassionate analysis of the situation at that time, Chairman Mao, aware that any measure of suppression would lead nowhere, agreed to send a Chinese delegation to Moscow, but only on the condition that the Soviet Union pledged never to fire the first shot at Poland. The Soviet Union agreed. After arriving in Moscow, the Chinese delegation headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping held bilateral talks with its Soviet counterpart, but refused to participate in any multilateral talks attended by the delegations from the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. In the face of the Polish people's struggle and the Chinese Communist Party's resolute opposition to Khrushchev's behavior, the Soviet Union was forced to change its original plans by ordering the Soviet troops stationed in Poland back to their home bases, thus avoiding the grave prospect of armed intervention. The news that the Chinese Communist Party resolutely opposed Soviet interference at a time when the Polish people faced difficulties spread like a swift breeze across Poland. Many schools and factories posted bulletins and streamers carrying this message: "The Chinese party supports us." Later, many Poles told me that "the Polish people will never forget the type of support China has given us when we faced immense difficulties."

During the Eighth Plenary Session of the Polish party, the Polish people ransacked Soviet clubs and stores, forced Soviet passengers to leave the trains, encircled and tried to break into the Soviet embassy several times. At night, sporadic gunfire was heard. The demonstrators even went so far as to destroy the Cemetery for Soviet Martyrs. In this way, the anti-Soviet torrent reached a peak.

The Eighth Plenary Session closed on 21 October after electing a new leading organ headed by Gomulka. His former associates including Zenon Kliszko and Marian Spychalski were reappointed to their original leadership positions. After his return to power, Gomulka immediately pressed for an answer to the question of why the Soviet troops were ordered to move toward Warsaw. In response to this inquiry, the Soviet Union used the pretext of "Autumn Military Maneuver" to cover up its plot for intervention. The Polish party also adopted a decision to dismiss all Soviet citizens from their Polish military leadership positions, and to order their departure from Poland before a specific date. Among them was Poland's vice premier and minister of national defense, Soviet Marshal Rokossovskiy. Economically, Poland also settled accounts with the Soviet Union, demanding that the latter compensate for the losses the former incurred from the sales of Polish coal to the Soviet Union at incredibly low prices after the liberation of Poland. Efforts were made to liquidate the Polish party leadership at all levels. The Polish people finally won victory in their resolute struggle against the brutal intervention attempted by the Soviet Union. They called this struggle to reshuffle their party leadership and their crusade against Soviet intervention the "October Incident" or "October revolution," which undoubtedly taught the Soviet Union a serious lesson.

9574
CSO: 4005/819

POLAND'S PREMIER URGES HARD WORK IN ENTERPRISES

OW250307 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1609 GMT 23 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Aug (XINHUA)--According to PAP, in a meeting with managers of 70 major enterprises, Polish Premier Jaruzelski expressed resolute support for leaders of enterprises who are carrying on work under difficult conditions. The PAP report says: The meeting on 19 August discussed the tasks and role by enterprises' cadres in the face of the current economic crisis. Managers of many enterprises described the difficult conditions in factories and enterprises and put forth some suggestions for improvement.

Premier Jaruzelski told enterprise leaders that the government would discuss their suggestions promptly. He said: "At present, we must first check economic recession. We must push selected and the most important economic departments forward. To this end, we must do away with the helpless situation and overcome laxity in discipline." He pointed out: "Economically, we have good and dedicated managers working under difficult conditions. The government will support them. We will give them more power. Those who negate the role of managers and the role of technical supervision either do not understand them or want to paralyze the most important link in political power purposely. This can only lead to a reduction in productivity and a worsening of living conditions. If we have faith in the creative power of reform, then we should not endorse those people who want to make life miserable for the managers. Any move to force conscientious managers to leave their jobs will not be tolerated, besides it is against the principle of the right to work."

Jaruzelski reminded them that the country's economic conditions would be worsened by excessively raising wages and increasing the number of days off and by staging labor strikes. "We will be bringing in a more tragic prospect if we do not curb such negative phenomena and put a stop to these kinds of endless rallies." "Our most important task at present is to get rid of the crisis. This is a task for the government as well as for the entire society."

Jaruzelski endorsed the appeal of the "solidarity" national consultative committee about working on their scheduled days off. He added at the same time: "The government endorses autonomy. However, as far as the country is concerned, the government must decide on how to put this autonomy into effect."

CSO: 4005/844

'BEIJING RADIO' DESCRIBES NEUTRON BOMB, OTHER WEAPONS

OW251729 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Aug 81

[Excerpts] On 8 August, U.S. White House spokesman Larry Speakes announced that President Reagan has already decided to order the manufacture and stockpile of neutron bombs. This decision has triggered worldwide response. Some listeners have sent us letters asking: What sort of weapon is the neutron bomb?

Also called enhanced radiation bomb, the neutron bomb is a kind of nuclear weapon that uses neutrons to kill people on a mass scale. When a neutron bomb explodes, large quantities of high-energy neutrons are released. The radioactive strength of these neutrons is approximately 10 times that of an ordinary nuclear weapons of the same equivalent. After they enter into a human body, the neutrons destroy the body cells and kill the person.

Neutrons have strong penetrating power. Within their effective range they can penetrate a tank's steel armor or a concrete building's thick walls and kill the people inside, thus posing a great threat to tanks and armored units. However, the penetrating power of neutrons is not unlimited. A neutron bomb's radiation can be blocked by an earthen barrier of 1.5 meters thick or more. A neutron bomb's equivalent is relatively low. Generally it is of the kiloton class. That is to say that a neutron bomb has the exploding power of 1,000 tons of TNT. Thus, a neutron bomb can kill people with its highly strong radiation, but will cause no great damage to tanks and buildings as it does not generate shock waves similar to the ones by the atomic bomb that totally wiped out Hiroshima.

Some listeners stated in their letters that they have often heard us mention that the USSR has deployed SS-20 guided missiles against targets in Western Europe. They want to know what sort of a weapon is the SS-20 guided missile.

A SS-20 guided missile is a medium- and long-range ballistic guided missile. SS is short for the English term "surface to surface," referring to a surface-to-surface guided missile that is launched from the ground to hit another target on the ground. With a 4,500 to 5,000 km range and composed of the first and second sections of a SS-16 intercontinental ballistic guided missile, a SS-20 guided missile is about 17 meters long, has a diameter of 6 meters and weighs about 21 to 25 tons. The tip of a SS-20 guided missile is composed of three nuclear warheards, which can be guided to hit different targets. Each warhead has the equivalent of at least 150,000 tons of TNT, or 15 times that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. According to Western journals, the 250 SS-20 guided missiles deployed by the USSR against Western European targets since 1977 have constituted a serious military threat to Western Europe.

In December 1979, a special NATO joint meeting adopted a decision to deploy Pershing II intermediate-range missiles and cruise missile in Western Europe by 1983 to meet the Soviet military threat. Some listeners have written to ask about the properties and effects of Pershing II and cruise missile. The two types of missiles are both capable of hitting targets with great accuracy and are better than the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Some listeners want to know what are the Soviet Union's BC weapons. BC weapons stands for biochemical weapons. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to BC weapons research and production. With a chemical corps numbering 90,000 to 100,000 men, the present Soviet Army is equipped with the largest number of chemical weapons in the world. It is reported that there are 10 to 20 research institutes and 40 to 50 factories engaged in BC weapons development and production in the Soviet Union, producing about 30,000 tons of toxicants each year. As much as 170,000 tons of toxicants are stockpiled. Soviet forces are equipped with large quantities of such weapons. About 20-30 percent of Soviet tactical missiles are equipped with chemical warheads, and 20 percent of all artillery shells are chemical shells. As we all know, Soviet troops have used nerve gas in Afghanistan to slaughter the Afghan people. The Soviet Union also has provided chemical weapons to Vietnamese troops for use in Kampuchea. Greater attention should be paid to a report from Tokyo, Japan, that the Soviet Union has stockpiled large quantities of chemical weapons in areas along the Sino-Soviet border.

In the following we shall tell you about chemical weapons. Generally chemical weapons are divided into six types.

CSO: 4005/844

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON BREZHNEV'S CRIMEA MEETINGS

HK270620 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 81 p 6

[Report: "About the Meetings in Crimea"]

[Text] On 22 August, TASS released a communique on the results of the examination by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on Leonid Brezhnev's recent meetings with leaders of seven countries--East European countries and Mongolia--in the Crimea resort. PRAVDA also carried an editorial, boasting that Brezhnev had "pursued peace and a creative line" at these meetings.

Both the aforesaid communique and editorial are carefully worded and nothing is revealed concerning what concrete "agreements" were reached, what "very complicated problems" and "difficulties" were examined and overcome, and what "necessary coordination" among the members of the "socialist community" was achieved at these secret meetings. However, the communique makes a point of stressing the "acute crisis phenomenon" in Poland and Moscow's attitude toward this, and plays up the urgent necessity of the Kremlin to "coordinate" "the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community," given the greater tension in the international situation at present. This is quite spectacular.

The Polish leader was the last to travel to the Soviet Union for a meeting becuase of the tense situation taking place in Poland. He did not say, as leaders of other countries did, that he had come to Crimea "to take a rest," but said that he was on "a working visit." In addition, a joint communique was issued after the meeting. After mentioning that "the Polish people are faced with the elements of an acute crisis," the communique of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee states something unusual: "Practice has again convinced people "how important it is" "to pursue a realistic economic policy without running into excessive debt to the capitalist states, educate the working people in the spirit of internationalism, show revolutionary vigilance and give a timely and resolute rebuff to antisocialist forces." PRAVDA further denounces that "enemies at home and abroad hostile to socialism in Poland are trying hard to make the situation there unstable, hoping to create a gap between the people's Poland and the Soviet Union."

This time, although there are no direct and undisguised intervention and threats as was the case in the letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the Ninth PZPR Congress, the implication is obvious. The PZPR is not only criticized for not "giving a timely and resolute rebuff" in the beginning but also for adopting instead a policy of negotiation at home. In this communique on the Politburo meetings, the leaders of the Soviet Union go so far as to ask other parties to do this and not to do that, and stresses the principle of "the concern of each not only with the interest of its own country but also with the interest of its friends and allies." This is another manifestation of "Brezhnevism." By coincidence, 21 August this year happened to be the 13th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. At that time, this principle of mutual concern was used by the Kremlin as the pretext for its invasion of Czechoslovakia. This remains fresh in our memories.

The analysis of the present international situation and the expression of the so-called "foreign policy of the socialist community" are also examples of Moscow imposing its will on others. The communique accuses the United States of "building up international tension," "of deploying U.S. medium-range guided missiles in Western Europe," "of deciding to produce the neutron bomb and of its constant attempts to maintain high tensions in crisis situation." It says that in contrast, the Soviet Union "wants to halt the armaments race," "lower the level of military buiol-up," "carry out constructive dialogues," and so on. All this is a continuation of Moscow's recent propaganda offensive. As to the slander about China in the communique saying that China's policy is becoming "increasingly close to" the line of imperialism, it is only singing an old tune. Nevertheless, it seems that the necessity for making this slander is not to be divulged.

In the past few years, "meetings in Crimea" have been held by Brezhnev every summer. These recent meetings have attracted more attention because the crisi in Poland has again intensified and the relations between the East and the West have become tenser.

CSO: 4005/844

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT ANALYZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 81 p 5

/Text/ The Sixth Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee in October 1938 brought up the question of concretely applying Marxism-Leninism according to the particular conditions of China. In his report, "The Role of the CCP in the National War," given to the plenum, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. One must not regard it as dogma, but rather as a guide to action." "Any talk about Marxism in isolation from the specific characteristics of China is merely Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably Chinese character, that is, to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics, becomes a problem which is urgent for the whole party to understand and solve." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 498-500)

Based on Comrade Mao Zedong's report, on 6 November the plenum passed the "Draft of a Political Resolution of the Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the CCP," which stated: "It is necessary to quickly and earnestly raise the level of theoretical knowledge throughout the party. Everyone, from top to bottom, must energetically study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in order to be able to make flexible use of Marxism-Leninism, as well as all international experience, in every phase of China's actual struggle."

In October 1939, in his article "Introducing 'The Communist,'" Comrade Mao Zedong proposed "the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution."

In April 1945, the enlarged Seventh Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee stated in its "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions:" "Since its inception in 1921, the CCP has adopted as its guiding principle in all its work the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's attitude toward the theory of the Chinese revolution and its practice is representative of this kind of integration."

In May 1945, at the Seventh CCP National Congress, Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his report on the revision of the party constitution formally brought up the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought," which was then furthermore incorporated into the party constitution adopted by the Seventh Congress. In the preamble of the constitution, it says: "The CCP takes as guiding principle for all its work the ideological union of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution--Mao Zedong Thought. The party opposes all trends toward dogmatism and empiricism." The party constitution also makes it the duty of every party member to make efforts to gain an understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

In his report on the party constitution, Comrade Liu Shaoqi gave a systematic discourse on Mao Zedong Thought. He said: "After the Chinese Communist Party was created, there grew up in our country this particularly Chinese theory, which was perfect and correct for building up our state through a Chinese people's revolution. This theory has already guided our party and people in achieving tremendous victories and will continue to guide our party and people to achieve the final and complete victory and liberation. It is our party's and our people's greatest gain and glory in their protracted struggle, and it will benefit our nation in innumerable generations of the future. This theory is Mao Zedong Thought."

Starting with the Seventh Congress, our party officially established Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding ideology.

Mao Zedong Thought Is the Application and Development of Marxism-Leninism in China

If the proletariat of any country is intent on revolution, it will have to follow the universal principles of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Since actual conditions differ from country to country, Marxism must not be taken as a dogma to be indiscriminately copied and imitated: Marxist theory must be correctly applied by integrating it with the actual conditions of the country concerned.

China was a large semicolonial, semifeudal country. In its revolution many particular and complex problems were met with. It was not possible to repeat here what Marxism had prescribed in concrete terms for revolution in the developed countries of the West. as it was also not possible to imitate the concrete example of the October Revolution in Soviet Russia.

In our party's history there was a time, mainly in the late twenties and early thirties, when a trend became current to turn Marxism into a dogma and to regard the Communist International and the Soviet experience as something sacred, thereby almost leading the Chinese revolution into an impasse. The dogmatists of those days in their leftist deviation did not understand the special characteristics of the Chinese semicolonial, semifeudal society, did not understand that the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution was in essence a peasant revolution, did not understand the unevenness, complicated and long-drawn-out nature of the Chinese revolution. They obscured the definite demarcation line between the democratic and the socialist revolution and were subjectively overanxious to surpass the democratic revolution. They underestimated the decisive role of the antifeudal struggle of the peasants in the Chinese revolution, but proposed an all-out attack against the bourgeoisie and the upper level of the petty bourgeoisie. They were dreaming of having the cities as the core of an armed uprising and consequently underestimated the importance of peasant guerrilla warfare and the establishment of bases in the villages, etc.

It was precisely in the process of struggling against these mistaken trends that Mao Zedong Thought gradually took shape and developed. Our party ceaselessly summed up the experiences of the Chinese revolution and integrated the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is therefore the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, it is the correct theoretical principle and summary of experiences of the Chinese revolution, as practice has proved.

Those parts of Mao Zedong Thought that were relevant to establishing bases in the villages, encircling the cities from the countryside, finally seizing the revolutionary path to nationwide victory and the reconstruction policy based on independence and self-reliance are also meaningful for other people of colonial or semicolonial countries in similar conditions. However, as Comrade Mao Zedong has repeatedly pointed out: The experience of the Chinese revolution may be taken merely as reference by other countries, which must not copy it indiscriminately. Any foreign experience must not be taken as dogma, the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism can only be applied if they are integrated with the actual conditions in the country concerned.

Mao Zedong Thought Is the Crystallization of the Collective Wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party

While viewing Comrade Mao Zedong as the principal representative of a Chinese communist and based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical summation of the series of unique experiences of the long-drawn-out Chinese revolutionary practice; it became the scientific guiding ideology suited to Chinese conditions, the product of an integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution--this is Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought was not produced by the wisdom of Comrade Mao Zedong alone: it is equally the product of the wisdom of his comrades-in-arms, of the party and of the people. It is the crystallization of half a century of revolutionary struggle by the Chinese people.

For instance, the theory of the new people's democratic revolution was developed as a collective effort, based on the revolutionary practice, and constituted a continuous summing up of the revolutionary struggle experiences. The Second Plenum of the party in 1922 set forth as its revolutionary objectives the fight against imperialism and feudal warlordism, and the plenum decided to establish a democratic united front in order to achieve these aims. The Third Plenum of the party in 1923 formally decided on a policy of nationalist-communist cooperation. The Fourth Plenum of the party in 1925 summed up the experiences of the 3 years since the founding of the party, particularly the experiences of over 1 year of nationalist-communist cooperation. It clearly pointed out that the proletariat must occupy the leading position in the Chinese democratic revolution and that this revolution must be most extensively participated in by the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The peasants were to be an important component of this revolution, being the natural allies of the working class. The fundamental content of this revolution was to be the fight against international imperialism, feudal economic relations and the rule of feudal warlords. During this period, from the Second Plenum to the Fourth Plenum, the basic ideology of the party regarding the new democratic revolution was initially taking shape. In the course of these developments many leading personalities of the party, as, for instance, Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856], Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115], Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101]. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and others, wrote, as their personal contributions, quite a number of articles exploring the fundamental theories underlying the Chinese democratic revolution. Of course, knowledge of these basic theories of democratic revolution was at that time not very complete and systematic. Following the development of the Chinese revolutionary movement, Comrade Mao Zedong, proceeding from the historical and social conditions of China, made a penetrating study of the special characteristics of the Chinese revolution and of the rules governing the Chinese revolution as an evolutionary development of Marxist-Leninist ideas on the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. He thus created the ideology of the new people's democratic revolution in which he advocated the leadership of the proletariat based on a worker-peasant alliance; this was an ideology of the masses directed against the imperialists and against feudal and bureaucratic capitalism.

Another example is the theory of "encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them." This was a creation of the party and the people in their collective struggle, as a scientific summation of collective experiences gathered by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. After defeat in the great revolution, the party launched the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, the Canton Uprising and armed uprisings in many other places in an armed struggle with the new warlordism of the Kuomintang. Mao Zedong led the troops of the Autumn Harvest Uprising in a march to Jinggang Mountain. In these rural areas where the enemy's rule was weak, he established the first revolutionary base and "lighted the spark" by setting up an armed independent regime of workers and peasants, thus evolving a new revolutionary way to preserve and develop the revolutionary strength. After the failure of the Nanchang Uprising, one part of the remnant forces moved to Haifeng and Lufeng in Guangdong Province and joined forces with local armed peasants, while another part was led by Comrades Zhu De [2612 1795] and Chen Yi [7115 3015] to southern Hunan where they launched the South Hunan Uprising. In the actual experiences of their struggles, they unceasingly explored new revolutionary ways and initially effected an integration with the peasant movements in the rural areas. In April 1928, Zhu De and Chen Yi led their troops to Jinggang Mountain, joined forces with the troops led by Mao Zedong, and formed the Fourth Army Group of the Chinese Red Army of workers and peasants. The meeting on Jinggang Mountain and the formation of the Fourth Army Group of the Red Army had a deep influence on keeping up and promoting the struggle in the Jinggang Mountain area, as well as on the future establishment and extension of revolutionary bases and on a resolute continuation of the tactics of encircling the cities from the rural areas.

At the same time as the fighting in the Jinggang Mountain area, and after the various forces that had staged uprisings moved into the countryside, the process of summing up their own struggle experiences and the influence of the fighting in the Jinggang Mountain area gradually led to an integration of armed struggle, land revolution and the establishment of bases. By 1930, the Red Army had expanded to around 100,000 men and had established 15 larger or smaller revolutionary bases. The establishment of each new revolutionary base or its development provided new experiences for the strategy of encircling the cities from the rural areas.

Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically summed up the experiences accumulated by the party and the people in their collective struggles and elaborated the objective rules of the Chinese revolution. He set forth the complete theory of the necessity for the Chinese revolution to go the path of encircling the cities from the rural areas and thus evolved a creative development of Marxism.

There are still many more examples that show that Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of collective wisdom, as, for instance, the theories regarding socialist revolution and construction, building of the party, building of the revolutionary army and military strategy, etc. They will not be listed here one by one.

The "Three Magic Weapons" of the Democratic Revolution

The united front, armed struggle and building the party were the "three magic weapons" used by the CCP to defeat its enemies in the democratic revolution. This was what Comrade Mao Zedong arrived at by summing up the abundant experiences of the party, its defeats and successes, retreats and advances, constrictions and developments, experienced during the democratic revolution.

The Question of the United Front. The Chinese national bourgeoisie on the one hand demanded in a revolutionary way to fight imperialism and feudalism, but on the other hand showed a very weak and vacillating character. The big bourgeoisie (that is, the comprador class, the bureaucratic capitalist class) has always been the target of the revolution, but various groups have had the backing of different imperialist powers. When it is the main thing at one stage of the revolution to fight one particular imperialist power, big bourgeois groups that belong to other imperialist groupings may well be allowed to join the revolutionary struggle. During the war of resistance against Japan, we could therefore very well form an anti-Japanese united front with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was closely linked with Great Britain and the United States. However, the big bourgeoisie is still always reactionary and apt to sabotage or break up the united front at any time. The proletariat must therefore firmly maintain a struggle on two fronts when organizing a united front with the bourgeoisie (especially the big bourgeoisie). On the one hand, we must fight the mistake of denying the possibility of the bouregoisie joining the revolutionary struggle--this would be leftist "closed-doorism." On the other hand we must fight the mistake of denying the differences in principle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of obliterating the independence of the proletariat and the communist party, of having them become the tail end of the bourgeoisie--this would be rightist capitulationism. For the duration of a united front with the bourgeoisie, the independence of the proletariat must be maintained and a policy of united yet struggling against them, gaining unity through struggle, must be followed. When forced to break up with the bourgeoisie, mainly with the big bourgeoisie, we must dare and excel at resolute armed struggle against the big bourgeoisie, and at the same time gain the sympathy or neutrality of the national bourgeoisie. When the party carries out this kind of correct united front policy, the party will be able to develop and the revolution will be victorious.

The Question of Armed Struggle. Due to the fact that there was no bourgeois democracy in China, the reactionary ruling class relied on armed strength in their dictatorial, terrorist rule over the people. The revolution could therefore only be carried out mainly in the form of a protracted armed struggle, as an armed revolution against an armed counterrevolution. The armed struggle in China was a revolutionary war led by the proletariat with the peasants forming the main body of the revolutionary force. The peasantry is the most reliable ally of the proletariat. The proletariat, relying on its vanguard, the communist party and its advanced ideology, organized and disciplined character, raised the level of consciousness of the masses of the peasantry, established rural bases and pursued the protracted revolutionary war of encircling the cities from the rural areas. In such a backward large country as China, in facing an enemy of great strength, the best strategy for the people's armies to persevere in a protracted struggle and gain victory was guerrilla warfare. It was a coordination of armed struggle, the main struggle form, with struggles on the political, economic and ideological fronts which continuously developed and increased the revolutionary strength and gained victory in the revolution.

The Question of Building the Party. The two basic weapons that defeated the enemy were the united front and armed struggle. The struggle history of our party during the democratic revolution makes it clear: when the party correctly handled the two problems, the united front and armed struggle, the development and consolidation of our party took one step forward; when it did not correctly handle these two questions, the development and consolidation of our party would retrogress. The process of building the party is therefore closely linked with the political line of the party, it is closely linked with the ability of the party to correctly handle the problems of the united front and of armed struggle.

Our party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, integrated the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, became aware of the special characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution and correctly understood the united front, armed struggle and building the party, these three questions and their interrelationship. As a consequence, the party was able to speedily develop and gain strength to become the leadership core of the entire nation, leading all the people of this nation to final nationwide victory in the democratic revolution.

The "Three Great Workstyles" of the Party

In his political report to the Seventh National Congress of the CCP, entitled "On Coalition Government," Comrade Mao Zedong summed up and set forth the three great workstyles of the party, which are: integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism. In Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion it is these three workstyles which are the hallmarks that distinguish our communist party from any other political party.

When explaining the integration of theory and practice, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, which reflects the practice of proletarian struggle throughout the world, becomes an invincible weapon for the Chinese people when it is integrated with the concrete practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of the Chinese people." Our party has grown and advanced through staunch struggle against every manifestation of dogmatism and empiricism, which runs counter to these workstyles.

When explaining the workstyle of forging close links with the masses, Comrade Mao Zedong strongly emphasized the mass viewpoint and mass line. He said: "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the party." He emphatically pointed out: "The supreme test of every word and deed of a communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people." "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy."

When explaining the workstyle, Comrade Mao Zedong said: A Chinese communist "never balks at any personal sacrifice and is ready at any time to give his life for the cause. Could he be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people?" He also said: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people." "Can there be any personal interests, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?"

The three great workstyles that Comrade Mao Zedong summed up, and their practice throughout the party, guaranteed the party's leadership which led the whole nation from victory to victory.

"The workstyle of the ruling party is a question which decides the life or death of that party." The restoration and promotion of the party's three great workstyles and the rectification of various bad workstyles adopted during the 10 years of turmoil are bound to unite the whole party and the whole nation in its efforts to gradually build up, with one heart and one mind, a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured, socialist powerful state.

8453
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STUDY OF SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION URGED IN HUBEI

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by a commentator of HUBEI RIBAO: "Stress Studying the Essentials, Understand the Spiritual Essence of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is a brilliant Marxist document in the history of our party. It correctly summarized the fundamental experience of the party in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, expounded in a scientific way the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, fully affirmed the correct path suited to China's situation for building a strong, modernized socialist nation which has been gradually established since the Third Plenary Session, and further pointed out the direction ahead for us.

Making such a resolution is a demand of history, a demand of the entire party and a demand of the people. In the "Great Cultural Revolution," right and wrong were mixed up and great confusion was created in theory, ideology, policy and in some important historical questions. In accordance with the wishes and demands of the entire party and all the people, the historically significant Third Plenary Session began to set things to rights in a series of questions, undertook a thorough overhaul and put forth great efforts and launched highly effective work. The "Resolution" approved by this Sixth Plenary Session and other important documents symbolize that the party has completed the historical mission of setting things to rights in guiding ideology. Its evaluation and analysis of the accomplishments and mistakes, merits and faults, and right and wrong in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC shows that our party is an earnest, open and aboveboard party, a party responsible to the people. Our party is more mature politically, more united ideologically, and stronger and more unified organizationally. The party comrades and the people are elated and filled with confidence and hope that we will win out over and conquer difficulties on the road ahead and that we will realize the goal of socialist modernization.

Up to now, in the history of our party there have been only two occasions when resolutions have been adopted concerning party history systematically summarizing historical experience. The first was the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions" which was approved by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central

Committee of the CCP. This resolution was adopted at an historical turning point when we were about to win victory in the war against Japan. It summarized in great detail the historical experience and lessons since the founding of the party, gave high marks to Comrade Mao Zedong for his brilliant contributions applying Marxist-Leninist theory to resolve questions of the Chinese revolution, so that the entire party achieved a high degree of stability and unity ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily, and played an enormous role in the ultimate victory in the war against Japan and in the entire liberation of the Chinese people. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" approved by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was adopted to set things to rights in the party and nation and when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause. It uses the universal principles of Marxism to summarize China's historical experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction and not only will play an inestimable role in unifying the ideology and understanding of the party, army and all the nationalities to struggle with one heart and mind for the realization of the new historical mission, but also will enrich and develop Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, providing many new experiences for the international communist movement.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP looked back on the party's glorious history and pointed out the important significance and direction of strengthening party construction. The content set forth in the "Resolution" and "Speech" is very rich and profound and the summarized experience is very incisive and scientific. These two brilliant documents which shine with the light of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are valuable treasures which concentrate all the party's wisdom and experience gained through tests of victory and setbacks in long-term struggle and for which the party has paid an enormous price and they are our guide for future work and the compass for our actions. Conscientiously studying, profoundly understanding and firmly implementing the spirit of these two documents is an important task which faces all the party comrades and all the nation's people and it is a central task which must be stressed well by party organizations at all levels.

In the process of constantly summarizing historical experience and using this historical experience to educate the membership and cadres of the party, our party is constantly advancing and maturing. For this reason, the party has always stressed guiding party members and cadres to study Marxist theory, and party history and to summarize the teachings of experience. This is the enormous strength of our party and one important reason why we can overcome our own mistakes and win out over all difficulties and obstacles. During the time of the democratic revolution, by correctly summarizing historical experience, the party won the great revolutionary victory. This time, by correctly summarizing the party's historical experience since the founding of the PRC, it will promote the even greater victory of future socialist construction. For this reason, stressing the study of the "resolution" and the "speech" and educating party members and cadres using the new historical experience of the period of socialist revolution and construction is the central key to strengthening party construction, mastering ideological education and uniting the party to wage the great political struggle, and it is necessary that it be stressed firmly and well.

Party organizations at all levels should painstakingly guide and organize this study, broadly and deeply propagandize and launch this study and guide it deeper in a planned and gradual way. Everyone should be guided to stress the essential points of study and understand the spiritual essence, with attention to guarding against getting entangled in quibbling over individual issues or adopting a study attitude of casual skimming and superficial understanding. Everyone should be guided to use the dialectical materialist and historical materialist point of view to evaluate the events, merits and faults, and rights and wrongs of history, to analyze the subjective factors and social causes which brought about these events, to absorb the experience of history, become more united, to look ahead and to concentrate their energies on resolving new questions and completing new historical missions. We should advocate getting things off one's chest and speaking out freely, conducting full discussions of different understandings and find some solution to mistaken understandings by reasoning things out and reaching conclusions on the basis of unifying the thinking of the entire party in the "resolution." In sum, this study should strive both to take many forms and be active and at the same time to be serious and conscientious and strive for results. Through study we can truly raise the party's level of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and the ability to use it better to direct actual work and to achieve the goal of unifying the ideology and understanding of the party and the entire nation and heighten the consciousness of carrying out the line, direction and various policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session.

What should be especially emphasized is that party organizations at all levels should do a good job of organizing the study of the party membership and the masses and that party leadership cadres at all levels in particular should set an example in their own behavior, being the first to study, studying deeper and better. This is the key to whether or not this study will be profound and effective. In the Yan'an campaign for rectification and study which started in 1942, the fact that many upper and middle level party cadres took the lead in studying made this Marxist ideological education campaign enormously effective. For the leaders to be the first to study and strive to become models is the most forceful appeal and the best way to mobilize the party members and the masses to study. At the same time, if the leaders study deeper and study better they will be able to provide the correct direction for the study by the party members and the masses and will be able to constantly lead the study even deeper. In particular, the leader's position and the responsibility he bears will determine whether or not he has studied well. This is not purely a question of influence on the study of rank-and-file party members and the masses, but a question of influence on the work of a district, section or unit. If one has not penetrated the spirit of the document or understood it well or even has a distorted view, then how can one make the fundamental experience summarized by the "resolution" the guiding thought in one's work and consciously carry out the line, principles and policies of the party"?

The historical period since the founding of the PRC which is summarized by the "resolution" and the series of important historical events which it evaluates are part of the personal experience or at least very familiar to many comrades. For this reason when we begin to study it we not only feel it very personally, but it is also easy for us to relate it to actuality. This is a favorable condition for doing a good job of study. However, there is also the question of how to relate it to actuality. One way is to view it as an outsider and just talk in generalities--nothing is learned this way. Another way is to get caught up in historical questions and even debate the right and wrong of the specific history of one's region or unit--it is impossible to comprehend and master the spiritual essence of the documents this way. The correct attitude should be to understand more profoundly the fundamental experience summarized by the "resolution" to raise one's understanding and to achieve the goal of unified thinking and stronger unity so as to take the spirit of the "resolution" as one's own thinking and conscious action.

In the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, the socialist undertaking of our party's leaders has undergone a tortuous development. To link up study and actuality, one should also be good at comparing the times of victory with the times of setbacks, especially comparing the generally good situation which has appeared economically and politically since the Third Plenary Session with the domestic chaos created by the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and conscientiously analyze the causes of victory and setback. In this way we can truly and profoundly understand through a clear comparison of successes and failures that the ideological, political and organizational line reestablished by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is the correct Marxist line and that it will restore and develop under new conditions the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party; truly and profoundly understand the fundamental experience summarized by the "resolution" and that the path which has been gradually established since the Third Plenary Session suited to China's situation for building a strong, modernized socialist nation is correct and absolutely necessary. If we adopt this comparative method of linking up actuality with study, we can truly comprehend and accept ideologically the fundamental experience summarized and evaluated by the "resolution" with regard to a series of important historical issues, and can heighten our consciousness in carrying out the line, directions and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session.

We firmly believe that on the foundation of conscientiously absorbing the teachings of historical experience gained by the party and the people in this study, on the road scaling the peaks of socialist modernization, we will certainly be able, as Comrade Hu Yaobang has predicted, to conquer the Eighteen Bends, mount the South Gate to Heaven, and reach the Peak of the Jade Emperor, and push on toward new summits.

8226
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SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION ON MAO'S CONTRIBUTION DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Jul 81 p 3

/Article by Yun Xiang /0061 4382/: "The 'Resolution' Is Permeated With the Spirit of Looking Forward United as One"/

/Text/ On the eve of the CCP's 60th anniversary, the Central Committee called the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, which adopted the "Revolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This was a great event for the entire party and also a great event in the political life of the whole nation. The "resolution" is of great and far-reaching significance as it will unify the thinking of the whole party, the whole army and the entire nation, and it is also of significance for the building up of our party and for the work of socialist modernization.

We Must Unify Our Understanding on Questions of Basic Principle and Strengthen Our Unity

The "resolution" is permeated with the spirit of a nation looking forward united as one. Under the present conditions of our party, looking forward united as one requires first of all a realistic evaluation of merits and demerits, a clear distinction between right and wrong and the appropriate solution of various problems left over from the past. Since the Third Plenum, our actions have been precisely directed toward these goals. The Central Committee undertook to bring order out of chaos with great determination, as a comprehensive effort and having carefully considered all aspects of the problems. These efforts also entailed a reevaluation of some historical events and the redress of wrongs and rehabilitation of those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged. The mistakes of the "leftist" trend were gradually rectified and a series of problems left over from the past were solved, resulting in a gradual normalization of internal party relations and in the political life of the party, as well as in a gradual restoration and strengthening of party unity.

As solutions were provided for a series of historical problems, the people naturally demanded one step further: an evaluation of our history as a whole and answers to some fundamental questions. First among these questions is: how to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role in the Chinese revolution, since he was the foremost leader of our party for a long period of time, and how to assess Mao Zedong Thought? These questions touch on the most important political and ideological foundation on which the strengthening of internal party unity depends. It is for this reason that a correct summing up and evaluation of certain historical questions since the founding of the PRC was presented in the form of the "resolution." It thus satisfies the needs of the situation and the demands of everyone in the nation and also provides a solid basis for our party to forge ahead united as one. In its realistic resume and assessment of the past 32 years, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "Generally speaking, the history of the CCP since the founding of the PRC is a history of tremendous successes; guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought the party led the various nationalities of our country in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction." The "resolution" cites facts to prove that in spite of all complications, the successes gained were paramount. On the other hand, the "resolution" also seriously and earnestly points out and analyzes the mistakes we committed, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and grave blunder of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Through a study of the "resolution," we will appropriately evaluate and analyze the history since the founding of the PRC and gain a uniform understanding of it. This is extremely important to strengthen unity throughout the party.

The "resolution" gives a realistic and apt evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's role in history, a matter of the greatest concern to everybody. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, a strategist and theoretician. To come out with this kind of an evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong is completely in conformity with historical reality, as it also fully reflects the aspirations of the entire party and of all the people. Looking back on the entire history of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions were great indeed, never to be obliterated. Comrade Mao Zedong, a great personality who influenced the progressive flow of history, had in common with many great men of history that he was not completely free from certain shortcomings and committed mistakes of one kind or the other, which in his case were serious mistakes in his later years. However, precisely as the "resolution" points out: "Considering all that he did during his lifetime, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his faults." Comrade Mao Zedong is our great leader and teacher. The "resolution" gives a scientific and comprehensive explanation and exposition of Mao Zedong Thought, clearly affirming that Mao Zedong Thought was, is and will be our guiding ideology and the great banner that guides our advance.

Firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is one of our fundamental principles. The evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's role in history and the analysis and exposition of Mao Zedong Thought presented in the "resolution" conform with historical materialism. The "resolution" repudiates the "two whatsoevers" guiding policy and dismisses whatever was the subject of the personality cult propaganda. At the same time as it affirms Comrade Mao Zedong's great historical contributions, it also points out realistically his mistakes. The "resolution" also opposes the mistaken viewpoint that scientific value must be denied to Mao Zedong Thought because of certain mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. All these statements in the "resolution" are of extreme importance because they clear up much confusion and give clear and correct answers to certain doubts and misgivings voiced domestically and abroad. These important conclusions in matters of principle reached by the "resolution" after the widest, repeated deliberation and discussion within the party are the crystallization of collective wisdom, as they are also the full account of achievements in the party's efforts to bring order out of chaos, efforts exerted ever since the Third Plenum. The "resolution" as such, having been passed by the entire plenum, forcefully demonstrates that the leadership core of the party is united as one. The study and implementation of this "resolution" will undoubtedly greatly raise the level of ideological knowledge and strengthen the unity throughout the entire party.

Unify Conceptions and Strengthen Unity in the Question of Drawing Lessons From Past Experiences

In the course of achieving great successes during the past 32 years, there also occurred many mistakes in our work, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and grave blunder of the "Great Cultural Revolution." As we fully affirm the achievements of the socialist revolution and construction, we must at the same time also earnestly analyze these mistakes and draw lessons from these experiences. This is another highly important question which relates to the strengthening of unity throughout the party.

In questions regarding the serious overextension of the antirightist struggle, the movement of the "Great Leap Forward," the people's commune movement, the antirightist, socialist education movement, etc, the "resolution" analyzes the correctness and mistakes in the guiding ideology of the party during these events in the light of the historical conditions of the time, and ascertains the subjective factors and social causes of these mistakes. In listing these facts, the "resolution" tells us that the main mistakes committed since the founding of the PRC were "leftist" mistakes. We must draw a fundamental lesson from these experiences. In the past, we could not sum up these experiences and draw lessons from them while being subjected to a "leftist" mistaken ideological guidance. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee we began in earnest to bring order out of chaos in a comprehensive way and to rectify realistically the leftist-deviationist mistakes. In the short period of about 2 years since then, our progress in this respect has been very rapid. We have not only solved a great number of problems created as part of our past leftist mistakes and left over from those days, but furthermore, on the basis of the corrections of leftist mistakes and the summing up of the lessons from past experiences, we have formulated and implemented a correct political line and a series of principles and policies that are fundamentally different from those of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and even differ widely from those prior to that. In the course of these developments, the mentality of leading cadres at all levels of the party and of the broad masses of party members is now also gradually being freed from the fetters of the "leftist" guiding ideology. In the course of these developments, many have shaken off the influence of the "two whatsoevers," broken out of the state of full or partial ossification of the mind, and earnestly accept the lessons taught by the "leftist" mistakes of the past. They continuously deepen their understanding of the line, principles and policies determined by the Central Committee, and a lively atmosphere is brought about of having the entire party work with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations.

The "resolution" emphasizes that it wants to implement the spirit of "upholding truth and correcting mistakes." This is extremely important. If we were to adopt an irresponsible attitude, wantonly exaggerate the mistakes of the past, describe the 32 years since the founding of the PRC as utter failure without a single redeeming feature, and as a consequence throw doubt on and denounce the four basic principles, this would be an attitude incompatible with the objective realities and a harmful attitude. Conversely, if we were to disregard our mistakes, cover up our mistakes, or to this date deny any mistakes, it would also be a most inappropriate attitude. It would in itself constitute a mistake. In studying the "resolution" and in summing up the lessons to be drawn from past experiences, we must be wary and avoid or overcome attitudes such as the two mentioned above.

At present it is still our main aim to eradicate the "leftist" ideological influence within the party, particularly among the leading cadres, to draw lessons from the experiences of the past, and on this basis to be better able to maintain unity in political matters with the Central Committee and consolidate and strengthen party unity. For this purpose, we want to purge one step further the influence of the "two whatsoevers" and change one step further the book worship and dogmatic style of study. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we had the mistaken policy of the "two whatsoevers" appear in the party, a refusal to learn from past mistakes, and furthermore attempts to suppress the discussion of the question of standards for truth and to obstruct the trend of emancipating the minds, facts that fully attest to the obstinate nature of all "leftist" matter. If we had not at that time repudiated the "two whatsoever" policy, the whole party would not have been able to grasp completely and correctly the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, and also could not possibly have effected a genuine emancipation of the mind, a realistic correction of the "leftist" mistakes, acceptance of the lessons from our past common experiences, unification of our concept[illegible]s and could not have become united as one.

Since the beginning of this year, the leading cadres of the party in their studies of the documents from the Central Committee Work Conference, carried out comradely criticism and self-criticism to liquidate "leftist" ideology. All units that consciously and earnestly did the same thereby raised the level of their knowledge, strengthened unity, raised the political awareness in carrying out the principles and policies of the Central Committee, and were quite successful in all these respects. This good experience must be fully approved, but the summing up and digesting of historical experiences is an arduous process. Due to the fact that the "leftist" mistakes were committed nationwide over a long period of time and produced a great impact, on the theoretical plane the summing up of lessons from the "leftist" mistakes and the elimination of "leftist" influences are certainly not easily accomplished nor can they be accomplished in a short period of time. The problems can only be solved and the aim can only be achieved by repeated studies and contemplations in the course of the practical experience of working to accomplish the four modernization projects. Through the study of the "resolution," all our comrades in the party will without the slightest doubt inevitably draw further lessons from the experiences of the "leftist" mistakes of the past and on this basis make joint efforts to handle affairs in a much better way in future.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the Sixth Plenum presents a deepgoing summing up of basic lessons drawn from the experiences of the last 32 years. Based on the practical experiences gained since the Third Plenum, the Sixth Plenum listed 10 main points to be observed on our country's path of socialist modernization. We must integrate our studies of the "resolution" with the realities of our situation, one step further eliminate all "leftist" ideology, consciously and with everyone keeping in step implement the series of principles and policies decided upon since the Third Plenum, and persevere in the correct road toward building a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured socialist powerful country in a way suited to our country's particular conditions.

Rally Around the CCP Central Committee for Joint Endeavor and Struggle

At the present Sixth Plenum, new members were elected in place of others or as additional members to become principal leaders in the Central Committee. This will play an important role in strengthening the collective leadership and unity of the Central Committee on the basis of Marxism, and in guaranteeing complete realization of the correct line, principles and policies of the party following the Third Plenum. The election results reflect the aspirations of everyone in the nation and have caused great joy. The leadership core of the party Central Committee has been gradually taking shape in the more than 4 years since the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was smashed, during the arduous and complex struggle to bring order out of chaos, during the time of leading the entire nation in the work of the four modernizations, and in particular in the practical experience of carrying out the eight-character policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving." Among the men now in key leadership positions there are comrades-in-arms of Comrade Mao Zedong who have fought for decades on many fronts and performed outstanding meritorious deeds for the party and the people, and there are also men of outstanding abilities in the prime of their lives who are excellent students of Comrade Mao Zedong. Precisely as the events of the last few years have shown, this is a strong leadership core which enjoys great popularity among the whole party, the whole army and the people of the entire nation. This kind of Central Committee is the most important organizational guarantee for the strengthening and consolidation of unity throughout the party. We will consciously and closely rally around the party Central Committee, expend our energy on economic costruction and on the foundation of a socialist spiritual culture, show firm determination to eliminate all obstacles, and endeavor and struggle to build a socialist, modern, powerful state with a high degree of democracy and culture. We are certain of our success.

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PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN CADRES URGED TO STUDY SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Leadership Cadres Should Take the Lead in Studying 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee deliberated and passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, reelected and elected the main leaders of the Central Committee, completed the historical mission of setting things to rights in the party's guiding thought, strengthened the collective leadership and unity of the Central Committee on the foundation of Marxism organizationally, and guaranteed the complete realization of the party's correct line, direction and policy since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The party membership, cadres and masses received this news with exultation and they support these measures enthusiastically. Throughout the province a high tide is forming to study the documents and to carry out the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session.

For leadership cadres, especially those leadership cadres from above county level, to take the lead in studying the documents of the Sixth Plenary Session and in studying the "Resolution" is the focal point and key to doing a good job of this study.

Stressing leadership cadres' study is the central link in using the spirit of the "resolution" to help the party membership, cadres and masses to unify their understanding. Since the founding of the PRC, generally speaking, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, our party has led all the people of the country to carry out the socialist revolution and construction and to make enormous accomplishments, but it has also made mistakes, especially the mistake of the Great Cultural Revolution, created serious confusion in theory and thinking, and for one period, among cadres and the masses there was no unity of understanding with regard to the right and wrong, merits and faults of the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, and with regard to the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. These different understandings also existed in leadership groups at all levels. It is everyone's aspiration that through summarizing experience, the thinking and understanding of the leadership cadres can be unified on the foundation of Marxist principles, the leadership can be unified and the party membership, cadres and the masses can concentrate their energies on completing the glorious and enormous mission presented to us by the new historical period. After the Third Plenary Session, the party began to set things to rights in a comprehensive way and fundamentally turned away from the mistaken leftist direction. The "Resolution," which was produced through a long period of extensive debate within the party and through conscientious discussion at the Sixth Plenary Session, drew correct conclusions regarding the important events in the party, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC; evaluated Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position by seeking truth from facts; carried out a complete discussion on the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the party's guiding ideology and at the same time affirmed the correct path which has gradually been established since the Third Plenary Session which is suited to China's condition of building a strong, modernized socialist nation; further pointed out the direction for China's socialism and the continuing advancement of party work; and defined this content strictly in the form of a resolution. This has provided a common political foundation for further unity of ideology and understanding. Through conscientious study of the "resolution" the leadership cadres can distinguish the line between right and wrong ideologically, clear up muddled thinking and unify understanding. And with the leadership's understanding clarified, they will be able to carry out ideological and political work in the spirit of the "resolution," help the broad ranks of cadres and masses to unify their understanding and in their actions to consciously be models of unity, be models in carrying out the policy, direction and line of the Third Plenary Session and be excellent examples among the masses.

The fundamental reason for studying the "resolution" is to summarize experience. In the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, in the process of leading the people in the socialist revolution and construction, our party has made important achievements in all areas and by taking tortuous paths has paid an enormous price. This is because our task is to fundamentally transform Chinese society--something people had never done before. We did not understand much about the objective laws of building socialism, and our experience in this area was rather inadequate. We also had subjective biases with regard to analysis of the situation and understanding of national conditions. Thus there were serious mistakes in the party's work in the guiding direction and it was hard to avoid making this or that kind of mistake or even serious mistakes. But our party dared to acknowledge these setbacks and mistakes and was able to derive benefit from the study of these setbacks and mistakes. The "resolution's" scientific summary of the party's experience, both positive and negative, in the struggle for revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC is a valuable spiritual treasure of completing our historical mission in the new period. By conscientiously studying the "resolution," self-consciously absorbing this experience and mastering and applying it, in leading the masses of the people on the new long march, the leadership cadres can avoid the great twists and turns of the past, and can enable our undertaking to successfully take the scientific track ahead and realize the great goal of the four modernizations, to which the people aspire.

The leadership cadres also bear the heavy task of organizing and leading the broad party members, cadres and masses to study and should get down to the grass-roots level to understand the problems of the masses, and straightforwardly and persuasively carry out propaganda work on the "resolution" in the rural areas, in the factories and mines, in the schools and in the neighborhoods. This demands that the leadership study it earlier and more thoroughly and understand it better than the masses. If they do not study it well they will be unable to lead the study activity.

Conscientious study of the "resolution" is one of the central tasks for the entire party for the second half of the year. Party committees at all levels may use party schools, cadre schools, agency-operated short-term classes or other suitable forms for organizational leadership cadres to participate in study on rotation. In study, they should conscientiously study intensively the important content of the "resolution" and unify their thinking and understanding in the fundamental conclusions of the "resolution." On this foundation they will look ahead in unity and strive for the goal of the Four Modernizations with one heart and mind. In studying the "resolution" one must consider history, but historical questions should be considered in general terms, not in detail, and one should not get entangled in the details of history nor should one debate the rights and wrongs of the history of one's region or unit. We should develop the excellent tradition of combining theory and practice, and study and continue to complete the mission of setting things to rights according to the spirit of the "resolution," and further improve the party leadership and workstyle in order to heighten consciousness, to enable our party construction to become more mature politically, more unified ideologically and more solid organizationally, so that the party will become a firm nucleus capable of unifying and leading all the people to carry out the socialist modernization. We should absorb the experience of 32 years of economic construction and further carry out economic readjustment. In Fujian we should now vigorously promote the continuing establishment and improvement of various systems of production responsibility, overcome the natural calamities, and improve agricultural production. We should promote the implementation of systems of economic responsibility in industry and communications, improve the reorganization and mergers centered on expanding consumer goods, and actively complete the production plan. We should actively expand economic activity abroad and promote the implementation of special policies and flexible measures. We should promote work in the areas of trade and finance, culture and education, science and technology; promote the implementation of policies concerning cadres, intellectuals, overseas Chinese and other policies; strengthen unity, and bring into play all positive factors to work for socialist modernization.

The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is a new milestone in our party and nation, setting things to rights and continuing to develop. Thirty-two years ago the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions," which was passed by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CCP Central Committee, unified the party's understanding, strengthened party unity and promoted the rapid advance and great victory of the people's revolution. Today, the "resolution" passed unanimously by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee will play a similar historical role; it will become a very important document and enter the pages of history if we conscientiously study the documents of the Sixth Plenary Session, consciously use the "resolution" which was unanimously passed by the plenary session to unify thinking and understanding; we can then implement the steel-like unity, form an invincible force, overcome all obstacles, eliminate all difficulties, and make our country gradually into a modernized, highly democratic, and highly civilized, strong socialist nation.

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY LEADING BODIES ENCOURAGED TO LEAD DUAL EXISTENCE

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 81 p 1

[Article by Li Hongjun [2621 3163 0689] and Li Shulin [2621 2885 2651]: "Upholding the System of Dual Organizational Life"]

[Text] A great many party committee leading bodies and members from the various areas, offices, and directly affiliated factory enterprises thoughout our city have led the organizational life of both party committee groups and party branches, and this has had a positive promotional effect toward rectifying their ideological line and heightening the groups' combat effectiveness.

Recently, leading bodies of the various units have placed the greatest importance on doing a good job of leading the organizational life of leading bodies. Within a specified period, they have all held specialized meetings for heart-to-heart talks, using the methods of criticism and self-criticism to investigate the situation regarding the implementation of the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum, and the implementation of the "standards", and have conscientiously summed up their experience and lessons learned. Numbers of leading groups of Wei Jian factory launched activities involving heart-to-heart talks centered on the questions of whether or not in the new period we still need to do a good job of political ideological work and how to do it. On the basis of unifying their thinking, and directed at the various kinds of ideology prevalent among cadres, they convened two separate factorywide informal meetings devoted to political ideological work, and in the spirit of the Third Plenum, in a timely way unified the thinking of the staff and workers of the entire factory and roused in themselves a revolutionary spirit. In the course of this activity, a good many units' leading bodies and members were able to express themselves fully, persevered in constructive criticism and patient helping of comrades who were guilty of mistakes, and in particular emphasized summing up experiences and lessons learned in seeking truth from facts and helping them to do better work from now on. In the course of the informal heart-to-heart meetings, leading bodies of the Harbin farm management office, after taking the initiative in investigating the problems involved in carrying through the implementation of the party constitution, the "standards," and the party's line, programs and policies, immediately changed their methods and, with major leaders in charge of each group, went deeply into the more backward farms and brigades and carried out investigations in an attempt to understand the situation, conscientiously helping them to solve the actual difficulties involved in production and in the lives of staff members and workers.

Party committee leading comrades of many units, along with persevering in doing a good job of leading the organizational life of leading bodies, are also able in their capacity of ordinary party members to participate in the organizational life of party branches and groups. The party branch of Comrad Xu Baodong [1776 1405 2767], district party secretary of Daoli, wanted to propose two new party members for admission. Though he had different views on the subject, he did not seek to impose his own views on the party branch. On the one hand he expressed his own views to those two comrades; on the other hand, according to the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority, he went along with the decision of the party branch's meeting, and so followed the principle of the individual being subordinate to the organization. Comrade Chen Jie [7115 2638], head of the city's Second Light Industry Bureau took several comrades to Canton to take care of some business and, in order to persevere in doing a good job of leading the organizational life of a leading comrade, he suggested that a small party group be set up which would hold small organizational activity meetings in Canton in their spare time.

9634
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CADRES URGED TO DEVELOP REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Xu Hsiren [1776 1585 0088]: "We Must Eliminate 'Leftist' Ideology and Develop a Revolutionary Spirit"]

[Text] The eradication of "leftist" ideological influence by leading cadres is a development that is welcomed everywhere. However, it also gives rise to some arguments. The gist of these arguments is: might not the eradication of "leftist" ideological influence hinder the development of a revolutionary spirit? Do we still want to promote a revolutionary spirit?

We consider that the eradication of "leftist" ideological influence among leading echelons is not in conflict with developing a revolutionary spirit. From the point of view of the requirements for building socialist modernization, "leftist" ideological influence must definitely be eradicated, and a revolutionary spirit must continue to be developed. In that case, in real life why is it that some comrades are concerned and think that contradictions might arise between the two? This is first of all due to the fact that the questions of what constitutes "leftist" ideological influence and what is our objective in implementing a clearing up of ideology have still not been truly clarified, giving rise to misunderstandings. After the socialist reformation of our basis was completed in the course of building our national economy, in our guiding ideology the error of "leftism" truly existed, and the causes of this were: first, not paying due attention to the existing situation of our productive forces and at the same time, with regard to production, being overanxious to change over to a transitional stage; second, not paying due regard to objective reality in the building of the economy and being overanxious to achieve quick results; and third, violating the law of a proportional development for our national economy. The end result of these "leftist" errors, with the addition of the interference and destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the "cultural revolution," was extremely serious; the national economy wavered and could not progress, and the superiority of the socialist system could not be brought into full play, seriously dampening the socialist spirit of the broad ranks of cadres and the masses. Ever since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, the party Central Committee has adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with regard to integrating theory with practice and seeking truth from facts; summed up its experiences and lesson learned; rectified the errors of the "left"; combined the basic principles of scientific socialism with the concrete situation in our country; and formulated a correct line, programs, and policies. Today, the formulation and implementation of the guiding principle of the readjustment of our national economy is a sign that the guiding ideology behind the building of our national economy has begun to undergo a fundamental transformation. The principal manifestation of this change lies in the fact that we have freed ourselves from the shackles of leftist ideology and returned to the path of seeking truth from facts. The party Central Committee demands that the leading cadres eradicate "leftist" ideological influence from their economic work through making a clear distinction between right and wrong in our guiding ideology, drawing a clear line between the correct and the false, and urging the entire party to be more conscientious in implementing the party Central Committee's great policy decision on carrying out further economic readjustment. For this reason, correctly eradicating "leftist" ideological influence is absolutely not capable of hindering the development of a revolutionary spirit. On the contrary, only by having freed themselves of the fetters of the guiding ideology of "leftism" will the broad ranks of cadres and the masses be able to rouse themselves to revolutionary enthusiasm, have their hands and feet free to work, and enable our country's economic work to develop in a healthy and progressive way. There is still another important reason why some comrades erroneously consider that eradicating "leftist" ideological influence would hinder the development of a revolutionary spirit: during the 10 years of turmoil, when the "gang of four" pushed the error of "leftism" to an extreme, the question of right and wrong in displaying revolutionary spirit also became quite confused. For example, "high quotas" and "high rates of speed" that departed from reality were considered to be manifestations of revolutionary enthusiasm, while the notion of proceeding from the firm basis of one's actual abilities was considered to be rightist; a slogan like "do not fear our not being able to accomplish something--fear only our not trying," which placed excessive emphasis on determination, was greatly extolled as a revolutionary slogan, while the idea of proceeding according to objective economic laws and the scientific spirit of wanting to have our feet firmly on the ground were disparaged as lacking enthusiasm for socialist construction, and even labeled rightist. For this reason, if in clearing up "leftist" thinking from our economic work we abandon the whole set of "leftist" slogans and methods from the past, some comrades will mistakenly suppose that it is also no longer necessary to promote a revolutionary spirit. This kind of understanding is incorrect. The revolutionary spirit of striving for the prosperity of the country and arduous struggle has been an important condition for the forward advance of socialism, and at any and all times we still want to display a revolutionary spirit. The fact that our new China is able to have the kind of accomplishments it has today is precisely the result of the fact that the broad ranks of cadres and the masses, under the leadership of the party, did not fear difficulties or sacrifices and, filled with revolutionary ardor, proceeded with their arduous struggle. The problem is that the promotion of a revolutionary spirit must be founded on a basis that is consistent with reality. If we depart from this point, then we will act rashly and blindly, harming the revolution and construction. That is to say, the revolutionary spirit that we want to promote is the revolutionary spirit of upholding scientific socialism, and not a blind, rash action that attempts to transcend realism.

Of course, the original significance and aim of clearing up "leftist" ideological influence is for the benefit of developing a socialist, revolutionary spirit. Nevertheless, it is also far from being the case that in the course of this clearing up there will not occur or exist problems that are in violation of that original significance. For leading cadres, in the course of clearing up their ideology there really exists the question of a scientific attitude, which is to say that in seeking truth from facts they must attempt to make a clear distinction between right and wrong. For example, since we cannot, on the pretext of being afraid of having a negative influence on revolutionary enthusiasm, simply not try to clear up "leftist" ideological influence or act in a haphazard manner, we also cannot brand as "leftist" certain shortcomings and problems in our concrete work or, citing the pernicious influence of "leftism," fail to make an active effort to complete projects that could be completed fairly quickly if necessary. Still less when we speak of clearing up erroneous "leftist" ideology can we splash cold water on the revolutionary enthusiasm of grassroots-level cadres and the masses in the concrete performance of their duties; in particular, we cannot place the blame for upper-echelon policy errors on energetic, hard-working lower-echelon cadres. The revolutionary enthusiasm of cadres and the masses must be fostered thoroughly and at all times. If, without having a clear idea of exactly what we are talking about, we indiscriminately brand everything as "leftist," then not only will we not be able to put our economic work back on the proper, healthy track, but it will quite possibly suppress the revolutionary spirit of grassroots-level cadres and the broad masses of workers.

In short, "leftist" ideological influence must definitely be eradicated and the revolutionary spirit of working hard for the prosperity of the country and striving arduously must definitely be promoted. Through clearing up our ideology and clearly distinguishing between right and wrong, all echelons from top to bottom, must rouse themselves to a revolutionary spirit, start from a basis of reality, do everything possible to overcome difficulties, do a good job of further readjusting the national economy, and raise production, and the aims of clearing up our ideology will have been accomplished.

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PARTY AND STATE

MORE THAN 800 TEACHERS OF SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING JOIN PARTY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 81 p 1

/Article: "In Beijing Institutions of Higher Learning More Than 800 Teachers Gloriously Enter the Party: After Entering the Party They Actively Serve in the Vanguard Model Role of Party Members"7

/Text7 Reporter Wang Yuanping /3076 6678 16217 reports: According to statistics 821 teachers and other professional and technical personnel at the 43 institutions of higher learning in Beijing have entered the Communist Party of China within the past several years. These comrades who have just entered the party include Professors Cai Xu /5591 24857, Jiang Zehan /3068 3419 32117, Zhu Zhixian /2612 2535 63437, Wang Zhuxi /3769 4554 33057 and 26 other professors, 57 assistant professors and 377 lecturers.

This group of teachers who have become new party members have for the most part undergone long periods of training, have an unshakeable faith in communism and a deep feeling for the party. At the forum for young comrades, several of the older professors who have newly entered the party took their personal experiences in the new and old society to explain that there is a new China, and they themselves have a glorious old age only because of the leadership of the communist party.

They explained that the four basic principles in support of the party are needed by a billion people and are the road determined by historical necessity.

The vast majority of these new party members are the backbone of education and research. Before they entered the party they made demands of themselves in accordance with the standards for party members and after becoming members they actively have served as vanguard model party members. One lecturer who recently entered the party said: "The party has expended such effort to train us to be university teachers and we only are a small fraction among the people of our age group. If we don't exert ourselves to the utmost how can we ever meet our obligation to the party and to the people!" One older professor who recently entered the party while teaching and doing research also served as the head of an auxiliary hospital and has enthusiastically trained and guided young people. When this hospital director was not at the hospital, the doctor in charge had only to make one telephone call, no matter whether it was day or night and he would immediately come to the hospital to guide young comrades in handling medical or research problems. One assistant professor after entering the party served as a political counselor and while teaching or instructing people patiently did ideological work among the students. The students expressed appreciation for his patient help.

During the organizational and developmental work in the various higher level schools in Beijing, the standards for party members were scrupulously mastered while paying attention to correcting "leftist" influences. For example, concerning the historical problems and the problems of the relationships of intellectuals in society, while making clear that each person must understand himself, the policy of "importance is in expression" was also supported. As for applicants for party membership who had shortcomings, the party organization always strictly but enthusiastically helped them overcome and correct these, never relaxing their demands. As a result of accurately mastering the standards for party members and the policy for intellectuals, in these several years of party organizational and developmental work among educators the results have been quite good, and a relatively large number of educators have met the standards for party members and have been absorbed into party organizations. Taking Qinghua University as an example, the proportion of teachers who have developed into party members compared with the number of new party members from the entire school over the period 1969-1976 is 1.6 percent. This is an increase over the past several years of more than 10 percent.

9810
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BEIJING SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING HOLD PARTY REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 81 p 1

/Article: "Beijing Schools of Higher Learning Successively Convene Party Representative Meetings: Put the Democratic Life of the Party in Good Order, Strengthen and Improve Party Leadership"7

/Text7 In Beijing recently, 20 institutions of higher learning, including Beijing University, Qinghua University, Beijing Normal University, and Beijing Technical University convened party representative assemblies. These assemblies restored the democratic life within the party in these schools which had been almost completely destroyed during the 10 years of disruptive activity by the "gang of four" and served to actively promote the improvement of leadership workstyles and the strengthening of party leadership.

During the party representative assemblies, the party committee members of the various schools made a broad call for opinions from the masses in and outside of the party toward educational work and especially toward the committee members thoroughly implementing the line, principles and policy undertaken since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, carrying them on to a conscientious conclusion, further clarifying the mission of properly carrying out educational work and important measures. The broad masses, under the spiritual encouragement of the party representative meeting and through the liberation of thought and conscientious work, unified their thinking and raised their knowledge concerning the work of the schools and other important questions, thus increasing unity among comrades and between the leadership and the masses. There was a new increase in activism of the broad group of teachers, students, staff and workers in their work and in study.

General elections of the new party committee members were held during the party representative assemblies at the various schools. The elections were carried out on a more thoroughly enhanced democratic basis. Candidates were mostly determined after a vote of the opinions of party members, after broadly listening to opinions of those in and outside of the party and after repeated consideration and consultation in various other democratic activities. Finally at the meeting of party representatives, the new party committee members were elected by means of a plurality vote. The characteristics of the newly elected party committee secretaries and assistant secretaries in the recently held party representative meetings of 18 schools of higher learning changed from those before the election in four points. First, their numbers were reduced. From an original 85 people, the number was reduced to 63. Second, their average age was lower, declining from 68 to 58.5. Third, the percentage of those with university education levels was increased from 49 percent to 58 percent. Fourth, the number of party general administrative staff was reduced. Before the election there were five or six party general administrators among the party administrators of the various schools, after the elections there were only two or three. Some of the new committee members from the educational institutions also decided to adopt several measures to improve leadership workstyles.

Recently the relevant department of the Municipal Communist Party Committee of Beijing invited some comrades from the schools to a forum to sum up the experiences of the party representative meetings.

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PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING EMPHASIZES STRENGTHENING OF IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL WORK IN UNIVERSITIES

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 81 p 1

[Article: "Thoroughly Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in the Universities"]

[Text] Since the work conference of the Party Central Committee, there have been new improvements in the ideological and political work in the institutions of higher learning in our province creating many good experiences. The strengthening of ideological work has caused a great rise in the ideological awareness of students and caused an obvious change in mental attitudes. But this is merely a good starting point for ideological work in the schools. Looking from the perspective of the basic mission of institutions of higher learning and their educational goals, our work still has a long way to go, and there is a great need to continue strengthening ideological work.

The basic mission of higher education is to develop high quality specialized personnel educated both morally and intellectually for the tasks of socialism. That is to say, to become a college student who meets the standards of socialism one must not only have the resolute specialized skills needed to serve the four modernizations and national reconstruction, but must also have steadfast political beliefs, the lofty ideals of communism, an aspiration to give one's all for the four modernizations, and to have high-minded morality, i.e. to become an "idealistic, moral, knowledgeable and skillful" person who is both red and expert. To accomplish such a basic mission, to reach this kind of educational goal, ideological and political work must be strengthened and moral cultivation must be put in the forefront of student ideological education.

To carry on ideological and political education for students, we should first research the special characteristics of contemporary university students, profoundly understand their ideological circumstances and strive to make a fairly precise and pertinent analysis. This is the starting point for accomplishing work among students and is also the principal basis for determining policy in ideological education. If we don't accurately recognize the object of our cultivating efforts, then it is the same as "shooting an arrow without looking at the target or talking without regard for the audience," and it would be difficult to avoid problems in guiding ideology and in working methods. The basic character and the main trends among this generation of students are good. They love the socialist motherland, love the party, support the four basic principles and uphold the four modernizations. They study diligently and long to be useful, to promote in China the assiduous study of modern scientific and cultural knowledge. They consider the situation as a whole, are reasonable, cherish a favorable outlook on security and unity, make allowances for the problems of the nation and the schools, and are imbued with the courage and determination to overcome difficulties. Yet some problems also exist. This generation of students was raised during the chaotic period of the ten disastrous years, and they have been affected by the various pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They were born in the new society and have no personal experience of the bitterness and darkness of the old China. They don't have the experience of the vast difference between the new and the old society. They lack an essential understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and the corruption of the capitalist system. They long for and look forward to a strong democratic and enlightened country that has achieved the four modernizations, yet still cannot correctly handle the problems that will come while carrying this out, and still lack accurate knowledge about certain mistakes our party has made during its work. It is precisely for the aforementioned reasons that the majority of students all have various levels of problems, no matter whether it is in their ideals for the future, study goals, outlook on life, world view, moral sense or notions of discipline.

There are also a small number of students in whom doubt and wavering have emerged about certain basic principles. If you don't see the problems among students, then your understanding of the importance of ideological and political work among university students, its complexity and its tremendous difficulty, will be insufficient. If you have seen the problem, you may lose confidence in the objects of cultivation and adversely affect our work. It should be noted that the great majority of students are comparatively young when they enter school and that this time is precisely the important formative stage in their view of life and the world. They are very malleable. They are just becoming concerned about national affairs, searching for truth, boldly investigating, diligently thinking things over, becoming active ideologically and so on. Also, their fundamental knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and historical knowledge are lacking, their thinking is not mature, they tend to extreme views when considering problems and have other weakpoints. Yet, by and large most students are good, and the ideological and political conditions in which they are growing up are even better than for the last generation. They are fully capable of becoming a generation adept at thinking and which can make great contributions. The key is whether we can arm them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This means we must take careful aim at their special ideological characteristics, support the policy of keeping communications open and carry out ideological and political education successfully.

We must be adept at answering questions posed by the students, patiently explaining the relevant principles and "explaining the principles and teaching with skill and patience." When carrying out ideological education we must adopt an attitude of fair discussion, imbuing them with the perception that you are a "good teacher and beneficial friend," so that they are inspired and enlightened. When doing ideological and political work you must persuade people, you can't force them; you must move them by reason, not by force. You must offer judicious guidance according to the circumstances and cannot rely on simple and rigid teaching methods.

Students in their ideological activity are willing to think independently and this should be advocated and encouraged. Even if their knowledge concerning some questions is inaccurate that is not important. Willingness to think is better than laziness in thinking. Ideological knowledge will always have different levels. We should guide university students correctly in the atmosphere of ideological activity, life and study, and bring them to a healthy maturity.

We must advocate that leading cadres of all schools everywhere involve themselves deeply with the students and make friends with them, vigorously fostering deep confidence, emotional links, and heart-to-heart talks. Possibly the questions put forth by the students can't be answered all at once, or the answers won't convince them absolutely, but this is not important. If once isn't enough, further conversations or hold group discussions will gradually resolve their problems.

Ideological work is a science. It has a scientific and orderly nature. For this reason it is completely necessary to establish an elite contingent political workers and to maintain stability. Yet it is insufficient to rely solely on the political work contingent to carry out ideological and political work. We must mobilize the broad group of educators, staff and workers, especially the teaching assistants, lecturers and professors to do ideological work among the students. There are many educators and they see the students every day, moreover, the words and deeds of teachers influence students greatly. For this reason the significance of mobilizing all educators to do ideological work is very great. To instruct and to cultivate people is the glorious responsibility of educators. Intellectual education and moral education cannot be completely separated; moral education should be a part of intellectual education.

All schools must strengthen leadership in ideological and political work. They must skillfully organize their strength in many aspects, adopt various approaches, and use many channels of communication. In this way the base of ideological and political work will be broadened even more. We need only work energetically and a generation of students, both red and expert, developed both morally and intellectually, will certainly be brought to healthy maturity, and the institutions of higher learning will certainly produce successive generations of able individuals.

9810
CSO: 4005/709

PARTY AND STATE

ABUSE OF AUTHORITY TO PUNISH SUBORDINATES CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Liu Xianting [0491 0341 1694]: "'Small Shoes' and 'Jogging Shoes'"]

[Text] Shoes are mainly designed to help people walk safely. However, another type of shoes function differently, and will make the wearer so uncomfortable that he cannot move a single step forward. They have been dubbed "small shoes" by the people.

In the old society, women were required to bind their feet. In the end, their feet became "so small" that they often lost their balance when walking. Although this unhealthy tradition of requiring women to bind their feet disappeared long ago, another unhealthy trend to deliberately force people to "wear shoes" as a form of punishment still exists today, and in some places, has even gained strength.

According to a newspaper report, one day a security guard at a certain mine offended his boss when he denied the boss' sons entry to a bathhouse to take a shower pursuant to a regulation issued by the boss that no dependent without a ticket in hand should be allowed to use the bathhouse. The guard's "retirement from his glorious post" was announced 3 days later for "health reason" at the age of less than 50.

Another example is that a cadre who exposed his boss' attempt to transfer his son from a frontier post at a meeting after refusing to heed his instruction in this connection was transferred to a hardship post 3 months later on the ground that "he is a man of principle capable of enduring hardships."

Cadres critical of the "disobedient" to their bosses have been denied benefits in terms of work-study, promotion, awarding of housing units to themselves and jobs to their children. Anyone at odds with his boss will sooner or later "meet the same fate" and will suffer other inconveniences. Although cases of this sort can be avoided, no efforts have been made to prevent their recurrence.

Some people have acknowledged this trend as a problem but not a cause for alarm. Although the inclination to impose "small shoes" on people is a behavior more "civilized" than brazen reprisals and vengeful attacks, its dangerous consequence can in no way be minimized. This unhealthy trend to punish people this way is actually a form of unfair treatment or mistreatment, which will have a dampening effect on their initiative. A more serious consequence is that under its influence, democracy can be suffocated, motivation to progress can be nipped in the bud, talented people can be destroyed, and souls will feel scared to death. In localities where "small shoes" are in wide circulation, comrades of rectitude, intelligence and the courage to stand for the principle are bound to face suppression, while sycophants and flatters will become more active than ever. In some units, those who have experienced the "small shoes" will lose their courage to speak out again, while others who have not experienced them will hesitate to volunteer any proposals. In the end, although their prestige will be diminished, leading cadres will become more arrogant than ever, the party's excellent tradition will suffer damage, the enthusiasm of the masses will be dampened, the lively political situation will give way to a dull climate in which 10,000 horses will stand mute and rectification of the unhealthy workstyle will become an empty slogan.

Although the trend to compel people to wear "small shoes" is deeply hated by the public, thus far nothing has been done to deal with it. Since those who can threaten people with "small shoes" are power-wielders, they can hardly be persuaded by the masses to change their minds unless they are ousted from offices of public trust.

As far as we know, these power-wielders are usually classified as "men of good personality" or "good cadres," and therefore cannot be dismissed from office for forcing someone to wear "small shoes." At worst, they might be asked to exercise self-criticism and perfunctorily examine their conduct. (They can also ignore this request.) In the days ahead, the existing wearers of "small shoes" will have to continue to wear them and others may not be able to avoid wearing them. Meanwhile, the compulsive order to force "small shoes" on people is by no means a graceful act. For this reason, those who plot this matter often have to invent some good reasons for doing this under a plausible pretext in order to deceive the public. Now let me return to the two examples I mentioned earlier. In essence, there is nothing wrong with a decision to retire a worker from his glorious post, nor is there anything wrong with a decision to assign a cadre to a remote hardship post which conforms to the party's requirements. However, such executive power has been wielded by some people to punish their adversaries. In response to the public's protests, they always say: "we are only acting in accordance with the policy!" In the end, the victims of "small shoes" become awkward characters bearing a striking resemblance to a "deaf-mute unable to complain after being unjustly treated." It is clear that this treatment is unjustified and unfair. But no one can do anything about it. So this treatment still persists. This is why many people want to adopt "a hands-off policy" in this matter and why this ill-intentioned trend is so hard to reverse over a long time.

"An angry eye must be met with an angry eye" is an ancient proverb that can be used to portray those narrowminded and mean characters intent on avenging their adversaries as soon as they come to power. A typical example was the Dowager Empress Ci Xi of the late Qing Dynasty, who was universally condemned for saying: "I can make anyone unhappy for the rest of his life if he makes me unhappy once." Communist Party cadres should never emulate her conduct. Nor should they promote such a philosophy bordering on sadism. Leading cadres should learn to bear with all forms of mass criticism no matter whether they are correct, incorrect or even mistaken. The power wielded by leading cadres is not a tool for them to vent their pent-up wrath on others and threaten them with "small shoes." The "Certain Principles Regarding the Internal Political Life of the Party" clearly state: Leading cadres should refrain from using their power to take revenge or conspire against comrades suspected of opposing them, or punish them by cutting their feet to fit "their small shoes." This conduct is a violation of the party democratic system and the revolutionary code of ethics.

I still recall that during the war, whether on a military march or in pursuit of retreating enemy troops, our cadres often took straw sandals and cloth shoes from their knapsacks and handed them to barefoot soldiers so that none might lag behind. Today, our motherland is still in a period of socialist construction. Everyone is required to move forward at a fast pace. The leaders have responsibility for providing everyone with suitable shoes, especially our most favorite "jogging shoes." Only thus can our leaders encourage and help the people to move forward swiftly along the revolutionary path and make greater contributions to the country and the people.

9574
CSO: 4005/809

SOVIET AIRLIFT CAPABILITY IN AFGHAN INVASION NOTED

Beijing GUOJI HANGKONG /INTERNATIONAL AVIATION/ in Chinese No 3, 1981 p 14

/Article by Li Chun /2621 4783/: "Soviet Airlift Capability in the Invasion of Afghanistan;" concluding part of article/

/Excerpt/ 3. Several Noteworthy Questions Raised by the Large-scale Soviet Military Airlift in the Invasion of Afghanistan

The strong airlift capability of the Soviet Army means it has mobility on a global scale. In other words, it serves as a means to invade the Third World or to start local wars at any time. In the face of a nuclear stalemate, the Soviet Union evidently hopes to eliminate the Third World countries and the other intermediate zones one by one, as long as a direct confrontation with the United States can be avoided. By this means, it will strengthen its strategic position and finally dominate the whole world. This may be the current Soviet strategy, and military airlifting is a powerful means to support this strategy.

As a precaution against old Soviet tricks, we should pay attention to the following questions while drawing lessons from the Afghanistan incident:

1. If we want to determine whether or not the Soviet Army will launch a sudden attack, it is not enough to judge from the surface activities of the Soviet Army, simply because its airlift capability makes it possible for the Soviet Union to transport troops and equipment on a campaign scale directly into the war theater over geographical obstacles from different locations and within a short time.

2. In launching a sudden attack, the Soviet Army does not necessarily start its penetration from the frontier regions. It may possibly fan out from a political or military center or start its attack from both the rear and the frontal areas. This poses new problems in planning for combat, choosing the form of combat and the deployment of military forces. For example, in launching an invasion, the Soviet Army can rely on its strong air mobility in choosing not only the direction of its attack but also the distance of its objective. This will give it great initiative. As a precaution against invasion, therefore, we must have not only suitable defense positions but also adequate mobility. The NATO forces hold that this mobility is necessary not only for the war areas, but also for the air arm as well as the air transport units.

3. Air bases are the first targets of Soviet assaults. They were the steppingstone for the sudden invasion of Afghanistan. There should be special defensive power and effective defensive measures for the frontier as well as the rear bases.

4. Research should be conducted in counter-airlift tactics. If we can deliver our blows in the course of Soviet airlifting and stop such airlifting, there will be a better chance for us to frustrate a Soviet invasion.

5. Research should be conducted on tactical problems raised by the entry of armed helicopters into the battlefield.

9411
CSO: 4005/784

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SETTING, ACTIVITIES OF NAVAL SUBMARINE SCHOOL DESCRIBED

Beijing JIANCHUANG ZHISHI [NAVAL AND MERCHANT SHIPS] in Chinese Jun 81 p 7

[Article by Li Dianming [2621 3013 2494] and Yang Jun [2799 6511]: "Naval Submarine School On the March"]

[Text] In the "Soldiers, the Sons and Brothers of the People" program of the central TV station on the eve of the Spring Festival of 1981, a color documentary entitled "Underwater Hunting Begins From Here" was televised. The "Steel Whale" was shown slowly sailing into the open sea to the strains of a delightful melody, leaving a deep impression on the viewers. The majestic military banners, the young marines, the well-laid-out blocks of school dormitories and the martial spirit of the fighting vessels were all watched with rapt attention.

The naval submarine school is located in a beautiful coastal city. Illuminated by the sunlight of the party, this only training school for "underwater dragons" of the navy has grown up along with the people's navy. In the past 30 years, this school has sent group after group of fine commanders and fighters to the submarine units of the navy in accordance with the party's "steadfast and correct political orientation, hard working and plain living style, and highly flexible strategy and tactics" and the principle of "all-round moral, intellectual and physical development." These commanders and fighters are now sailing fighting vessels along the long coastal defense lines of the motherland, patroling the open sea, and dedicating their valuable youth to the defense of the socialist motherland and the building of a steel wall of the sea. They have written a proud chapter of heroism in our history.

The submarine school affords a pleasant environment for study and enjoys a unique geographical advantage--its proximity to the sea. The entire school compound is located near the shore with a mountain behind it. The well-laid-out blocks are flanked by luxuriant foliage, with a huge drill ground, measuring more than 10,000 square meters, in the center. The majestic school building is in close proximity to an azure bay, so that on a calm day the classrooms command a good view of the open sea with ships plying to and fro. In the early morning, people can enjoy the refreshing sea breeze; at night, they can see dots of fishing lights and hear the waves lapping against the shore. It is against such a poetic background that the "underwater dragons" of the future are exploring the mysteries of submarine technology, being gradually uplifted under the influence of the glorious traditions of our army, and learning the skill of winning victories.

The main task of the submarine school is to train submarine commanders at various levels. The students here must have high political consciousness, at least a high school cultural level, and the physical condition of aviators. They are mostly former army personnel or high school graduates. The school term is 4 years. Besides political theory, higher mathematics, general physics, foreign languages, electronics and other basic subjects taught in institutes of higher learning, the students also have to learn navigation, weaponry and other professional military techniques related to submarines. The submarine school is very well equipped. There are more than 50 practical training compartments where simulated submarine warfare of various types can be conducted. The school also concentrates on the use of practical methods, including practical training at sea. In late spring and early summer, or late autumn and early winter each year, the training vessels, with full loads of students, sail out of the military harbor and cruise the vast open sea day and night. This is an indispensable part of the training program to help the students combine theory with practice, steel their will at sea, and learn about workstyle and techniques. There is also a strong teaching staff in the school. Among the staff are veteran submarine crew members of the older generation and many experts in submarine theory and military equipment. These hard-working "gardeners" are now toiling day and night to bring up the "underwater dragons." Like a sowing machine in perpetual operation, they are disseminating the matured seeds all over the vast coastal areas and territorial seas of the motherland. In the past 30 years, they have brought up group after group of "red and expert" submarine commanders who have become backbone elements at various levels of the naval submarine units.

The military academy spends its time in a tense and yet orderly atmosphere. As soon as the trumpet heralds the arrival of dawn, waves of students take to the drill ground. Some of them practice at the single or double poles, some race on a swinging bridge; some join the marathon; and some participate in mass drills.... The school drill ground in the morning is the scene of flying dragons and leaping tigers, all full of youthful vigor. Eight classes are held in the school each day, and these classes are the main components of the curriculum. After supper, the students review their own lessons. Some of them carry out self-study in the classrooms; others go to the laboratories to familiarize themselves with the instruments; and still others head for the playground with basketballs in hand.

Immediately after sunset, the navigator students, led by their tutors, come to the shore and scan the sky with their sextants. Although modern science and technology have now developed to such a stage that satellites are used in navigation, sky scanning is still the most basic means of determining positions and this must be grasped by all navigators. They deftly operate their sextants, measure each twinkling star from the horizon, chart the heights and write down the times.

The school pays great attention to physical training. Aside from regular military training, it also includes swimming, boating and gangway ladder climbing in the curriculum. There are swimming pools in the school compound and special swimming beaches outside.

The students enjoy a large variety of outdoor life and are free to participate in various activities according to their own hobbies. They can read in the library, watch movies at regular hours, join in singing and sports contests, or organize sightseeing tours. By these means, they can enrich their minds as well as steel their wills.

Under the fluttering military banners and amid militant songs, the naval submarine school, as the cradle of "underwater dragons," is now marching along the road illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought toward the goal of national defense modernization! The vast open sea is beckoning them, and the motherland wants to be strong and prosperous. The younger generation dedicated to the defense of the motherland's territorial waters is now sturdily maturing under the care of the party. They are learning the required skill and will take to the oceans where they will build an underwater steel wall and dedicate themselves to the four modernizations!

9411
CSO: 4005/784

BRIEFS

ANHUI PLA CIRCULAR--The party committee of the Anhui military district recently issued a circular calling on all PLA units under its jurisdiction to study and implement the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The circular says that in August each military subdistrict should hold an enlarged party committee meeting to include cadres at and above the regimental level to study the guidelines for 10 to 15 days. Its says leading cadres should go to the companies and militia units to help fighters and militiamen in their study. [OW231451 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Aug 81]

WUHAN PLA UNITS MEETING--Having studied the CCP Central committee's 6th plenary session resolution, reviewed history and summed up experience in order to acquire a correct approach toward the party's shortcomings and mistakes, comrades attending the plenary session of the Wuhan PLA units party committee [date not given] believed that our party is capable of shouldering the arduous tasks entrusted by history. They felt that the resolution correctly evaluates the merits and demerits of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong and is an example of the Marxist attitude of seeking truth from facts. To guard against mistakes and shortcomings, they suggested keeping to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, doing away with the practice of reporting only the good news and holding back the unpleasant, listening to the masses' views and conducting frequent self-criticism. [OW200555 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Jul 81]

CSO: 4005/845

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHANGE IN HONG KONG'S STATUS DEEMED UNLIKELY

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 45, 1 Jul 81 pp 55-56

[Article by Xiong Da [3574 6671]: "Looking at 1997 From the Present Relationship Between China and Hong Kong"]

[Text] In April of this year, Deng Xiaoping, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, received in Beijing Lord Carrington, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and discussed the future of Hong Kong. Deng indicated: "Within or after 16 years, even if Hong Kong's status changes, the profits of investors will not be damaged." Two years before, when receiving MacLehose, the governor of Hong Kong, Deng had expressed the same idea.

Deng Xiaoping is the number one political strongman of the Chinese communists, and what he said once again made clear that the Chinese government is willing to maintain normal relations between China and Hong Kong.

The CCP's Consistent Position With Regard to Hong Kong

Hong Kong is China's territory. Owing to reasons that everybody knows, Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories were placed, one after another, under British rule. The Chinese communists have consistently refused to recognize the unequal treaties imposed on China by imperialism. However, the Chinese communists have adopted an attitude of tacit acquiescence with regard to the continuation of Hong Kong's status quo. Since the Chinese communists founded their state, they have engaged in many military operations, but their armed forces have never crossed the Shenzhen River. Even in 1976, when riots broke out in Hong Kong under the influence of a leftist ideological trend, and when some people proposed that British rule over Hong Kong be ended, the Chinese communists did not take this opportunity to regain sovereignty over Hong Kong.

The Chinese communists hold the absolute initiative over Hong Kong. If they wanted to recover it, they could move a division from the Guangzhou Units into Hong Kong in a short while, and the British forces stationed in Hong Kong would be no match for the division. Backing up a little, military force need not be used; it is only necessary to cut off the supply of grain, vegetable, and potable water, and Hong Kong will have no way to maintain normal life.

Why do the Chinese communists not take back Hong Kong but rather want to maintain its status quo? This is because it is advantageous for China to maintain Hong Kong's status quo. In other words, the present status of Hong Kong is of great practical value for China. On the eve of Lord Carrington's visit to China, the Chinese communists' most authoritative newspaper--RENMIN RIBAO--published a poem written by the famous poet Ai Qing, which best illustrates this point. Ai Qing, in his poem entitled "Hong Kong," wrote:

> "You are the motherland's import-export passageway,
> You are the place where commodities are exchanged,
> You are the link for friendly intercourse,
> You are the bridge to the five continents and four seas.
> For many years you have created immeasurable wealth for the
> motherland."

In the final analysis, how much wealth has Hong Kong created for China? This is really hard to estimate. In 1980, the total output of goods exported by China to Hong Kong reached US$ 1 billion, and China obtained US$ 400 million in income from tourists coming through Hong Kong. Adding other items, in that year the amount China earned in foreign exchange from Hong Kong reached over 5 billion yuan, about a third of its total income from foreign exchange.

Just imagine, if the Chinese communists had long ago taken back Hong Kong, its status would be far inferior to that of Shanghai or Tianjin and would not even be as good as that of Guangzhou. It would not have today's prosperity and importance, so how could it make as much a contribution to China? Also, how could it play the role of a "passageway," "link," and "bridge"?

Hong Kong's Role in China's "Four Modernizations"

China is now healing the wounds left by the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, readjusting the national economy, and beginning the construction of the four modernizations. The construction of the "four modernizations" requires the exploitation of natural resources, the introduction of funds from abroad, the assimilation of advanced technology and management experiences from abroad, the development of maritime lanes and transport.... Hong Kong has great prospects in all of these aspects. Compared to the other areas and cities, Hong Kong can play a greater role in aiding China's "four modernizations."

In the exploitation of China's natural resources, first on the list is the exploitation of energy sources. China's coastal waters contain rich deposits of petroleum and natural gas, and China needs international cooperation to extract these deposits in large amounts. Hong Kong can help China to exploit its natural resources, especially the oilfields in the South China Sea and the land adjacent to Hong Kong. If Hong Kong is used as China's logistical base and its advantageous conditions are fully utilized, then China can get twice the results with half the effort.

In raising foreign capital, Hong Kong has now become China's major source of foreign exchange. Following the increase in China-Hong Kong trade and the expansion of China's investments in Hong Kong, after several years Hong Kong has provided China with 10 billion yuan in foreign exchange. And Hong Kong is the banking center of the Far East, and if China so requires Hong Kong can obtain large loans for China.

With regard to technology and management experience, Hong Kong's laborers and workers are fairly skilled and its managerial ranks are of fairly high quality, and can provide China with experience in enterprise management and with specialized knowledge about production. Owing to its convenient geographical position and its cultural affinity, Hong Kong's experience is more easily assimilated by China and thus is of more use to it.

With regard to developing maritime shipping and transport, Hong Kong is one of the three largest commercial ports in the world and is the shipping center of the Asian and Pacific region. The ship tonnage controlled by Hong Kong shipowners now exceeds 50 million tons and is the fourth largest in the world, behind Greece, America, and Japan. China's shipbuilding industry is developing rapidly, and its maritime fleet is also rapidly expanding. China and Hong Kong can vigorously cooperate in the ocean shipping enterprise, and they are actually already in the preliminary stage of this cooperation.

In short, Hong Kong in many aspects can help China's construction of the "four modernizations." During construction of the "four modernizations," China can develop Hong Kong's role fully over a long period. By maintaining Hong Kong's status quo and establishing normal relations with Hong Kong, China can continue to regard Hong Kong as a "passageway," "link," and "bridge" to the world and will obtain even greater benefits.

The Chinese Communists Have Taken Positive Measures With Regard to Hong Kong

Normal relations between China and Hong Kong depend on safeguards by the three sides--China, Britain, and Hong Kong--and the decisive factor in this equation is China. China's attitude toward Hong Kong also decides the practical value and contributions that Hong Kong has and makes for China. As stated before, Hong Kong has made a great contribution to China over the past 30 years; during China's construction of the "four modernizations," it can make an even greater contribution. Therefore, China has taken many positive measures with regard to Hong Kong.

First of all, the Chinese leaders have once again guaranteed the profits of Hong Kong investors, allowing them to concentrate on developing their enterprises, and China has fully cooperated with Hong Kong with regard to many aspects, such as traffic, water supply, and restrictions on illegal immigration, which has spurre spurred the continued maintenance of Hong Kong's stability and prosperity.

Second, China has expanded its investments in Hong Kong. Over the past 5 years China's real estate investments in Hong Kong have reached a total of US$ 3 billion, banking businesses are being expanded continually, and the scope of companies selling goods made in China is being continually enlarged. Trade representative offices from various provinces and cities in China are being set up one after another, so that Chinese commercial organizations have become identified with those in Hong Kong, and China uses Hong Kong as a base for entrepot trade.

Third, the special economic zones opened up in the two provinces of Guangdong and Fujian (in Guangdong, the three places of Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shantou) draw in foreign commercial investments, (principally from Hong Kong), and many enterprises have been cooperatively set up. Recently, the leaders of Guangdong Province indicated that the city of Guangzhou and the island of Hainan, with regard to the use of overseas chinese capital and foreign capital, provide about the same conditions as the special zones. It looks as if the special economic zones will continue to expand.

Fourth, China strives to win over the group of Chinese capitalists in Hong Kong, and has expressed sincerity and respect for this group, not only taking in its funds, technology, and managerial experience, but also giving it the fullest support economically and the fullest encouragement politically, so that enterprises run by the group of Chinese capitalists in Hong Kong become more prosperous with each passing day and their attachment to China is strengthened.

What About 1997?

In brief, the present relations between China and Hong Kong are exceedingly normal, and the relations between China and Britain are extremely good. Some people worry in this fashion: In 1997, the lease on the New Territories will expire and China can take them back; Kowloon and Hong Kong Island could be recovered at the same time. This causes the people of Hong Kong to feel insecure, and to worry that their capital will be drained away and their businesses will languish. Hong Kong could become a stinking port [a play on the name Hong Kong, which means "Fragrant Port"]. This kind of "groundless worry" is hardly necessary.

First of all, the Chinese communists have never recognized the unequal treaties. Whether China takes back Hong Kong certainly does not depend on the limits of treatises or leases, but rather on what benefit Hong Kong is to China. Facts over the past 30 years fully show that the present relations between China and Hong Kong are most beneficial to the former, so why would the Chinese communists need to change over to new ways?

Second, even if Hong Kong's status is changed in the future, the Chinese communists will devise a policy that will ensure Hong Kong's stability and prosperity. This is because the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong are conducive to China's "four modernizations" and can bring even more benefits to China; contrarily, if there were an upheaval and a decline in Hong Kong, China would lose its "passageway" and "bridge" to the world.

Returning to mv theme, although normal relations between China and Hong Kong depend upon China, in the final analysis they depend on Hong Kong itself. If the Hong Kong and British authorities, as well as the personages who hold the balance with regard to Hong Kong, lack foresight and cause Hong Kong to lose its practical value for China so that it cannot make a contribution and even becomes detrimental to China, then the relations between China and Hong Kong cannot remain normal and Hong Kong's prospects will be dim. Neither China, Britain, nor Hong Kong is willing to see this situation arise; neither the billionaire nor the man who lives from hand to mouth is willing to see this situation. Therefore, this situation will certainly not appear.

9727
CSO: 4005/807

COLUMNIST SAYS CHINA'S CONSTITUTION SHOULD GUARANTEE HONG KONG'S STATUS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 45, 1 Jul 81 p 54

[Article by E E [6166 6166--"Straight Talk"]: "Hong Kong's Status Should Be Guaranteed by Law"]

[Text] Even after repeated guarantees from CCP Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping on Hong Kong's status, many residents of Hong Kong still have misgivings. This is because he has already reached the advanced age of 76, and even though he is in good health, "winds and clouds appear in the sky without warning, and man's fortune can change suddenly." Who can guarantee that within 16 years he will not have gone to see Mao Zedong? Moreover, "white clouds change into grey dogs--the changes in human affairs often take freakish forms." The affairs of human life are constantly changing, and after 16 years, even if he is still living, who can guarantee that he will continue to be in power and still be able, as now, to have a decisive effect on the political situation? "When a man is alive he has power, when he dies his power ceases," and the political situation on the mainland over the past 30 years keeps this fresh in our memory.

Hong Kong's future status involves both the delimitation of administrative regions and the effects of international treaties.

The original unequal treaties that ceded territory and gave concessions have already been abrogated, so we are not talking about the question of renewing a treaty. If one wants to conclude a new treaty, then, according to article 25 of the mainland's constitution: The power to ratify or abrogate treaties with foreign states resides with the NPC Standing Committee. Although the premier of the State Council has the right to make a proposal to the Standing Committee, he cannot by himself decide on a treaty's existence or on its effect. Now, the importance of Hong Kong's economic and political situations means that Hong Kong could definitely be put on an equal footing with a municipality directly under the central government such as Beijing, Tianjin, or Shanghai. According to article 22 of the mainland's constitution, the power to approve the division and delimitation of the country into provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government resides with the NPC, and neither the premier of the State Council nor the CCP chairman can make this decision.

The CCP is stressing that it wants to perfect China's legal system, and the necessary condition for doing so is respect for the constitution. The position of the CCP leader in this respect is that he can only put forward suggestions and they do not have any legal effect. To comply with the strict nature of the legal system, it is also inappropriate for an individual to issue a "guarantees" as he pleases.

Since it is advantageous for China to maintain Hong Kong's status quo, it should use the method that puts the minds of overseas personages even more at ease, viz, legal guarantees, thereby changing the method of verbal guarantees, which have difficulty in being effective for a long period of time and which pose problems of legality.

The mainland is going to revise its constitution this year. According to disclosures last September Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, told a meeting of party committee secretaries from the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions: "The constitution must undergo a major revision." In reality, this so-called "major revision" is not a patching-up job but a major overhaul, a redrafting of a new constitution to take the old one's place. The draft of the new constitution has not yet been made public, but we believe it has much new content as compared with the constitution currently in effect. The additions were necessary because the constitution is the fundamental law, the legal basis for the legislation and administration by the organs of the state. At present, some measures taken by the Chinese communist government, strictly speaking, lack a legal basis. For example, the current constitution stipulates that only in localities inhabited by minority nationalities can there be "regional autonomy," and does not authorize the government or the NPC Standing Committee to set up "special economic zones" in other localities. Obviously, owing to the fact that China is still in the beginning stage of gradually perfecting its legal system, some gaps and omissions are hard to avoid. When revising the constitution, China should remedy these gaps and omissions, and explicitly provide in the constitution for the setting up of "special economic zones," even to the extent of permitting some provinces to share in the implementation of "specific policies and flexible measures," in order that laws and government decrees concerning "special economic zones" will be based on law at the highest level. At the same time, China should also make explicit stipulations for the future status of Hong Kong as well as Taiwan. The Chinese communists have declared: After the peaceful unification of Taiwan and the mainland, the status quo of Taiwan's economic system, political system, as well as military system can be maintained and will not be changed. Obviously, the future status of Hong Kong should also be like this, i.e., the present living standard of the residents would be preserved, and the residents of Hong Kong would themselves manage their political affairs. On 5 June of last year, when Xi Zhongxun met with personalities of various circles in Macao, he said: "In reality, Macao and Hong Kong are special areas; their territory is China's but their way of doing things can be flexible. In the future, after Taiwan is returned to China, it will be the same kind of special areas." Obviously, what Mr Xi said in public during his official visit was not just his individual view but had been approved by the highest level of leadership. However, to explicitly stipulate this in the constitution, as opposed to merely giving a verbal guarantee, will set the minds of Hong Kong residents even more at ease and Hong Kong's economy will continue its steady development, thereby making an even greater contribution to China's construction.

9727
CSO: 4005/807

'CHINA POST' EDITORIAL ON PRC THREAT TO TAIWAN

OW240635 Taipei CHINA POST in English 20 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] Senator John Glenn, Dem-Ohio, revealed August 17 in Peiping that Chinese communist leaders have refused to reassure the United States that Red China will not take Taiwan by force.

The Ohio Senator, the ranking minority member of the Senate Asian and Pacific Subcommittee said that he explained to Peiping's leaders that "the continued assurances of no military takeover were key to there even being normalization" of relations between the United States and Peiping. But he said that in his discussions with Chinese communist leaders including "Vice Premier" Chi Peng-fei, "Vice Foreign Minister" Chang Wen-chin, and Hao Te-Tsing, head of "People's Institute for Foreign Affairs," "they would not guarantee that there would not be a military takeover."

Senator Glenn also revealed that arms sales to the Republic of China was a "major stumbling block" in improving Washington-Peiping relations. Communist China, he indicated, is vigorously opposed to continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and has promised to make a strong response if they continue.

It is clear that by the outspoken refusal of Peiping to reassure the United States not to use force against Taiwan, Peiping has violated the essential condition upon which the United States normalized its relations with the Peiping regime. The United States should take serious view of this situation and stop any thought about arming that unreliable regime with any "lethal arms," rashly promised by U.S. Secretary Alexander M. Haig, Jr. The U.S. Congress should indeed hold extensive hearings on this basic issue of normalization and arms sales which will inevitably endanger the peace and security of the Taiwan Straits and the Asian and Pacific region.

In view of the Chinese communist threat against the Republic of China to use force, there is an urgent need to speed up the arms sales program by the United States to the Republic of China so that its self-defense may be strengthened. Time is short and any delay will have detrimental effects upon the security of the free people of the Republic of China.

On the other hand, the United States should postpone indefinitely the arms sales talks with the Peiping regime tentatively scheduled for September as the State Department announced the other day. Any arms sale to the Peiping regime will strengthen its power of aggression against the Republic of China or Southeast Asian nations including the ASEAN nations. But it will be inadequate to counter-balance the Soviet strength as the disparity between Peiping and Moscow if their military strength is too great to be overcome by any U.S. supply of "lethal arms." The United States should not pay any attention to Peiping's boast about its ability to restrain the Soviets. It has neither the facilities nor the fighting spirit to do it, as Peiping's military establishment is an outdated and demoralized outfit which cannot possibly fight a modern war. Senator Glenn should give the Senate Asian and Pacific Sub-committee a factural report of his findings so that all free people may know the truth about Peiping's warlike behavior.

CSO: 4020/241

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'CHINA POST' EVALUATES REAGAN'S PERFORMANCE

OW240643 Taipei CHINA POST in English 18 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] It is more than half a year since U.S. President Ronald Reagan entered the White House. During these six months he has demonstrated his strong will, his courage and excellent discerning powers. The U.S. President's possession of these qualities is indeed a blessing for the Americans. It also gives the Free World great encouragement.

Reagan took office as the highest executive of the U.S. at a time when the country had been weakened by Jimmy Carter's policies. In a period as short as six months, he has come up with three major policies: a tax reduction, the manufacture of the neutron bomb and resumption of the study of the B1 bomber, and a hard stand on strikes by federal employees. Timid Carter would not have dared to Taiwan relations. Act faithfully. [Sentences as published]

It should be understood that Communist China is likely to become reconciled with the Soviet Union at any time. It is dangerous for the U.S. to gamble on Communist China and on Teng Hsiao-ping, who is close to 80 years of age. The U.S. used to base its policy toward Iran on Pahlavi's personal attitude toward the U.S. The success of these policies, and even the rash Nixon could hardly have made the same decisions.

The only regrettable thing about Reagan's performance so far is that he has not been able to reverse the abnormal U.S. policy toward China by actively expanding U.S. relations with the Republic of China.

In fact, the repeated criticisms that Communist China has been hurling at U.S.-ROC relations and its threat that it may re-establish relations with the Soviet Union are nothing but a pretense. It is as meaningless as the Soviet threat to Carter concerning the neutron bomb.

We earnestly hope that President Reagan will calmly reconsider his China policy and fulfill his campaign promise of implementing that type of policy.

President Reagan showed exceptional wisdom and farsigntedness in his declaration of his China policy during his election campaign. We believe that, after he has handled the urgent issues mentioned above, he will seek to improve relations with the ROC based on those declarations.
CSO: 4020/241

TAIWAN DEFECTOR ADDRESSES BEIJING PLA RALLY

OW200230 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1247 GMT 19 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing, 19 Aug (XINHUA)--At a rally held today by the leading organs of the PLA Air Force and directly subordinate units to welcome Huang Zhicheng on his crossing over and to announce the order for his appointment, Huang Zhicheng said: "I had longed to return to the Mainland of the motherland. The road I have chosen is absolutely correct."

He said that he lived in Taiwan for 29 years and served 12 years in the KMT Air Force. He said that the people in Taiwan have no way to correctly understand the conditions on the Mainland because the Taiwan authorities have blocked news from the Mainland for a long time and have generated groundless propaganda. However he said that he was able to learn about the true conditions and policies on the Mainland from foreign magazines, leaflets sent to Taiwan from the Mainland by balloons and radio broadcasts from the Mainland. These sources enabled him to realize that the Taiwan authorities have been deceiving the people in Taiwan.

Huang Zhicheng said: Taiwan lacks natural resources and capital. Everything there relies on imports and foreign investment. The expressway on Taiwan was built with foreign loans and the tolls have increased from time to time. Some of the light industrial products manufactured in Taiwan depend on export sales and the current economic recession in the capitalist world has seriously affected Taiwan, where commodity prices are soaring and the economic outlook is gloomy. Some young people have become perplexed and depressed and have degenerated in such a decadent society while others live in agony.

Huang Zhicheng said: Our motherland is a country with over 5,000 years of history and civilization. It is big and populous and is abundant in products. We should be prosperous and should work hard. Our motherland has great potential and its future development is boundless. I secretly made up my mind to fly toward brightness and to return to the motherland at an early date so that I could contribute my youthful vigor and blood, my knowledge and ability to the motherland. I realized that I must be very determined to fly back to the Mainland because I left behind a kind mother, who is over 60 years of age, my brothers and sisters, who cherish me, and my classmates and colleagues, who are like brothers to me. Furthermore, I had to risk my lief to make the return possible. Nevertheless, I had the courage and strength whenever I thought about the motherland.

He said: I remain very excited about the past 10 days or so. I have met many senior officers, have come into contact with numerous fellow countrymen and have toured places of historical interests and scenic beauty, all of which has benefited me a great deal. In coming to Beijing, I passed through seven provinces and municipalities. All places north and south of the Changjiang are busy producing. The simplicity of the people is an eyeopener to me. I find everything fresh and new and have discovered that the motherland is truly great and lovely. For the first time I have personally experienced the great differences of the two societies. The road I chose is absolutely correct.

Huang Zhichang said: Taiwan and the motherland have been separated for over 30 years. All people who are conscious of the state and the nation are earnestly supporting the early return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland in order to realize the reunification of the motherland at an early date. He said: The people I have encountered on my journey from Fujian Province to Beijing share a common desire and aspiration for the unity and reunification of China. The dream of kinfolks on both shores of the Taiwan Strait is unity and reunification. I feel that the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the fulfillment of the great cause of reunification are in accordance with the will of the people and represent the general trend of events. The government of the motherland has issued a series of principles and policies for the peaceful solution of the Taiwan question. I feel that the government is sincere and that the Taiwan authorities should make a positive response.

CSO: 4005/846

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON 'PERSECUTION' OF TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS

HK171054 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 4

[Report: "Responsible Person of All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese on Chen Wencheng's Death, Demands Cessation of Persecution of Compatriots in Taiwan"]

[Text] On 11 August, the responsible person of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese issued a statement to the press on the murder of Chen Wencheng, a scholar from China's Taiwan Province who made his home in the United States, by the Taiwan Garrison Command. He pointed out: The murder of Dr Chen Wencheng, a compatriot from Taiwan who lived in the United States, by secret agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command during his visit home has aroused great indignation among the vast numbers of Chinese nationals residing abroad as well as among the masses of returned Overseas Chinese and their dependents. They all condemn this savage political act and strongly demand an earnest confession from the Taiwan authorities. We fully support this just demand.

The responsible person said: The Taiwan authorities have been carrying out espionage activities among the Overseas Chinese and persecuting them for many years. For this, they have long been held in contempt by the Overseas Chinese. To this day, they still show no repentence and cling obstinately to their cause by pressing on with their espionage and terrorist activities inside and outside Taiwan and intensifying their efforts to suppress the people of Taiwan. This will not be tolerated by the people of the whole of China, including the people of Taiwan and Overseas Chinese. We would like to convey our sincere solicitude to the family of Dr Chen Wencheng. The responsible person also said: The Taiwan authorities must stop persecuting compatriots in Taiwan and must guarantee the democratic rights of compatriots in Taiwan.

CSO: 4005/846

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FUZHOU YOUTH WELCOME TAIWAN PILOT

OW151236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 15 Aug 81

[Text] Fuzhou, 15 Aug (XINHUA)--Huang Zhicheng, the Taiwan Air Force pilot who crossed over to the Mainland in a F-5 fighter last Saturday, joined 150 young people at a gathering in his honor here yesterday evening.

The young people pressed around him to shake his hand, and Huang Zhicheng repeatedly said "Thank you all."

Hu Huige, a stepdaughter of Wang Sheng who is a Kuomintang general and director of the Taiwan KMT "General Political Warfare Department of the Ministry of National Defense," made a special trip back to Fujian Province to attend the gathering.

She told Huang Zhicheng that last month she sponsored "I love the motherland" activities for the Fujian Provincial Youth Federation. Some youths whose parents are now in Taiwan had taken part.

Huang Zhicheng said: "I never expected that relatives of Taiwan KMT big shots could live in such freedom and happiness on the Mainland."

A professional art ensemble entertained him with local songs and dances and he sang a song entitled "Heirs of the Dragon," which is popular in Taiwan and expresses the Taiwan people's love for the motherland.

The same day, the Fujian provincial committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference gave a tea party to welcome the pilot.

A number of former KMT pilots, who crossed over before or after the founding of the people's republic in 1949, have sent telegrams to Huang Zhicheng, praising his patriotism and congratulating him on his enlistment in the air force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. They include Huang Youshou, deputy chief of staff of the air force of the PLA, Chengdu units; Huang Cungang, deputy director of the Shandong regional administration of the general administration of Civil Aviation of China; Xu Tingze, deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and deputy chief of staff of a PLA air force unit; and Liu Huantong, Zhang Yunong, Zou Yuekun, Du Daoshi, Huang Tianming and Zhu Jingrong, who all hold commanding posts in the air force or in civil aviation departments.

CSO: 4020/241

CYL, YOUTH FEDERATION LEADERS PRAISE TAIWAN PILOT

OW151104 Beijing in Mandarian to Taiwan 0400 GMT 15 Aug 81

[Text] According to a ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO report, members attending the 3d session of the 10th CYL Central Committee and the 2d meeting of the 5th All-China Youth Federation Committee, who are natives of Taiwan or who have relatives in Taiwan, warmly acclaim the patriotic action of Huang Zhicheng who has returned to the Mainland with his airplane. There is a strong cohesive force hidden in the hearts of Chinese on both sides of Taiwan Strait. Huang Zhicheng's action reflects the wish of the people and youth on both sides of the Taiwan Strait for reunification and against division.

(Xu Jinlai), member of the All-China Youth Federation Committee, was formerly an enlisted man in the Kuomintang's armed forces. In 1965, when he was performing duties at sea, he resolutely returned to the mainland. When he heard about Huang Zhicheng's crossing over with his airplane, he was filled with emotions. He said: Peaceful reunification of the motherland is the will of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Huang Zhicheng has taken the correct road.

(Gao Hedai), a young woman worker of Taiwan origin in the Tianjin machine-building plant and member of the China Youth Federation Committee, said with feeling: Peaceful reunification of the motherland accords with the will of the people and the general trend of events. Anyone who refuses peace negotiation and insists on division is unpopular.

Wang Hua, Standing Committee member of the All-China Youth Federation Committee and teacher at (Pingyi) primary school in Anfu County, Jiangxi Province, is a daughter of Wang Sheng, now director of the General Political Warfare Department of the Kuomintang Armed Forces. When she heard about Huang Zhicheng's crossing over, she was both happy and worried. She said: Huang Zhicheng's relatives, colleagues and close friends are still in Taiwan. I wonder whether they are being implicated. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will have sense of righteousness and, in the same way the Chinese Communist Party has treated me and my sisters on the Mainland, attach importance to the motherland's reunification and the reunion of compatriots of our own flesh and blood and give Huang Zhicheng's relatives, colleagues and friends the right to lead a normal life without fear of persecution. Any acts to persecute patriots and the innocent will be condemned by history.

CSO: 4005/846

FIRST TAIWAN-INDIA SEMINAR HELD IN TAIPEI

OW161449 Taipei CNA in English 1336 GMT 16 Aug 81

[Text] Taipei, 16 Aug (CNA)--The first Sino-Indian cultural and economic seminar was held in Taipei on the 34th independence day of India Saturday to discuss ways of improving Sino-Indian relations.

The one-day seminar, attended by some 500 persons, was presided over by Chandur D. Gidwani, honorary president of the Indian's association of Taipei.

Guest speakers at the seminar included Gen. Ho Ying-chin, strategy adviser to the president; Vice Education Minister Li Mo; Hsiao Wan-chang, deputy director-general of the Board of Foreign Trade; and Lo (?Lou-hsing), counselor of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.

In his speech, Gen. Ho said the peoples of the Republic of China and India should strengthen their cooperation to deepen bilateral substantive relations so as to halt the expansion of communism in Asia.

He said the late President Chiang Kai-shek had stated during the war and before India's independence that "the world would have no genuine peace if China and India gained no freedom." China and India are the two most populous countries on earth.

The Indians' Association of Taipei, sponsor of the seminar, was established in 1974 and has 120 Indian companies as members. These companies account for about $500 million worth of annual exports from Taiwan.

CSO: 4020/241

TAIWAN SCHOLARS WELCOME TO ANNIVERSARY SYMPOSIUM

OW210856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 21 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing, 21 Aug (XINHUA)--Scholars from Taiwan are welcome to participate in a symposium commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, opening in Wuhan on October 12. This was revealed by Professor Liu Danian, chairman of the symposium organizing committee in an interview with XINHUA today.

Liu Liu Danian, director of China's Institute of Modern History, said the four-day symposium will provide historians with the opportunity to discuss views and present studies on the great 1911 revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen which overthrew the Qing dynasty.

Professor Liu said that invitations to the symposium have been accepted by more than 40 scholars from Australia, Canada, Korea, France, Japan, Romania, Thailand, United Kingdom, the United States and Hong Kong and Macao regions. The committee has received 200 papers submitted by Chinese and foreign scholars. "We hope the historians will fully air their academic views and let a hundred schools of thought contend at the symposium," he added.

Liu Danian said that any scholars from Taiwan who so wished would be invited to take short tours around the Mainland or to visit their relatives and friends.

CSO: 4020/241

SCHOLARS INVITED TO PRC HISTORY SYMPOSIUM

OW230308 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0802 GMT 22 Aug 81

[Excerpt] Beijing, 22 Aug (XINHUA)--Liu Danian, chairman of the organizing committee for the symposium in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, was recently interviewed by a XINHUA correspondent on welcoming scholars from Taiwan Province to participate in the symposium.

Liu Danian said: The 1911 revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen was a great bourgeois democratic revolution in China's modern history. To overthrow the Qing dynasty's feudal monarchical rule and found a democratic republic, the revolutionary forefunners waged arduous struggles and heroically laid down their lives, performing a magnificent service for the Chinese people. Our symposium in Wuhan Municipality from 12-15 October this year will be part of the activities commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. The year-long preparations for the symposium have been completed.

On behalf of the organizing committee for the symposium, Liu Danian extended a formal invitation to the historians of Taiwan Province to take part in the grand symposium so they can join their counterparts on the Mainland in discussing the glorious history of Dr Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 revolution led by him. In this way we can exchange experiences and learn from each other's strong points in order to offset weaknesses in the study of history.

He said the travel expenses incurred by historians from Taiwan will be paid by the organizing committee for the symposium, and their itinerary will include Beijing, Wuhan, Guangzhou and Guangdong Province's Zhongshan County. After the symposium they can either leave the Mainland or stay for a short visit. The organizing committee will make proper arrangements with the travel services or agencies for those who wish to have a sightseeing tour or visit their relatives and friends on the Mainland.

Liu Danian hopes the Taiwan authorities will honor Dr Sun Yat-sen's great historical feats, stress national righteousness and not keep those historians who want to participate in the symposium from leaving Taiwan. In fact, he hopes the Taiwan authorities will make their travel convenient. He again warmly welcomed Taiwan's scholars to come to the Mainland for the symposium.

CSO: 4005/846

BRIEFS

DEFECTOR VISITS FUJIAN PLA--On the morning of 13 August, Mr Huang Zhicheng was invited to visit the broadcasting station of the Fujian Front PLA units in a certain locality in Fujian. Huang Zhicheng visited the station's broadcasting studio, generator room and transmitter station. Everywhere he went, he was warmly received by cadres and fighters busy at their jobs. At the broadcasting studio, a female announcer played for him a taperecording of the greeting given him when he returned to the motherland with his airplane. He listened happily to the tape and thanked the station's director. He said: "Several days have gone by since I returned to the motherland. I think my mother is very worried about me. After my conditions here have been broadcast, my mother can surely feel relieved now. I am my mother's youngest son, and she loves me most. My elder brothers and sisters also love me dearly. I believe that when they have heard your broadcast and learned that I have safely returned to the motherland, their minds can now be at ease. In returning to the motherland, I am innocent. My relatives are also innocent. The many schoolmates and colleagues of mine who are now working in the KMT Air Force are also innocent. I hope Taiwan's authorities concerned do not implicate them." [Text] [OW151020 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 15 Aug 81]

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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'TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT' IMPERILS NORMAL U.S.-CHINA TIES

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] No 1, Jul 81 pp 21-27

[Article by Zhuang Qubing [8369 0637 4014], Zhang Hongzeng [1728 7703 1073], and Pan Tongwen [3382 0681 2429]: "Critizing the U.S. Taiwan Relations Act"]

[Text] Lately, when leading members of the U.S. Government discuss U.S. policy toward China, they express, on the one hand, their wish to develop relations between the two countries in observance of the principles of the joint Sino-American Communique on Normalizing Diplomatic Relations, but on the other hand they say that they will conduct affairs according to the Taiwan Relations Act passed by the U.S. Congress. They have declared again and again that there is no contradiction between the two. What is the actual substance of the Taiwan Relations Act? What policy does it reflect? Is it in contradiction with the Joint Sino-American Communique? If implemented, what will be its effect on Sino-American relations? These are questions that anyone who feels concern for the prospects of Sino-American relations must seriously ponder.

1. The Process That Gave Birth to the Taiwan Relations Act

In December 1978, the governments of China and the United States negotiated, agreed, and proclaimed to the world: As of 1 January 1979, the two countries will recognize each other and establish diplomatic relations with each other. The U.S. Government accepted three principles which the Chinese Government had been enunciating for a long time--namely, that the U.S. Government would sever "diplomatic relations" with Taiwan, abrogate the U.S. Taiwan Joint Defense Treaty, and withdraw all military personnel from Taiwan. In the Joint Sino-American Communique, the United States "recognizes the Chinese position to the effect that there is but one China, and that Taiwan is a part of China," and "acknowledges that the Government of the PRC is the only legitimate government of China, and that it is within this framework that the American people will maintain future cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan." With this Joint Communique, a new page in the history of Sino-American relations was opened.

When agreement was reached between China and the United States on resuming diplomatic relations, the Carter Administration indicated that it would "adjust" American laws to regulate the unofficial relations between the United States and Taiwan in line with the new conditions created by the normalization of

Sino-American relations. On 26 January 1979, the Carter administration submitted to the U.S. Congress the draft of the Taiwan Relations Act. The two houses of Congress debated the draft for about 2 months, passed the final version on the 28th and 29th of March, respectively, and sent it to President Carter, who signed it on 10 April.

Since the Taiwan Relations Act was formulated so closely following the Joing Sino-American Communique, and since, according to the pronouncements of the American authorities themselves, the law was to regulate U.S.-Taiwan relations in line with the new situation following the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, it stands to reason that this law would strictly observe and fully recognize the basic principles acknowledged by the United States in the Joint Communique and would be truly adapted to the new situation following the resumption of Sino-American diplomatic relations. However, the draft of the Taiwan Relations Act that President Carter sent to Congress, and the clarifications to the draft that were given to Congress by high officials of the U.S. Government, already contained items that contravened the Joint Sino-American Communique. Although the members of Congress in general did not oppose the resumption of diplomatic relations, considering this to be in the best interests of America, there were quite a few who attacked the Carter administration for "yielding too far" to China in order to bring about the normalization of relations. These men tried hard to add to the Taiwan Relations Act one clause after another that would contravene the Joint Communique and would pull back the American standpoint on the Taiwan question from the position expressed in the Joint Communique. Their proposals centered mainly on the following two questions:

First was the question of a so-called "guarantee of Taiwan's security" for the period after the termination of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty. There is no provision relevant to this point in the draft of the Taiwan Relations Act submitted to Congress by the Carter administration. However, many congressment considered this a "great flaw." Quite a number of congressmen proposed that the United States must clearly assume a commitment to "protect Taiwan from attack by mainland China." Some congressmen demanded that certain articles in the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty be copied word for word into the Taiwan Relations Act. Other congressmen suggested that it be stipulated clearly that in case China were to resort to armed force against Taiwan, the United States would immediately cancel its recognition of China and break off commercial contacts with China. Others demanded that the U.S. Government exact a guarantee from the Chinese Government that it would not attack Taiwan. Others proposed adding to the provisions concerning American arms sales to Taiwan a clear statement that these would include the most modern military equipment, etc, etc. Although the majority of congressmen would not go along with such barefaced methods, they still felt that it was not enough for Carter merely to state in his public announcement of the resumption of diplomatic relations that the United States "continues to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue," but [felt] that the Taiwan Relations Act should contain a provision "guaranteeing Taiwan's security." Only an extremely small minority of congressmen pointed to the self-evident contradiction that the United States on the one hand was establishing a new relationship with China and terminating the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual

Defense Treaty, but on the other hand it was declaring that it would not tolerate the use of military force by China against Taiwan. Generally speaking, the debate on this question in Congress at that time was, precisely as the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT expressed it, mainly not on whether the Taiwan Relations Act should contain a clause "guaranteeing Taiwan's security," but on the question "to what degree of force and to what degree of formal recognition"[1] the United States should commit itself. To use the words of the chairman of the congressional Foreign Relations Committee: "How best to delineate such a guarantee."[2]

Second was the question of the character of agencies established by the United States and Taiwan to conduct their mutual affairs, which in fact is a question of the character of their mutual relations. The Carter administration originally proposed to Congress the establishment on Taiwan of an "American Institute in Taiwan" to deal with all unofficial relations between the American people and the people of Taiwan. Legally, this was to be a corporate body of a nongovernmental character, and Taiwan was to establish a similar organization in the United States (the so-called Coordination Council for North American Affairs). During the debate in Congress, however, many congressmen brazenly tried to confer an official character on these organizations. Some proposed that the appointment of the person in charge of the American Institute in Taiwan must be approved by Congress, as in the case of high-ranking officials of the U.S. Government or its diplomats. Some proposed that the staff of the American Institute in Taiwan should all be on the payroll of the U.S. Government. Others proposed granting personnel of the American Institute the same diplomatic rights and immunities as those enjoyed by diplomats. A considerable number of congressmen even went so far as to demand the establishment of "liaison offices" by the United States and Taiwan, in the same way that liaison offices existed for a period of time in the United States and China before the two countries resumed diplomatic relations. Although the majority of congressmen voted down all these amendments, they still passed some resolutions which, comparatively speaking, implicitly give the agencies of the United States and Taiwan the actual character of diplomatic organizations.

This shows that in formulating the Taiwan Relations Act, the dominating idea which guided the U.S. Congress was not how to arrive at a Taiwan Relations Act that would implement the basic principles of the Joint Communique just signed by the United States and China, but rather how to partially counteract and negate those principles by means of the Taiwan Relations Act. One congressman admitted that the U.S. Congress, in formulating the Taiwan Relations Act, aimed at maintaining the status quo and at preserving the relations with Taiwan as they had been heretofore, as if the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and China had changed nothing in the U.S.-Taiwan relationship.

President Carter made valuable efforts to bring about the normalization of relations between the United States and China. He demonstrated his opposition to those proposals in Congress which would have been most brazen and flagrant violations of the Joint Communique, even threatening to use his veto. However, he approved a series of other "amendments" which also contravene the Joint Communique. When he signed the Taiwan Relations Act into law, he obstinately asserted that this law is consistent with all Sino-American agreements reached at the time of normalization of relations. Only on a few particular questions did he maintain reservations and express his intention to use presidential "discretion," which the Congress had authorized in the Taiwan Relations Act, in order to take action, using this "discretionary power," in a manner consistent with the Joint Communique.

2. The Taiwan Relations Act Violates the Sino-American Agreement on Resumption of Diplomatic Relations as Well as International Law

As already mentioned, the United States acknowledges in the Joint Communique that the Government of the PRC is the only legitimate government of China, that there is but one China, and that Taiwan is part of China. Since this is so, the United States must also acknowledge that it is completely a matter of Chinese internal policy what method China may choose to return Taiwan to its mother country and to restore the unity of the country. As a basic principle of international law, neither the United States nor any other country may interfere in this matter.

However, the Taiwan Relations Act clearly stipulates:

"The decision of the United States to establish diplomatic relations with the PRC rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means";

"Any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, will be considered a threat to the peace and security of the Pacific region and of grave concern to the United States";

"The United States will maintain the capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan";

"The President is directed to inform the Congress promptly of any threat to the security or the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan and any danger to the interests of the United States arising therefrom. The President and the Congress shall determine, in accordance with constitutional processes, appropriate action by the United States in response to any such danger."

These provisions obviously violate the Sino-American agreement on the resumption of diplomatic relations as well as the principles of international law. Anything concerning the future, security, social or economic system of the Chinese province of Taiwan is purely a matter within the scope of China's sovereign rights. What right has America to interfere here without rhyme or reason?

The provisions regarding the so-called "guarantee of Taiwan's security" were included in the Taiwan Relations Act as a result of the "joint proposal" by two congressmen. Explaining this "joint proposal," one of them publicly declared it to be an "equivalent"[4] for the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty that had just become invalid. The other congressmen even boasted that the "joint proposal" would make the "guarantee" of Taiwan's "security" even much broader than was the case with the original Mutual Defense Treaty: for one thing, the Mutual Defense

Treaty merely provided against any danger to Taiwan's "security," but the Taiwan Relations Act also provides against dangers to Taiwan's "social and economic system"; for another, the Mutual Defense Treaty merely provided for action against the use of military force against Taiwan, while the Taiwan Relations Act provides for action against "other forms of coercion," such as blockades and embargoes.[5] It is no wonder, then, that following the passage of the Taiwan Relations Act, a former U.S. "ambassador" to Taiwan commented: "After the U.S. headquarters on Taiwan and all other American military personnel are removed from the island and the Mutual Defense Treaty becomes invalid on 1 January 1980, the Taiwan Relations Act, as amended by Congress, will guarantee Taiwan's security and stability in the same way that formal diplomatic relations and treaties did in the past."[6] It also is no wonder that the chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on Taiwan believes that the provision of the Taiwan Relations Act, which "guarantee Taiwan's security, are even stronger than the corresponding provisions in the Mutual Defense Treaty."[7]

This shows that by providing in the Taiwan Relations Act for the so-called "guarantee of Taiwan's security," the United States is in actual fact closely following up its announcement of the termination of the Mutual Defense Treaty with a restoration of that treaty in a disguised form. This is not the attitude that a country should adopt in handling its foreign affairs.

It must be emphatically pointed out that the Taiwan Relations Act specifically stipulates that the United States intends to continue to provide Taiwan with so-called "defense materiel" and "defense services." Everyone knows that the local Taiwan administration is obtaining American weapons for the purpose of resisting the Chinese central authorities. Since the United States recognized the Chinese central government as the sole legitimate government of China, and since Taiwan is a part of China, how can the United States, according to generally recognized principles of international law, support the local administration of a country by supplying it was arms, thus enabling it to offer resistance against its central government? Did the United States not also, during the Civil War, resolutely oppose the supply of weapons by Great Britain to the Southern states and consider such action a breach of international law? In 1965, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a "Declaration of Inadmissiblity of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States, and Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty," which demands that "no state may interfere in civil strife in another state."[8] Didn't the United States cast its vote in favor of this declaration? The "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations," passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1970, clearly points out: "It would violate the spirit and the principles of the Charter if any country were to try to partially or completely destroy another country's unity or territorial integrity"; "every state has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting, or participating in acts of civil strife in another state."[9] Wasn't the United States the country that sponsored that declaration at that time? A congressman who had "opposed the recognition of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China" asked in Congress: "How can we sell military equipment and arms to the people on Taiwan when we have recognized Peking as the 'sole government' of China? Are we not, then, selling arms to a rebellious province?"[10] This precisely is indirect evidence that selling arms to

Taiwan is inconsistent with recognition of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China.

The fact that the Taiwan Relations Act violates the Joint Communique and the principles of international law is evident not only in the so-called "guarantee of Taiwan's security" question, but also in the character of U.S.-Taiwan relations. When it resumed diplomatic relations with China, the United States recognized that Taiwan is part of China. When the United States terminated "diplomatic relations" with Taiwan, the United States declared that the American people will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people on Taiwan, in line with the recognition of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China. However, quite a number of provisions in the Taiwan Relations Act in actual fact continue to treat Taiwan as a "state," treat the administration on Taiwan as the "government" of a "state," and strive to confer an official character on U.S.-Taiwan relations.

The Taiwan Relations Act stipulates: "Whenever the laws of the United States refer or relate to foreign countries, nations, states, government, or similar entitites, such terms shall include and such laws shall apply with respect to Taiwan." An American deputy secretary of state at that time also confirmed that one of the purposes of the Taiwan Relations Act is to have Taiwan considered a "state."[11]

Although the Taiwan Relations Act states that future relations between the United States and Taiwan shall be conducted through "nongovernmental bodies," it also stipulates that agreements and transactions between the "American Institute in Taiwan" and Taiwan authorities and other organizations "shall be subject to the same congressional notification, review, and approval requirements and procedures" as if these agreements and transactions were made through organs of the U.S. Government. The said law also provides, with respect to the personnel of the agencies that will be mutually established by the United States and by Taiwan, that they shall enjoy "such privileges and immunities as may be necessary for the effective performance of their functions." According to the explanation by the Carter administration and the "Agreement on Privileges and Immunities" concluded later between the American Institute in Taiwan and the Coordination Council for North American Affairs, these privileges and immunities comprise almost all the diplomatic privileges and immunities; in the words of Han-sai-er [phonetic], legal adviser to the State Department, they are "the equivalent"[12] of so-called diplomatic privileges and immunities. Some American congressmen have said quite frankly that the American Institute in Taiwan established by the Taiwan Relations Act is a "clumsy disguise." Apart from its name, it "possesses all the attributes of an official agency of the United States."[13]

The Taiwan Relations Act stipulates that all "treaties" and "agreements" existing between the United States and Taiwan before the end of 1978 shall continue in force, with the exception of the Mutual Defense Treaty and agreements related to this treaty. That means that a large number of "treaties" and "agreements" which had been signed in the past by the United States and Taiwan as "states" will be preserved without the change of even word. It is common knowledge that only a state has the capacity and authority to conclude international treaties and agreements. A local administration is not qualified to conclude international treaties and agreements with other countries unless it has obtained approval or authorization from its central government. Article 1 of the U.S. Constitution also clearly states that no single state of the union may conclude treaties with foreign countries or contract agreements with foreign countries without the consent of Congress. Since the United States has recognized that Taiwan is a part of China, all "treaties" and "agreements" between the United States and Taiwan ought to be declared null and void. Indeed, one American congressman could not help asking: How can the former "treaties" and "agreements" between the United States and Taiwan continue in force after the United States has recognized that Taiwan is a province of China? It is hardly possible that the United States could maintain treaty relations with the Canadian province of British Columbia without the consent of the Canadian Government.[14]

The Taiwan Relations Act also stipulates that recognition of the PRC shall not in any way affect the "ownership of all property, tangible and intangible," held by the Taiwan administration in the United States prior to the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and China." However, according to generally acknowledged principles of international law, it is the duty of the U.S. Government, after recognizing the PRC as the sole legitimate government of China, to hand over immediately to the PRC Government all property in the United States originally held by the Taiwan administration. Even President Carter, on signing the Taiwan Relations Act, could not help having certain reservations regarding the above-mentioned provisions of the law, as he remarked that "originally, a different method of handling the problem of the diplomatic property of China was considered preferable."

It is evident from the few items mentioned that the main purpose of the Taiwan Relations Act was, precisely as one American congressman said, to "ensure that our relations with Taiwan will continue essentially unchanged."[15]

3. Development of U.S.-China Relations Requires Removal of the Obstructions Presented by the Taiwan Relations Act

Ever since President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and China in 1979, there has been quite a group of people in the American ruling party, who, on the one hand, wish to improve relations with China, but on the other hand try to maintain control of Taiwan. Following the bankruptcy of one plan after another, they rack their brains trying to make Taiwan into a kind of "independent political entity" and have it acquire a certain "international status." This is the new edition of the old scheme of "one China, one Taiwan." The Taiwan Relations Act is one expression of this kind of policy and mentality. However, there is an irreconcilable contradiction between developing relations with China and maintaining control over Taiwan. The two policies cannot exist simultaneously. The Taiwan question was the core problem that for a long time prevented the normalization of relations between the United States and China. Only after the United States accepted the three principles that China had insisted upon all along for a resumption of diplomatic relations, after recognizing the PRC Government as the sole legitimate government of China and Taiwan to be part of China, could the two countries, the United States and China, finally reach agreement on establishing diplomatic relations. It stands to reason that one could assume that the Taiwan question had been resolved between China and the United States with the publication of the Joint Communique. However, the appearance of the Taiwan Relations Act again created an immense obstacle for the further development of relations between China and the United States. For 30 years, China and the United States have been in sharp and complex conflict over the Taiwan question, sufficient to make it fully clear that the standpoint and resolve of the Chinese people to achieve unity and protect the territorial integrity of its country are firm and unshakable. If the United States stubbornly persists in such practices as the Taiwan Relations Act, normalization of relations between China and the United States, so laboriously achieved, will certainly suffer serious harm.

In the debate over the Taiwan Relations Act, many of those congressmen who proposed inserting a provision of a so-called "guarantee of Taiwan's safety" all said that they were only "concerned about a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question." In actual fact, it is precisely their method that obstructs a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question. Everybody knows that the Chinese people are striving hard to have Taiwan return to the mother country in a peaceful manner. However, the provisions in the Taiwan Relations Act which interfere in the internal affairs of China are only apt to encourage the Taiwan administration to refuse all peaceful negotiations and oppose peaceful reunification. As a result, this could lead to certain consequences, namely to force China into a position where there would be no other choice but to employ nonpeaceful means, which were origninally felt undesirable, in order to resolve the Taiwan question.

Some members of the upper circles in the United States still to this day maintain the old viewpoint that China will not make any fuss about the Taiwan question as long as the United States opposes Soviet Russian expansion. This clearly indicates that they lack correct knowledge, consistent with the demands of objective developments, as to the exact basis on which Sino-American relations must be established. As early as 1972, in the Sino-American "Shanghai Communique," both sides agreed "that countries should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, nonaggression against other states, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence." Both sides "are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations." Both sides also declared that "neither side should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony." Both items constitute the fundamental principles on which Sino-American relations were established; neither of them can be unilaterally abrogated. The Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between China and the United States also gave expression precisely to this point. In the Joint Communique the United States recognized the PRC Government as the sole legitimate government of China and Taiwan to be a part of China. At the same time, both sides repeated the stipulation of the Shanghai Communique as regards their opposition to hegemonism. Under the new situation thus created, the thought that Sino-American relations could be established merely on opposition to the hegemonistic moves of other countries would be nothing but pure retrogressive thinking. If anyone were to believe that China could agree to such retrogression, he would be laboring under an illusion.

There are still others in the United States who nakedly advocate a "two Chinas" of "one China, one Taiwan" policy and go so far as to arrogantly proclaim that China has to rely on the United States to counter the threat from the Soviet Union, and that China needs American help in its four modernizations. If America adopts a stiffer attitude, China will therefore be willing to swallow some "bitter pills" on the Taiwan question. This is an assessment that shows 100 percent ignorance of history and of the present situation and is absolutely mistaken.

Opposition to the hegemonistic drive of the Soviet Union is of benefit to the efforts for world peace, as it is also in the interests of China and the United States. Although China is at present poor and militarily backward, its position and role in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism and its capability to withstand severe tests from outside forces must not be underestimated. The United States poses as the richest and most powerful country in the world, but as Secretary of State Haig said, the military strength of the Soviet Union is already sufficient to support its aggressive foreign policy of global imperialism. To counter the Soviet challenge we have to rely on collective strength; it would be impossible to do so relying on the United States alone.[16] Since this is so, Haig emphasized that improving Sino-American relations is "a fundamental strategic reality and a strategic imperative. It is of overriding importance to international stability and world peace."[17] The secretary of defense in the Carter administration, Brown, also acknowledged when speaking of Sino-American relations that China's anti-Soviet policy was of immense strategic benefit for the United States.[18] It is therefore most ridiculous to say in connection with the Soviet threat that "China is even more out to seek favors from the United States."

As to the four modernizations being carried out by China, it is a fact that we hope to strengthen economic cooperation with the United States and other industrialized countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. However, China has always and will always put self-reliance first in its socialist construction. Hasn't new China since its inception been able to develop its economy while the United States was for many years maintaining a blockade and embargo against China?

The Soviet Union absurdly believed in the late 1950's and early 1960's that China had to rely on the Soviet Union to counter the United States, that China needed Soviet "assistance" for its construction, and that therefore it would swallow any unreasonable practices in the Sino-Soviet relationship if the Soviet Union were to take a harder position toward China. The Soviet Union even went so far as to exercise pressure on China by cancelling contracts, withdrawing experts, and recalling loans at a time when China was in an extremely difficult economic situation. What was the result? The Chinese people raised high the banner of opposition to Soviet hegemonism, carried on an indomitable struggle, and demonstrated the lofty spirit that the Chinese nation will not permit itself to be bullied. This chapter in history should be a significant lesson to those who miscalculate regarding the question of Sino-American relations. An American expert on Chinese matters who was invited to present his opinion of the Taiwan Relations Act before the congressional Foreign Affairs Committee also referred to that historical episode in Sino-Soviet relations when he pointed out: "If the United States thinks that it can leave out of consideration Peking's dignity, its standpoint, and its past history, this [thinking] will prove to be extremely mistaken and dangerous in the future."[19]

Some members of American upper circles now also acknowledge that "there are mistakes in the Taiwan Relations Act," but they still emphasize that the U.S. Government must carry out the laws passed by Congress. This touches on the question of the relationship between domestic laws and international duties. The Taiwan Relations Act is an internal law of the United States which cannot override the international agreements that the United States has concluded with other states, nor can it override the generally acknowledged principles of international law. It cannot be used as a norm governing the international relations of the United States with other countries. The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties states explicitly: "No state may adduce its national laws as a reason for nonfulfillment of a treaty." The United States itself is a signatory of the Convention.

At the time when the Taiwan Relations Act was being debated in the U.S. Congress, the Chinese Government had already pointed out to the American Government that the text of the said law which Congress was about to pass violated in a series of points the principles that both countries had agreed upon as conditions for the resumption of diplomatic relations and the undertakings of the United States, and that these violations would be very harmful for the relationship which had just been established between the two countries. After the United States enacted the Taiwan Relations Act, the Chinese Government again pointed out to the U.S. Government that failure of the American side scrupulously to abide by the agreements concerning the resumption of diplomatic relations would only have harmful consequences for Sino-American relations and would bring no benefits for either side. We hope the U.S. Government will value Sino-American relations as a whole above everything else and will conscientiously observe the principles of the Sino-American agreement concerning the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Sino-American relations have passed through a very long and tortuous road; now they have arrived at a critical new juncture. Are they to continue to advance along the lines indicated by the Joint Sino-American Communique on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, or are they to be dragged back by the Taiwan Relations Act? This will depend on whether American policymakers will be able to derive the correct lessons from historical experiences, soberly assess the overall situation in the international struggle, get rid of the obstruction of the Taiwan Relations Act, and make a wise choice.

FOOTNOTES

1. The American CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, 10 Mar 79, p 402.

2. Hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, p 423.

3. Ibid., p 764.

4. The American CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, 24 Feb 79, p 346.

5. Hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, p 779.

6. The American FOREIGN POLICY Quarterly, 1979 Fall issue, p 111.

7. Ibid., p 134.

8. UNITED NATIONS YEARBOOK, 1965, p 95.

9. UNITED NATIONS YEARBOOK, 1970, p 790.

10. The American CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 13 Mar 79, p S2581.

11. Hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, p 53.

12. Ibid., p 121.

13. The American CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 8 Mar 79, p H1176. The American CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, 10 Mar 79, p 403.

14. Hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, pp 48-49.

15. The American CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 8 Mar 79, p H1176.

16. Haig in his testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, 9 Jan 81.

17. The American TIME magazine, 16 Mar 81.

18. Hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, p 31.

19. Ibid., p 609.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'CHINA CARD,' 'TWO CHINAS' IDEAS ATTACKED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 1, 20 Apr 81 pp 45-46

[Article by Mu Guangren [4476 1684 0088]: "China Is Not a 'Little Deuce'--A Criticism of the 'Two Chinas' Idea"]

[Text] The last time that the wind blew in the United States for relations with Taiwan, and to have "one China and one Taiwan," it was not a strong wind, and it also stirred up controversary that was not very large. Following some twists and turns, the acceptance by high ranking Taiwan official, Chiang Yanshih [5592 1750 1102], to attend President Reagan's inauguration ceremonies fizzled. Subsequently, the Americans repeatedly signaled that when President Reagan took office Sino-American relations would develop along the lines of the accord reached in the communique attending establishment of relations between the United States and China; however, from time to time a detestable remnant showed up--the United States would carry out the "Taiwan Relations Act," and this internal American act was poles apart from the principle whereby the United States and China established relations.

The Dutch government's approval to sell submarines to Taiwan, though vetoed by the Dutch parliament and opposed by China, caused no change in the original attention. In addition, some European countries and even India sent delegations running to Taipei. It seemed that this very small storm in international relations might be difficult to calm for a time. It might be said that one wave had not died away before another one arose.

Waves do not rise unless there is wind, and the source of the wind was the pro-Taiwan forces in the United States. The United States has several people like Ray Cline (director of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies) who take every opportunity to go around giving speeches and writing articles opposing development of relations with China and advocating, "two Chinas." Though not very much in vogue, they nevertheless seek through various channels to influence the White House's China policy.

This storm is also related to the world economic recession. Some shortsighted foreign traders use fair means or foul in a search for opportunities. Some foreigners also have a misconception about China's economic readjustment, and make an erroneous estimate of China's economic development.

China's Part in the Overall Strategic Situation

Cline's major argument in opposing development of Sino-American relations is that China is too weak "to be a card; it is just a small deuce." This is to say that America's dealings with China are a card to be played against the USSR. Moreover, this China card does not account for much; it is of little importance. Consequently, even though the revival of official relations with Taiwan and engaging in "two Chinas," would cause a falling out with China, this would be inconsequential. Some congressmen feel that China needs the United States more than the United States needs China, and so the United States should not worry about carrying out a "two Chinas" policies that damages its relations with China.

Numerous people of vision in the United States, including people in the Republican Party, which has just taken office, and people in the Democratic Party, which has just left office, do not agree with such a view. They advise looking at the development of Sino-American relations in terms of the overall world strategic situation. Some people also explain that Cline is not an important figure, so the Chinese did not set great store by him. In fact, the Chinese do not set great store by anyone; however, it cannot remain silent on the views that these kind of people maintain.

To be a country and a people that is regarded by the United States as a card to play against the USSR, and to be taken for a counter to be used in bargaining with the USSR, in and of itself, causes China to suffer insult. This is first of all a matter of a people's feelings and a people's self-respect. But the issue far exceeds the bounds of feelings. China's advocacy of unity among all the countries in the world that have suffered Soviet threats, insults, and intervention to oppose hegemony and to preserve world peace positively does not proceed from partial benefits for a single country, but rather from regard for this issue in the overall strategic situation of security benefits for the people of the world. Development of Sino-American relations is also done with this overall strategic situation in mind.

The world has entered the 1980's bearing the trauma of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea. The rapid escalation of Soviet military forces has made it every more willing to take risks. Its military forces already stretch from the continent of Europe to the Indian Ocean, the Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, and even to the Caribbean Sea at America's front door. The increased pressure of the USSR in Asia and the western Pacific region, including support to Vietnam in its expansion in Southeast Asia, and the advance toward the Persian Gulf region means danger not only for the countries in these regions, and not only for Europe and Japan, which rely to a very great extent on petroleum from the Persian Gulf, but for the peace and stability of the entire world. Can it be that none of this has anything to do with the United States? Can it be that the American government's rebuilding and developing since 1972 of its relations with China has not been done precisely out of consideration of global strategic needs?

The American people understand this, of course. Americans who went through the 1970's fully appreciate the decline in America's position and the challenges it has faced. Even though President Reagan has written a prescription for "American revival"; nevertheless, a prettied-up future cannot substitute for today's grim realities. Last year, former Japanese premier Ohira Masayoshi [1132 1627 2973 5364] made a blunt remark during his last visit to the United States: "The United States is no longer a superpower, but is an ordinary power." Many Americans already realize that American power alone cannot be relied upon alone to stand up to the USSR. This requires, in addition to strengthening its alliances with Western European and Japanese allies, the development of a relationship with China. To use the words of a report issued by the United States Joint Chiefs-of-Staff this February, "China's containment of a large number of military forces on the Sino-Soviet border performs a beneficial function that is generally consistent with that of the United States in East Asia and other areas." For this reason, this report advocated, in guarded language, continued expansion of relations with China.

The attitude maintained by this report is, in the final analysis, a rather realistic one.

In actual fact, China's share in the overall world situation objectively exists, and no matter how much pro-Taiwan figures in the United States may want to sidestep this, it cannot be sidestepped. On the Sino-Soviet border, China has tied down one-fourth of the Soviet Union's armed forces. Europeans and Americans understand the importance of this "one fourth." Additionally, China's stand on principle against hegemony cannot but play a restrictive role on Soviet strategy for movement southward in which Vietnam plays a special role.

There is an even more important implication. It is wrong to look at China's part solely in terms of modernized weapons. China is presently fairly backward, and even though it has a little nuclear force and some medium range transport vehicles, we still admit to being backward. However, as compared with other powerful countries possessed of advanced military equipment, China is far and away the leader in not fearing the military blackmail and threats of the USSR. The Chinese people are in favor of friendship with the people of all the world including the Soviet Union, oppose war, and will positively not commit aggression against anyone. Even when it is prosperous in the future, it positively will not. However, when invaded from outside, China will never bow its head. "Indomitability is a strength of the Chinese. China has a big area and a large population, and has experience in protracted war as well as a tradition of using outmoded weapons to triumph over enemies with advanced euqipment. The victories won by the Chinese people in the war of resistance to Japan and the triumph over Chiang Kai-shek with his American style equipment were not won by becoming rich and strong first and then defeating the adversary, nor through reliance on foreign aid, but rather through reliance on our own strength to defeat the adversary. Consequently China is full of confidence. This "value" of China's is not only not that of a "little deuce"; even an "ace" or a "king" cannot compare with it. As for China's role in the world struggle against hegemony, some of those American "strategists" who boast of their power while becoming weak-kneed and fainthearted in the face of challenge from the USSR, don't even want to mention the subject. They even distort China's stand on principle as a "desire for war attitude," using this to cover their cowardice.

China has sought self-reliance only because of more than 100 years of endless big power aggression and humiliation. Today it is still facing a threat from the north. It is also precisely because of the steeling gained in this long struggle against the humiliation of the big powers that China has developed such a lofty national confidence and has developed such an "indomitable" national character.

Economically China Is Not A "Little Deuce" Either

Some people also treat China as a "little deuce" both economically and internationally. Lameng Maiersi [phonetic, possibly Raymond Myers], senior researcher at the Hoover Institute of Stanford University in the United States believes that based on China's economy of the past 2 years, trade between the United States and China will not expand rapidly. For this reason, he advocates a "reappraisal of Sino-American relations." In late February, the Dutch newspaper, TELEGRAF, published an article defending the Dutch government's sale of submarines to Taiwan. It said, "business is business." "There is no expectation of getting large orders from the Chinese People's Republic," while Taiwan is "a fairly good customer." He believed that "in a period of economic recession that has brought an astounding increase in unemployment, people are struggling to hold fast in this topsy-turvy world." And this was his reason for making a loud appeal to recognize "two Chinas." Please note that the proponents of "two Chinas" have already completely stripped away the veil of international good faith (the principles for accord in establishing relations with China), friendship, and diplomatic protocol etc. What remains is only naked "commercialism"--make moneyism.

These "disgraceful" disclosures have been a superb dose of sobering medicine for the Chinese, particularly for those not familiar with the capitalist character or those who have forgotten the capitalist history. The world, after all, has not only the perfume of the flowers of friendship, but also the stink of money, and some people make earning money their highest principle. In the minds of some people, the specter of the law of the jungle has not been dispelled. If only a country is poor and backward, it cannot avoid being looked down upon and suffering humiliation, to be treated as a card to be played or even being considered a "little deuce."

The Chinese people are one of the world's outstanding, good and honest people. China desires to develop relations with all countries on a basis of the five principles for peaceful co-existence. We will wait with good will for those who have made a wrong assessment of China to correct their assessment. However, if anyone uses the arrogance and prejudice of out of date ruffians in dealing with China, that is another matter. We admit to being relatively poor and relatively backward today, but though the people may be poor there is no paucity of will. The Chinese people developed in the midst of being blockaded and surrounded for a long period of time. During the period of the revolutionary war, they were blockaded by the Kuomintang; during the 1950's they were blockaded by the United States; and from the end of the 1950's, the USSR joined in the blockade. With what result? Through self-reliance, independence and democracy, and working hard for the prosperity of the country, China still developed itself, and in overall terms the speed of development could not be termed slow. The Chinese people are not anti-foreign by any means; they desire to study advanced foreign things, and they welcome to cooperate with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage in the development of China's economy. However, our foundation is self-reliance. The spirit of hardwork, frugality, and arduous struggle of the Chinese people is also famed throughout the world. Furthermore, the Chinese people are by no means stupid. Numerous foreigners have observed the intelligence of the Chinese people from the fine achievements of Chinese students studying abroad. What reasons do foreigners have for looking down on China? What reasons do the Chinese people have to feel inferior?

Today many foreigners of vision who truly understand China appreciate the wisdom of China's current economic readjustment policies. If it is said that many setbacks occurred during the past 20 years of development of China's economy and that unpredictable ups and downs occurred, which were related to overly ambitious "leftist" economic policies, they predict that as a result of this sober-minded readjustment, it will be possible to look forward to more consistent and reliable development, and possible to look forward to the vast market of China's 1 billion population realizing its potential. Of course, some people are skeptical, and some want to wait and see; still others in a foul-mouthed manner attack China; and still others take the opportunity to preach "two Chinas," in an effort to turn back the clock in regard to relations with China.

History Will Provide the Answer

All right. We shall see. Let history answer. The Chinese people who have gone through 10 years of catastrophe, feel deeply the pain of the wounds remaining from those years of disturbance, and look with shame on the distance China fell behind in world ranking during this period. We are in process of summarizing the lessons of historical experience, bringing order out of chaos, and in accordance with the line, programs and policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, putting down one step after another, and doing a solid job, in a struggle to realize before the end of this century a "comparatively well-off" level of "four modernizations." This is the aspiration of the 1 billion people of China. Realization of this aspiration will require great exertion, but the Chinese people are resolved to make this effort. Everywhere in China today one can hear a word of warning: "There can be no more thrashing around." This possesses an extremely widespread mass philosophy, which has found collective expression in the objectives put forward by the central work conference most recently convened by the Chinese Communist Party. This is the realization of further political stability and further readjustment of the economy. When the will of the people is concentrated, and everyone is of one heart and one mind, there is strength. This strength will bring about the most beautiful vistas in China's history during the late twentieth century.

History will thoroughly demolish the falsehood that "China is a little deuce," and will provide reply to all sorts of skepticism.

China is now in a fine situation such as has been rare since the founding of the People's Republic. China is heading toward the future with an increasingly more mature posture.

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PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT PARTY PLENUMS POINTED OUT

Third Plenum a Turning Point

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Jienan [3769 2212 0589]: "Why May We Call the Third Plenum a Great Turning Point of Far-Reaching Significance in All the History of Our Party Since the Establishment of the PRC?"]

[Text] In his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 4382] pointed out: "The tremendous significance of the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee lies in the fact that it really started to bring order out of chaos in an all-round, determined, well-considered way, relying on the masses."

The Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee started an all-round and serious rectification of all the leftist mistakes committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." It concluded the state of wavering progress in the work of the CCP during the 2 years beginning in October 1976. The plenum elected additional members to the leadership of the Central Committee and under the guidance of the party brought order out of chaos in ideological respects. From then on the initiative for bringing order out of chaos was firmly in the hands of our party, which created an excellent situation in our country in every respect.

The fact that the Third Plenum was a great turning point mainly manifested itself in the following aspects:

First, the Third Plenum resolutely criticized the mistaken policy of the "two whatsoevers." Due to the fact that the leading comrades in the Central Committee practiced and were too slow in rectifying the mistaken policy of the "two whatsoevers," they seriously obstructed the all-round rectification of the leftist-deviationist mistakes during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," which prevented the smooth progress of any work toward bringing order out of chaos and which in turn led to the commission of further faults. The Third Plenum resolutely criticized the mistaken policy of the "two whatsoevers" and called on the whole party and nation "to gain a broad and accurate grasp of Mao Zedong Thought as a system, to integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of the socialist modernizations and furthermore to develop these principles under the new historical conditions." This undoubtedly is taking the most important step forward in the all-round rectification of the leftist-deviationist mistakes and toward affirming the Marxist ideological line.

Second, the Third Plenum highly appraised the discussion on the standards for truth and affirmed such guiding principles as the emancipation of minds, the use of one's brains, seeking truth from facts and looking forward united as one. Advancing these principles freed thoroughly the broad masses of cadres and people from the spiritual fetters of personality cult and dogmatism that prevailed in the past. Inside and outside the party, ideological interest became extremely brisk and presented a scene of sincere efforts to study new conditions and new problems, which very effectively promoted work on the four modernizations.

Third, the Third Plenum resolutely put a stop to the use of the slogan "take class struggle as the key link," which is not applicable to a socialist society. It made the strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization work, mobilized the entire nation to direct its efforts to the realization of the four modernizations, and developed one step further the political situation of stability and unity.

Fourth, the Third Plenum set forth the demand that attention must be paid to solving effectively the serious imbalance in important economic ratios among the people. The plenum formulated decisions for speedy agricultural development, rectified the leftist mistakes that had existed in agricultural work for a long time, and in the economic sphere gave every consideration to the material interests of the peasants. All this had an extremely stimulating effect on the socialist consciousness of the millions of peasants.

Fifth, the Third Plenum set forth with great emphasis the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

Sixth, it investigated and settled a number of cases of miscarriage of justice that had occurred throughout the history of our party and also determined a number of questions as to the merits or demerits, right and wrong, of important leadership personalities. In line with the policy of the Third Plenum, and as a result of a considerable amount of conscientious investigation and study, honor and reputation was restored to Comrade Liu Shaoqi [0491 1421 1142], former vice chairman of the CCP and president of the PRC, and to other leading personalities of the party and the state, as well as leaders of various nationalities and from various circles, who had suffered injustices. Their historically important meritorious services to the party and the people during the long revolutionary struggle were duly affirmed. Throughout the country a large number of cases of miscarriage of justice were reexamined and revised, wrongful designations of people as rightist elements were corrected, and people originally of the industrial and merchant class who had reformed were proclaimed workers. Small-scale merchants, peddlers and handicraftsmen who had been workers all along were differentiated from bourgeois industrialists and merchants, and the status for most of the former landlords and wealthy peasants who had reformed and become workers was revised. The whole range of work in this area brought appropriate solutions to a large number of contradictions within the party and among the people and was wholeheartedly supported by the entire nation.

This whole series of important changes signifies that the party has reestablished the Marxist ideological line, political line and organizational line. In the same manner as the Zunyi Conference turned jeopardy into safety, defeat into victory, and opened up a new prospect for the Chinese revolution, the Third Plenum redirected the party on to the correct Marxist path and furthermore pointed out the direction of advance in our country's socialist undertaking and our party's future work.

Hua Guofeng's 'Leftist Errors'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Jing Shangming [0064 0006 2494]: "How Are We To Understand Fulfilling Our Historic Mission of Bringing Order Out of Chaos in the Guiding Ideology of the Party?"]

[Text] The communique of the Sixth Plenum states: "This session will go down in history for fulfilling the historic mission of setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party." The phrase signifies the fact that our party has now completely returned to the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in fulfilling one basic aspect of its historic mission of bringing order out of chaos, namely in the guiding ideology of the party.

Generally speaking, since the founding of the PRC our party has achieved tremendous successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. However, we should also analyze in concrete terms what happened during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC with regard to the guiding ideology of the party: in the 7 years during which the socialist transformation was basically completed, the guiding principles and basic policies determined by the party were correct. In the 10 years of initial socialist construction, the party policy was correct in its essential aspects but also not free from serious faults. In the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," serious leftist-deviationist mistakes were committed nationwide and over an extended period of time. In the 2 years from the smashing of the Jiang Qing clique of counterrevolutionaries up to the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978, the party advanced hesitatingly, because Comrade Hua Guofeng [2799 0948 6912] in his capacity as party chairman continued to commit leftist errors in the guiding ideology. These developments show that all mistakes in the party's guiding ideology since the founding of the PRC were leftist deviations. These leftist-deviationist mistakes run counter to the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. When we speak of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology, we mean eliminating the mistaken leftist-deviationist ideology and returning to the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

From the Third Plenum to the Sixth Plenum, the party fulfilled its historic mission of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology through a complex and arduous process of transition. There had been serious obstacles prior to the Third Plenum. It was only in the Third Plenum that the party began its all-round and resolute efforts, relying on the masses and after careful consideration, to set things right that had been thrown into disorder, and it was only then that the leftist mistakes committed during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" were comprehensively and seriously rectified. From then on, the party had the initiative in bringing order out of chaos firmly in its hands. The policies adopted by the Third Plenum, namely to emancipate the mind, everyone to use his brain, seeking truth from facts, to look forward united as one, amount in essence to a rectification of the leftist ideological mistakes that had prevailed for a long time. The penetrating discussion of the standards for truth, the discussion of the objectives of production and the other discussions on important theoretical questions amounted to purges of leftist mistakes. Like the following Fourth and Fifth Plenums, on the basis of the liquidation and repudiation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, it realized the shift of the focus of work of the whole party and nation, and during the time up to the Central Committee Work Conference of last December, our party demonstrated that it had already completely broken in its political line with the leftist mistakes. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," unanimously adopted by the present Sixth Plenum, applies Marxist dialectical materialsim and historical materialism in a correct summing up of the major historical events of the party in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, particularly of the "Great Cultural Revolution." The "resolution" scientifically analyzes the rights and wrongs in the party's guiding ideology during these events, analyzes the subjective factors and social causes that gave rise to the mistakes, realistically evaluates the historical role played by Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher, in the Chinese revolution, and fully elaborates the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. It is for these reasons that the "resolution" signifies that our party's historical task of bringing order out of chaos has already been successfully completed.

This does not mean, of course, that completion of our party's historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology is tantamount to completion of the task of bringing order out of chaos in every single aspect of the party's work. In his speech in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang repeatedly pointed out: "Needless to say, many difficulties confront us. We have yet to finish the process of bringing order out of chaos, and in various fields many problems remain to be resolved." We are determined to be guided by the correct political line of the Third Plenum and shall continue to liquidate all mistaken leftist ideologies. We shall implement all principles and policies determined by the Central Committee and continue our efforts to fulfill the task of bringing order out of chaos in every field of our activities.

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PARTY AND STATE

WAY TO EVALUATE MAO'S ACHIEVEMENTS, MISTAKES ANALYZED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 pp 6-8

[Article by Lu Yu [7120 7183] and Wang Yu [3076 5940]: "Using a Scientific Attitude To Evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong"]

[Text] The question of how to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong is one that the whole world is following with great interest. This question not only deeply affects the countless millions of people in our country, but it is a question that progressive people throughout the world are deeply concerned over, and it has produced a violent reaction on the part of the various classes internationally. This is because Comrade Mao Zedong was the leader of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Chinese people, and his entire life, theory and practice were all closely bound up with the history of our party and our People's Republic. An evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong unavoidably involves our understanding of and attitude toward the history of our party and state, toward the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship, toward the socialist path that we have chosen for ourselves, as well as toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. For this reason, the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong concerns not only the achievements and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong himself, but the fundamental advantage of our nation and people, and the question of how to sum up our historical experience and continue to progress. At the same time, it also has great practical significance for upholding the four basic principles and implementing the party's line, programs and policies since the Third Plenum.

Generally speaking, after an important historical personage dies, people analyze and study him and make some kind of evaluation of him. It is no cause for surprise at all that a great man like Comrade Mao Zedong, who in a great oriental nation of several hundred millions led the people to achieve victory in the revolution, and after the victory continued to serve as one of the major leaders of the party and the state for nearly 30 years, who possessed vast influence on the world political stage and who, having had the greatest successes and victories throughout his life, was also so seriously at fault in later life, should after his death arouse so much comment. The problem now is: what is the correct attitude and method to adopt in evaluating a historical personage like Comrade Mao Zedong?

Evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong is really a question of evaluating the effect of an individual on history. Historical materialism considers that history is created by the people, by the masses, but it does not in the slightest deny the effect of outstanding individuals on history. Lenin pointed out: "In history, any class, unless it elects its own political leaders and progressive representatives who are good at organizational and leadership activities, cannot possibly gain a position politically. ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 1 p 210) It is quite clear, from the point of view of a proletarian party, that if there are not a number of party leaders who have experience and the highest prestige, then the whole idea of wanting to achieve victory in the revolution will become merely empty words. Of course, party leaders certainly cannot simply do whatever they like and so create history. Leaders are subordinate to the masses and to a class; leaders are not individuals, but part of a group. They are produced in the struggle of the people, and only when they represent the advantage and the demands of the people, go along with the tide of historical developments, and obey the laws of the development of society are they able to produce a great effect in promoting the advance of history. Therefore, since Marxism is opposed to disparaging or denying the masses' creation of history, improperly exaggerating the effect of outstanding personages, advocating a superstitious belief in the powers of the individual, and the historical-idealistic viewpoint of deifying leaders, it is also opposed to the viewpoint of underestimating or denying the theory of the spontaneous effectiveness of proletarian revolutionary leaders. Historical materialism also tells us that in evaluating a historical personage it is necessary to place him within a definite historical framework, and in the light of his original aspect, analyze and study him in a historical context, comprehensively, and not indulge in subjective wishes or entertain any bias. Only in this way can one make a just evaluation based on seeking truth from facts. In evaluating the achievements and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, we should undoubtedly adopt this scientific attitude and method.

Comrade Mao Zedong engaged in revolutionary activities within the concrete historical environment of China. As a leading personage of the Chinese proletariat and of the masses, for a long time he played an outstanding role on the political stage. From a comprehensive, objective analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's effect on the historical course of the Chinese revolution, we can arrive at the following conclusion: Comrade Mao Zedong was the outstanding representative of the Chinese communists and of our people's excellent traditions. Comrade Mao Zedong's entire life was that of a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary. Comrade Mao Zedong not only made an indelible contribution to the Chinese revolution, but he also left behind rich spiritual wealth for us. Comrade Mao Zedong's greatest accomplishment was his creative combination of Marxist-Leninist theory with the realities of the Chinese revolution, opening up a correct path for the Chinese revolution that was sure to lead to victory. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that Chairman Mao "many times saved the party and the state from a crisis situation. If it had not been for Chairman Mao, then at the least the people of China would have groped in darkness for a longer time." Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the new democratic revolution, on socialist revolution and socialist construction, on revolutionary war and the ideological method and work methodology of dialectical materialism, have added a great deal of new content to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and possess far-reaching guiding significance for us. The ideology proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong regarding the accurate distinction between and treatment of the two essentially different kinds of contradiction, his strategy and tactics regarding an international combination to oppose hegemony, as well as his creative insights into other areas, are all immense contributions to Marxism-Leninism. Our speaking this way is not some kind of eulogizing or giving of undeserved praise, but is an objective, fair evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong and, moreover, has already been proven by the actual practice of the Chinese revolution.

Now this Comrade Mao Zedong who was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, in the later part of his life made certain mistakes, even serious mistakes. In economic construction, he was too eager to obtain quick results, and he mistakenly perpetrated the "Great Leap Forward." He magnified the importance of class struggle and used methods appropriate for dealing with enemies to deal with contradictions within the party, to the extent that he was tricked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," leading to the 10 years of turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution." This agonizing mistake brought a great deal of misfortune to our party, state, and people. However, looking at the life of Comrade Mao Zedong in its entirety, we can say fairly and in the manner of seeking truth from facts that if the accomplishments and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong are compared, his achievements are predominant and his mistakes are secondary.

Both the achievements and the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong have objective, historical existence. There are some comrades who in evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong depart from the demands of historical materialism and are wanting in the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. One circumstance is their improper exaggeration of the effect of Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual on history, seeing him as an absolutely perfect man without any shortcomings or mistakes, and adopting an attitude of approving everything he did. For a long time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created modern-day superstitions, deified revolutionary leaders, and shackled the ideology of a great many people. After the smashing of the "gang of four," there were also some comrades who brought up the notion of the "two everys" with the intention of being an obstacle to the liberation of people's thinking, and somehow bringing order out of chaos. Regarding Comrade Mao Zedong, they do not make an analysis based on the principle that everything devides into two, but merely accept the great accomplishments of Comrade Mao Zedong throughout his life, and do not accept the fact that in later life he made many mistakes. For this reason, when they hear people say that Comrade Mao Zedong had shortcomings and mistakes, they cannot accept it, and even consider that such an attitude means negating everything good about the old man. This kind of superstitious belief in individual leaders has a considerable market in China. Our country has a history of several thousand years of feudal society and is a vast sea of small producers. The influence of the class position of small producers and of feudal traditions has led them to place their hopes for improving their own politics and improving the political situation onto the persons of individual great personages and to look upon the results achieved through their personal participation in struggle under the leadership of the party as rain and sunlight bestowed upon them by individual leading figures. A great many people among the masses proceed from precisely this feeling of gratitude, considering Comrade Mao Zedong to be their great saving star. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" then took advantage of these ideological weaknesses of the people, took advantage of people's simple class feeling toward the party and toward their leaders to launch a deification movement, causing the superstitious belief in the effect of individuals to spread unchecked during the period of the 10 years of chaos. This circumstance, through discussion of the question of the standards for arriving at truth, has already changed greatly. Of course, it is not possible to overlook the fact that a considerable number of people to this day still have not completely freed themselves from the influence of a superstitious belief in the effect of individuals and of the notion of the "two whatevers," so that work in this area must continue.

Yet another circumstance worthy of our attention at present is the fact that in evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong, some comrades improperly exaggerate his shortcomings and mistakes, even to the point of negating everything good about him. Some people cannot grasp the essentials of a problem, but only look at superficial phenomena, and then indulge in simple analogies and make rash evaluations. For example, some people label Comrade Mao Zedong's later period as the same as Plekhanov's. This is extremely inappropriate. Plekhanov was a forerunner of the Russian proletarian revolution who made great achievements with regard to disseminating Marxism. Afterward, however, he became a Menshevik, opposed the October Revolution, and betrayed Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong was fundamentally different from Plekhanov. Mao was a great Marxist theoretician and also a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist. The leading part of Comrade Mao Zedong's life was quite correct, and even though in his later period he made serious mistakes, nevertheless, objectively, he still wanted to make the revolution progress and, moreover, there were still many accurate insights that glistened with the brilliance of Marxism, and there is no way that this can be likened to Plekhanov's later period. Some people are fond of going to extremes; either they approve everything or negate everything and are lacking in the analytical method of dialectics. Our view is that Comrade Mao Zedong was a man and not a god, and that to worship him as a god and uncritically approve everything he did is erroneous. However, the nihilistic attitude of exaggerating his mistakes and even denying everything good about him is also extremely harmful.

The causes behind such various kinds of inability to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong correctly are many and varied. One important cause is that some people cannot apply the viewpoint of historical materialism to observe and analyze problems. In particular, among many young people there is a lack of proper understanding of our country's history and of how the old China met its end and the new China came to be born, there is a lack of a deep comprehension of how we came to rise up and achieve liberation, becoming the masters of our own fate, while at the same time the negativism and lack of self-confidence that they themselves feel is considerable. For this reason, at a time when all kinds of new ideological currents are appearing in society, they are not able to distinguish clearly among them, and it is all too easy to run along with other people. These young people generally are without any bias. They need only continue patiently with their education and they will gradually be able to overcome their political immaturity, learn to apply the scientific attitude of historical materialism, and make a correct evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Yet another cause of the inability to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong correctly is the fact that some people cherish individual grievances and are inclined to be swayed by their personal feelings. These comrades were attacked and harmed in past political movements, especially in the "Cultural Revolution"; their experience of the various problems and mistakes has been extensive and serious, and they are not dispassionate enough to evaluate the achievements and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong. Surely, there is an aspect to their attitude that is understandable, but we revolutionaries in considering problems must look at things from the point of view of the situation as a whole and from the point of view of what will be of the greatest benefit to socialism; we cannot allow ourselves to be swayed by our personal feelings. In this regard, a great many of the older generation of revolutionaries are worthy of our emulation. They made a great contribution to the cause of the revolution, and yet were mistakenly attacked, and suffered a great deal. Nevertheless with a feeling of equanimity, proceeding from the basis of the fundamental advantage of the party and the state, upholding the scientific attitude of historical materialism, in a manner of seeking truth from facts, they have objectively and fairly evaluated Comrade Mao Zedong, displaying the broadminded magnanimity of proletarian revolutionaries.

Making an objective study of the entire history and the entire work of Comrade Mao Zedong, affirming the great contribution he made to the party and to the people, and studying how it is that such a great man was capable of committing mistakes in his later years and learning whatever lessons are to be learned from that--all this is extremely important for our party's leading the people in their continued progress and building our country into a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized, strong socialist country.

In the history of our party, we have had both positive and negative experience with regard to the problem of how to deal with historical questions of the party and comrades who commit mistakes. The "Resolutions Concerning Certain Historical Questions" adopted at the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee held in 1945 pointed out that in dealing with historical questions we should not place emphasis on the culpability of individual comrades, but on an analysis of the circumstances at the time, on the social, historical, and ideological causes at the time of the mistake, and put into effect a guiding policy of "punish a past mistake to prevent future mistakes, and cure the disease to save the patient" in order to achieve our goal of unifying the comrades as well as clearing up our ideology. Also, it exhorted the comrades of the entire party: regarding all questions we must adopt an analytical attitude; we must not try to negate everything. With regard to our present summing up of the party's historical experience and evaluating the accomplishments and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, this still has important significance. The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong were the mistakes of a great revolutionary in the course of struggling for the cause of the people. Some of his mistakes were avoidable; some were hard to avoid completely. Due to having been victorious, Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years ceased to be cautious, came less into contact with reality, and developed autocratic ways, and this is the individual aspect of the cause of his mistake. However, the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years also had deep historical and social causes. In a poor, backward, great country with a large population and a complicated situation in the course of building socialism, some mistakes were made due to our lack of experience. If we demand of a revolutionary that in the course of making revolution he cannot make any mistakes, isn't that the same thing as not allowing revolution in the first place!? We definitely cannot have a rash, hasty attitude, but must evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong in a respectful and cherishing frame of mind.

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LIAONING THEORETICAL WORKERS STUDY CCP RESOLUTION

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81, p 3

[Article: "Unify Ideology and Advance Together: Liaoning Theoretical Workers Convene Conference to Study 'Resolution'"]

[Text] On the afternoon of July 3rd, the Communist Party Liaoning Provincial Committee Propaganda Department together with the LIAONING RIBAO Editorial Department convened a conference of theoretical workers to study the CCP "Resolution." The speakers at the conference included Liu Jiliang [0491 4949 5328], the Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department; Miao Baotai [5379 1405 3141], the Vice-president of the Provincial Party School; Wen Yonglu [3306 3057 6922], the Deputy Director of the Provincial Social Science Institute; Song Deqing [1345 0463 5887], Vice-president of Liaoning University; Meng Jie [1322 2638], the Deputy Director of the Communist Party Shengyang Municipal Committee Department of Propaganda; Tang Guangwu [3282 0342 2976], the editor-in-chief of the magazine GONGCHANDANGYUAN--THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER; Ma Yun [7456 0061], Deputy Director of the Provincial Historical Society; Chen Changshu [7115 2490 2562], the Director of the Northeast Engineering Institute Marxism-Leninism Study and Teaching Group; and Zhang Tie [1728 6993], the Deputy Director of the Provincial Party School Philosophy Teaching and Research Section. Yu Weiping [0358 2607 1627], the Vice-president of the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee School composed the written statement. Liu Yiyun [0491 3976 0061], of the Provincial Party Standing Committee and Director of the Propaganda Dept. presided over and spoke at the conference. Gao Fu [6392 7079], editor-in-chief of the LIAONING RIBAO was in charge of the discussions.

The Great Ideological Weapon of Unified Party Understanding

The comrades in attendance at the conference the great historical significance of the issuance of the "Resolution" and discussed the significance of implementing its leadership.

Everyone believes that the appearance of the "Resolution" is a sign that the party's guiding ideology has completed the historical task of bringing order out of chaos. The party's guiding ideology is the foundation of a whole series of policies, therefore a return to order under the guiding ideology occurs on the most basic level. In the 32 years since the founding of the nation there have been great accomplishments in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. These successes are primary. Nonetheless, there were some mistakes and shortcomings which led to that large-scale mistake the "Great Cultural Revolution" which brought great losses to the party and the people. The basic reason for this was the errors in our guiding ideology. In order to correct the leftist errors in our guiding ideology, ever since the Third Party Plenum suggested ideological liberation and a policy of being realistic, the party has expended great amounts of energy and has performed a great amount of work. The "Resolution" is part of a natural series of consequences of bringing order out of chaos ever since the Third Party Plenum. Of course, correcting the leftist errors in the party guiding ideology does not mean that this is the end of restoring order in all areas. Nonetheless, having this great ideological weapon makes it comparatively easy to eliminate leftist ideological tendencies from all aspect of all battlefronts.

The production of the "Resolution" is the mark of greater maturity in the party. The GUANYU REGAN LISHI WENTIDE JUEYI--RESOLUTION CONCERNING CERTAIN HISTORICAL QUESTIONS produced at the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth Party Congress in 1945 summed up party experiences in the new democratic revolution, eliminated the leftist errors committed by Wang Ming [3769 2494] from 1931 till late 1934, brought maturity to the party in all matters from theory to implementation and won a great victory in the new democratic revolution. Although we have gained abundant experience in carrying out the new democratic revolution, nonetheless socialism is still a relatively new matter for us. In these 32 years there have been great victories in socialist revolution and construction. Yet, we also have had to pay a great price. We have the experience of success and the lessons of defeat. Precisely because of this, the summation of thirty years of national construction in the "Resolution" is of extreme value and will enable party leadership to become even more mature in the theoretical aspects of leading socialist revolution and construction. The "Resolution" is the foundation for unifying party ideology. The "Resolution" is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of party and was unanimously passed by the Sixth Plenum, which shows that the party's new ideological foundation has attained new unity. Ever since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress, successive central committee meetings and speeches by central committee comrades have been of great use in solving problems of understanding the right and wrong of many historical events. The "Resolution" is a concentrated manifestation of the collective will of the entire party and not only has sincerity and authority but also is convincing and appealing. It definitely will fill the historical role of unifying the party and all the people.

Mao Zedong Thought is a Precious Party Treasure

The "Resolution" makes an analysis of Chairman Mao's great historical accomplishments and the mistakes of his latter years. This analysis is both realistic and appropriate and its evaluation of Chairman Mao's historical status is exceptionally scientific. For a long time, Comrade Mao Zedong was a great teacher and leader in our party and there is a very close connection between the evaluation of his achievements and the affairs and work of the party. The "Resolution" reaches a correct conclusion with a high sense of responsibility toward the party, the people and toward history. This conclusion not only agrees with historical reality but also is in agreement with the wishes of the whole party and all the people. It is thoroughly convincing and demonstrates the party's spirit of realism and scientific attitude toward Marxism.

The "Resolution" makes an incisive exposition of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. It does not simply repeat the formulation of the Seventh Congress of 1945, but rather provides more precise, stricter and more correct scientific significance. The "Resolution" deals with Mao Zedong Thought in six parts which relate to theories regarding the new democratic revolution, theories regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction, theories regarding building the revolutionary forces and military strategy, theories regarding policies and political strategy, theories regarding ideological work and cultural work and theories regarding party construction. The "Resolution" moreover examined the spirit enunciated in Mao Zedong Thought and found that the three basic ideas of realism, the mass line and independence and initiative permeate its stance, viewpoint and methodology. This makes Mao Zedong Thought even more scientific and systematic, and makes it easier for the party and the people to more accurately study and firmly grasp the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought.

The comrades attending the meeting felt that the "Resolution" correctly made a clear distinction between the Mao Zedong Thought which underwent a long period of historical testing to form a scientific theory and the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong's latter years, and felt that this distinction is of major significance. This is because only if we approve of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought can we firmly and steadfastly establish Mao Zedong Thought in a guiding position for our future work. By the same token, only if we admit and thoroughly correct the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong's latter years is there any possibility of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology and returning to the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought. In regard to these question, we must oppose both the nihilism which rejects Mao Zedong Thought as a guiding principle because of the mistakes of his latter years as well the doctrinaire attitude which slavishly obeys all of Comrade Mao Zedong's words. We must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, correctly understand the developmental process of Mao Zedong Thought, grasp the causes and effects of the birth and development of Mao Zedong Thought, and be aware of the organizational components of Mao Zedong Thought as well as the stance, viewpoint and methodology which permeate it. We also must apply its stance, viewpoint and methodology to study new conditions and questions which arise from practice and must during the course of practice enrich and develop party theory. This is the only way to guarantee that our great efforts will follow the scientifically correct path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to win future victories.

Thirty-two Years of Great Accomplishments

Marxism tells us that in examining history we must observe its intrinsic qualities and see its main trends. The establishment of socialism in China was the greatest and most profound social reform in all of Chinese history and is the basis for all future developments and progress in China. In stating the main trends of the thirty-two years of history the "Resolution" uses irrefutable facts to sum up the great accomplishments of these years in ten major areas, and this in perfect agreement with the facts. These accomplishments are the result of the creative use of Marxism by the party and the people and are a demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system. During these 32 years the party committed many errors in revolution and in construction, especially the broad-ranging, long-term error the "Great Cultural Revolution" which prevented us from attaining our rightful accomplishments. Some comrades have compiled long lists of figures which demonstrate that although this has been the case the speed of our economic development has still surpassed that of such advanced countries as the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. This demonstrates the undeniable truth that "only socialism can save China."

The comrades attending the conference pointed out that in order to deeply understand the spirit of the "Resolution" and make a correct basic evaluation of these 32 years of history we must overcome certain work habits of partiality in party work which were formed under the influence of leftist errors. For a long time in the past we always said, "Only consider the political accounts and do not consider the economic accounts," which meant that the political line represented everything so that if the political line was correct then everything was all right and if the political line had problems then mistakes were made. Or else, we saw party history as the history of an individual, so if the leader was correct then the party was correct, but if a leader made errors then the party was damaged. If such a method is used to understand problems then one cannot correctly evaluate party accomplishments and Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought in their leadership of the people in carrying out the great accomplishments of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Nor can one apply and develop the experiences of these successes. Nor can one correctly understand the errors in party work and truly derive lessons from them. We must learn how to examine problems from an overall perspective and not merely observe one event at a point in time. We should rather observe the entire history and all the work of the party. Spatially, we must see the whole picture and chronologically, we must see the entire process. This is the only way to grasp the true spirit of the "Revolution," correctly evaluate these 32 years of history, bravely and truly grasp socialism, firmly grasp party leadership, firmly grasp the people's dictatorship (which is to say, the proletarian dictatorship), and firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

A Great Historical Turning Point

Everyone who discussed the excellent conditions on all fronts in the national economy, politics, culture and foreign relations was even more convinced that the high-level evaluation of the Third Plenum by the "Resolution" was entirely correct.

The smashing of the "Gang of Four" enabled China to enter a new period of historical development. Nonetheless, the all-round, general correction of leftist errors committed during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" began with the Third Plenum. Prior to the Third Plenum, the party and the state were in a precarious position. Not only was there a huge pile of remaining historical problems, new conditions and new problems continuously appeared. However, the various leaders on the Central Committee were following the mistaken policy of upholding and promoting the "two whatevers" and avoided solving the problem, so that party work foundered, unable to progress. It was the Third Plenum which grasped criticism of the mistaken policy "two whatevers" and completely approved of thoroughly and correctly grasping the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought; made elevated evaluations of the discussions on the standards of truth and determined the guiding policy of liberating thought, opening minds, seeking truth and joining together to make progress; decisively brought an end to the slogan of "taking class struggle as the outline" because of its unsuitability in a socialist society and changed the work emphasis to the strategic policy of construction of socialist modernization; suggested the economic work policy of adjustments, reforms, rectification and improvements; investigated and solved a large number of remaining historical problems and reversed unfair cases. In short, without these post-Third Plenum directions and policies we would still be foundering under the restrictions of leftist mistaken ideology and would not have today's political peace and harmony, stable economic development and unprecedented ideological advances.

The Third Plenum was a great beginning, and only with this great beginning could there be the Fourth Plenum, The Fifth Plenum, the Central Committee Work Conference and the Sixth Plenum of today which has produced this great series of policies. This is the correct road to having a line, direction and policy which agree with reality and suit the people's wishes. This was the only way to gradually establish the correct road of socialist construction of modernization suitable to our conditions. By constantly following this road the party definitely has a bright future and the state as well has a glorious and bright future.

A Marxist Stance, Viewpoint and Methodology

The comrades at the conference looked back over the history of the development of Marxism and pointed out that this valuable document the "resolution" is a model of the unification of Marxism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution and also is a model of the application of dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

In our study of the "Resolution" we not only should study its correct conclusions regarding major historical events but also should strive for a deep understanding and firm grasp of its inherent Marxist stance, viewpoint and methodology in order to greatly improve our theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the world view and the methodology of the proletariat and are our great ideological weapon for understanding and transforming the world. Our party has always had a superior tradition in using this ideological weapon to solve genuine problems in the Chinese revolution. However, because of the influences of leftist errors this tradition has been destroyed, the party's level in theory has been lowered, the relationship between theory and practice has been weakened and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" there even were instances of idealism and metaphysics. This not only has endangered all aspects of party work but also has brought great chaos to the thought of the broad party membership and the masses. Even today, idealism, metaphysics and historical idealism have a certain currency within the party. Because of this one of the party's important tasks of ideological construction is to generally carry out Marxist education to improve the level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The publication of the "Resolution" provides us with excellent educational materials for carrying out this task. Study of the "Resolution" will definitely make all party members and party cadres have a better grasp of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and greatly improve the party's fighting strength.

11582
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INDEPENDENT EXERCISE OF PROCURATORIAL POWERS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3,4 Aug 81

[3 Aug 81 p 5]

[Part I of this article was not translated by JPRS]

[Text] Part II. The Independent Exercise of Procuratorial Authority in Accordance with the Law

Article 9 of the "Organizational Code of the People's Procurate of the People's Republic of China" stipulates: "The People's Procurate exercises independent procuratorial authority in accord with legal statute and is to be free of interference from other executive agencies, groups or individuals." This is a basic principle of procuratorial work. If the procuratorial agencies cannot exercise their powers independently and must tolerate the influence and interference of others, then they cannot possible carry out their supervisory duties as called for in law. Of course, the independent exercise of procuratorial authority by the procurate must adhere to the penal code and to the penal litigation code as well as to the organizational code of the people's procurate. That is to say that it cannot neglect official duties nor abuse official powers.

The facts make it clear that if we adhere to the law in the independent exercise of procuratorial authority, we will run into numerous difficulties and obstacles. A number of cadres lack respect for the legal system. Incidents of replacing law with individual pronouncements can still be found; some leading cadres steeped in the ideology of feudal privilege believe themselves to be above the law and when they run into a case in which they themselves are deeply involved, they always use their position and power to put pressure on the procuratorial agencies; some persons even go so far as to pardon criminals, being lenient and forgiving; some persons call for mercy and twist the law for nepotic purposes in order to get in good with the relatives and friends of criminal elements; there are still others who constantly obstruct procurators who uphold principles, even going so far as to attack them to seek revenge. All these terrible things are obstacles to the independent exercise of procuratorial authority in accordance with the law. Procuratorial agencies must boldly uphold principles, resist all improprieties, overcome all obstacles, seriously carry out the duties bestowed on them by the state in accordance with the law, and do well in their task of legal supervision.

After 2 years of hard work the vast majority of the procurators of the entire nation at all levels are now basically able to independently exercise their procuratorial authority. In regard to cases themselves, in those cases of arrest and indictment which the public security agencies send on to the procuratorial agencies, independent procuratorial authority has basically already been exercised. The cases of legal and economic investigation which are directly carried out by procuratorial agencies more often meet with interference and obstruction because most are cases involving violation of the law by cadres. There are a number of these cases in which the independent exercise of procuratorial authority is still not possible. One important reason that this situation exists is that some cadres view the independent exercise of procuratorial authority by people's procurates in terms of party leadership. They believe that the independent exercise of procuratorial authority necessarily entails the weakening of party leadership; if we wish to strengthen party leadership, then we cannot allow the independent exercise of procuratorial authority. Actually, this viewpoint is unfounded. Many party committees place great importance on the establishment of procurates. And they oversee the earnest enforcement of the law by the people's procurates and see to it that they are not interfered with by other executive agencies, groups or individuals. This not only does not weaken party leadership of procuratorial agencies, it strengthens party leadership of procuratorial agencies. The reasoning here is very simple: the independent exercise of procuratorial authority by the people's procurates reduces the daily workloads of the party committees enabling them to better carry out principle and policy leadership of procuratorial work; and it is helpful in increasing the sense of responsibility of the procuratorial cadres which will help them work hard at doing a good job. More important still is that our nation's laws are established by organs of national authority under the leadership of the party and on a foundation of democracy. They reflect the will and interests of the people of our entire nation and they embody in concentrated form the policies and views of the party. They are the final form of the party's principles and policies. The procuratorial agencies' independent exercise of procuratorial authority and operation in strict accordance with the law actually serves to uphold party leadership. In order to resolutely and thoroughly implement this important legal principle of procuratorial agencies independently exercising procuratorial authority procuratorial cadres must faithfully carry out their individual duties, not yield to outside powers and influences, not show personal favoritism, when necessary put their lives on the line for their jobs, and struggle resolutely to protect the socialist legal system.

[4 Aug 81 p 5]

[Text]

Part III. Criminal Investigation

Criminal procuratorial work is the primary method by which the procuratorial agencies attack our enemies, punish criminals, protect the people, and uphold the law. Since 1978 when stress was laid on construction work, the procuratorial agencies have made criminal procuratorial work their major responsibility.

According to the laws of criminal indictment, aside from the cases handled directly by procuratorial agencies, most cases are to be investigated by public security agencies. All cases which require the use of forceful measures or arrest, and those in which the investigation calls for indictment or dismissal of charges, must be sent to the procuratorial agencies for review and approval. Procuratorial agencies must carry out a review of those suspects that the public security agencies propose to arrest and make the final decision on whether or not to arrest; in regard to those cases in which the public security agencies have called for indictment or for dismissal of charges, they must carry out a review and decided whether or not to indict, and furthermore must carry out supervision by reviewing the arrest report and the indictment to determine if the investigative activities of the public security agencies were legal. The work by procuratorial agencies of reviewing arrest reports and indictments includes the two aspects of reviewing and determining the facts of the crime and accurately enforcing the law. In terms of reviewing and determining the facts of the crime, the procuratorial agencies must earnestly carry out investigative research and get ahold of precise facts and evidence. In terms of enforcing the law, they must not only accurately determine whether or not the behavior of the accused was criminal, the type of crime, the severity of the crime and whether or not the nature of the case has been accurately understood, but must also inspect the investigative activities of the public security agencies to see that they followed due process and did not obtain evidence illegally. If violations of law are discovered, they have the right to suggest remedial measures. Through the exercise of this authority the procuratorial agencies on the one hand see to it that criminal elements receive the legal punishment they deserve, and on the other hand can guarantee that the innocent are not subjected to persistent criminal investigation.

The law stipulates that the procuratorial agencies have the right to represent the state in public prosecutions. This is a matter of a case which has been investigated by a public security agency and recommended for indictment and which was accepted and reviewed by a procuratorial agency being prosecuted in court. A procurator in the role of public prosecutor is sent into court to prosecute the case and to oversee matters to determine that the trial is conducted according to law. The public prosecutor appears in court, hears the reading of the indictment, participates in the court's inquiry, states the prosecutions case, and carries out debate to fully expose and prove the crime and to protect the litigation rights of those involved.

According to the law, the procuratorial agencies have the right to oversee the verdicts and rulings of the people's courts and to suggest remedial measures when matters do not accord with the law. After the court has finished issuing its verdicts and rulings, if the people's procurate believes that there were mistakes made in determining the facts or in the application of the law, it should make its objections known to the court at the time of appeal, allowing the Second Hearing People's Court to decide the issue. When errors are discovered after the verdict or rulings have already been put into effect, then objections should be raised according to Trial Supervision Procedures. The law stipulates that such authority belongs only the high level people's procurates in dealing with people's courts at lower levels and to the Supreme People's Procurate in dealing with people's courts at every level. The local people's procurates at every level do not enjoy the authority to raise objections with the people's courts at the same level.

According to the law, procuartorial agencies take part in the entire process of criminal prosecution procedures from the initial investigation (for cases handled directly by the procuratorial agencies) through the supervision of the investigation, the granting of permission to arrest, the review and indictment, the arraignment, the prosecution, the overseeing of the trial, to the overseeing of the verdict. This makes it clear that the procuratorial agencies play an important role in criminal prosecution procedures. In order to better perform criminal and other procuratorial work the procuratorial agencies must listen attentively to the masses in their work, do well in investigative research, and accept the supervision of the masses.

9705
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STRICT ADHERENCE TO LAWS, MAINTAINING SOCIAL ORDER STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by TIANJIN RIBAO commentator: "Deal Fatal Blows to Criminals, Build Well, Secure Social Order"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Tianjin municipal middle level people's court held meetings in the municipal gymnasium and Hangu District to announce the verdicts on six active criminals charged with seriously disturbing the social order. The court swiftly handed down severe sentences to the six criminals, five of whom, charged with committing heinous and inexcusable crimes, were immediately escorted to an execution ground to face a firing squad. The broad masses of people clapped their hands as a gesture of their approval of this court action.

Today the people are masters of their own country. Anyone found guilty of committing murder, robbery, rape or arson, or of setting off explosions to endanger the social peace, must be mercilessly suppressed. Otherwise, we would be guilty of being cruel to the people.

At present, a campaign has been launched by the people in this municipality to study and implement the guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Our decision to resolutely deal blows to criminals and to preserve the social order conforms to the guidelines of the Sixth Plenum. It also represents an emergency measure to ensure the realization of greater political stability and the further readjustment of the economy. The people throughout the city must be mobilized immediately to deal blows to criminals and to maintain social order and public security.

In response to the people's earnest desires, our judicial organs must resolutely speed up the handling of criminal cases and mete out severe punishment to those charged with seriously disturbing social order, in order to turn the drive to deal blows to criminals into a powerful movement. To this end, the public security organs, procuratorates, and people's courts must bring into full play their role as the tools of the people's democratic dictatorship, closely coordinating with each other in their common struggle against crime. Once a crime is committed, they must take swift action to crack the case and bring the process of examination, indictment, and trial to a quick conclusion. Only in this way can we deal telling blows to the criminals, introduce panic into the hearts of the enemies, cheer up the masses, resolutely deflate the arrogance of criminals, create in the city a normal order whereby bad elements fear decent people and the masses, and make socialist justice prevail.

The masses of people constitute a genuine wall of iron and steel. No lawbreaker or criminal who is guilty of breaching public security can escape their surveillance. At present, plans must be worked out and steps must be taken to extensively mobilize the masses to expose and report crimes as well as bad elements and their wrongdoings. Special efforts must be made to expose criminals at large, elements who have fled to another area after committing crimes in one area, and fugitives who had been sentenced to hard labor or committed to reform and education programs. We must expose and report elements who secretly store weapons in their homes, criminal rings, instigators, and other lawbreakers. We must sow seeds of discord among the criminal rings in order to break them up, deal blows to their leaders and instigators, and isolate them from the rest of society and strive to rescue wayward youngsters. As long as the masses are mobilized, the criminals will appear like "rats being chased by passers-by across the street" and will sooner or later fall into the dragnet formed by the people. Political and legal affairs organs must resolutely back up those who have exposed and reported crimes, and protect their personal safety. We must commend public security models and activists who have daringly struggled against criminals. Severe punishment must be meted out to those criminals who dared take retaliatory violent action against people who had exposed and reported their crimes.

In the course of strengthening social order and public security, we must convey to lawbreakers and criminals a policy of "leniency toward those who acknowledge their crimes and severe punishment of those who refuse to do so," a policy consistently reaffirmed by our party. Various units must formulate plans, take advantage of available propaganda media, and hold meetings to explain this policy with the aim of dividing and breaking up the criminal rings. In doing so, leniency must be accompanied by stern measures and stress must be laid on education. We must promise lenient treatment to all criminals and give them a chance to turn over a new leaf in their lives as soon as they decide to stop their criminal activities and proceed to confess frankly the crimes they have committed. Light penalties may be handed down to those who have distinguished themselves by voluntarily confessing their crimes and by exposing and reporting the crimes of their accomplices. Those who may be committed to a correctional institution or sentenced to prison terms can be acquitted; those who may be subjected to severe punishment can have their sentences reduced or commuted. However, the people will never tolerate or condone those criminals who continue their wrongdoings. We want to remind those parents and relatives with delinquent children that if they really love their children, they must strictly discipline their sons and daughters and persuade them to give themselves up to the government and political and legal affairs organs; if they wrongly decide to continue to shelter and pamper their delinquent children, they may face the consequence of harming their children as well as themselves. We also want to warn those hitherto unrepentant criminals: you may be able to avoid arrest today, but you cannot avoid arrest tomorrow; wherever you go, sooner or later you will be brought to justice, so you had better make a swift decision now to give yourselves up to the authorities.

In our society, there are some gangsters who call themselves buddies working hand in glove and assume that they are tyrants capable of working their will on a part of society. Actually they are merely fair-weather buddies and a bunch of undisciplined elements. We must make thorough efforts to destroy such gangs and deal fatal blows to their leaders and instigators. As for their members who have been threatened and deluded into joining such gangs, we must teach them to come to their senses quickly before it is too late, to stage uprisings against the gangs as soon as possible, to make a break with the gangs, and to take the side of the people. In doing so, they will be entitled to lenient treatment.

The Tianjin Municipal Public Security Bureau has reaffirmed its "Circular on Confiscating Weapons," stating that no one can manufacture or carry weapons for any reason. All those who possess weapons are urged to turn them in before a specific date; those who refuse to do so will be forced to turn their weapons in. In the future, if anyone continues to manufacture, store, sell, or carry weapons, he will be treated as a lawbreaker no matter whether he commits a crime or not; he will be punished according to the nature of the case, and will be held responsible for any consequences. There are units in our society which produce, sell, and use knives such as hacking knives and Cuban knives. They are urged to establish, perfect, and strictly enforce a control and safeguard system for such weapons. If anyone controlling these weapons loses them or lets them be stolen through a dereliction of duty on his part, and if anyone sells them without authorization and presents them as gifts, he will be held responsible for any grave consequences that result from such action. Today, militia units seemingly face problems of storing and controlling rifles and ammunition. They are urged to conduct an inventory of such weapons. If they find that their weapon storage houses cannot measure up to the regulatory standards, they must temporarily turn them over to the prefectural and county people's armed forces departments for safekeeping until their storage houses are repaired and remodeled. Strict measures must be taken to prevent the theft of rifles and ammunition.

All units must follow uniform regulations in strengthening their internal security measures, and must persist in dealing blows to those who gang up in plotting embezzlement, speculation, and smuggling. They are required by relevant regulations to establish public security patrol teams, economic police force and public security commissions, and to organize the masses to prevent and stop criminal activities. In addition to strengthening its own security measures, each unit must cooperate with fraternal units in guarding against crime.

An important function of this joint measure is to strengthen the education of wayward youngsters. Industrial and mining enterprises, government organizations, schools, neighborhoods, and families have assumed a responsibility to educate these youngsters. Meanwhile, educational assistance groups composed of schools, neighborhoods, and police stations and other units have been formed with the promise of wholehearted devotion to the education, transformation, and salvage of these wayward youths. One of their objectives is to help them eliminate from their minds the worship of fugitive-type heroes, anarchistic views of freedom, and indecent pleasure-seeking concepts so that they can emancipate their minds from the shackles of quackery and foster a correct view of life that will enable them to return to the correct path.

We must mobilize the entire party and the people throughout the city to strive to strengthen this cooperative effort to control crime, and to constantly concentrate on developing the "five stresses" and "four beauties" as the basis on which a socialist spiritual civilization will be built. At the same time, we must make resolute efforts to correct erroneous and ineffective methods of dealing with crimes, and instead take swift and decisive measures to severely punish all active criminals. As long as we can do so, we can certainly create a secure social order and provide an environment in which people can cheerfully and vigorously devote themselves to the development of the four modernizations!

9574
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BRIBERY, EXTORTION, OTHER UNHEALTHY PRACTICES DENOUNCED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 1, Jan 81 p 9-11

[Article by Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]: "An Initial Study of the 'Science of Public Relations'"]

[Text] Today, everyone in our country who wants to do business with both public and private enterprises has to study the "science of public relations." Because it is merely a negative aspect of life in our society, people have talked about it only jokingly. Thus far, no one has viewed it as a social phenomenon. Nor has anyone studied it with a scientific attitude. The following is only a brief account of my initial achievements in studying this new subject of interest, under the title: "An Initial Study of the Science of Public Relations."

The "science of public relations" is not a branch of science dealing with the normal and general relationships between man and man but a special study of vertical and horizontal relationships between one public service official and another, between private citizens and public service officials, and between those at the top and those at the bottom who want to gang up in plotting embezzlement and extortion, in practicing bribery, in making personal gains at the expense of the public interest, and in practicing favoritism and nepotism to the point of breaking the laws as well as of some ways to eliminate them. Strictly speaking, the term "science of public relations" used here is actually a misnomer and should be renamed the "science of public pests."

There was also a "science of public relations" in feudal society. But it was not as complicated as it is today. For example, in Chapter 4 of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," there was a mention of "pledges of loyalty" read aloud by an old caretaker official upon the arrival of his new boss, Jia Yucun [6328 7183 2625]. Such "pledges of loyalty" were actually key points in the "science of public relations" of feudal dynastics. There is also a "science of public relations" in capitalist society; it was analyzed in the "Communist Manifesto" this way: "The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, and idyllic relations. It has left no other nexus between man and man except naked self-interest, callous 'cash payment.'"

Socialism in our country has been built on a semicolonial and semifeudal foundation. Our party's excellent tradition suffered serious damage during the 10 years of tyrannical rule by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This situation was aggravated by shortages of various categories of material supplies, the existence of special privileges and the cadre life-tenure system, overconcentration of power, and rigid control of life. The growth of interest in the "scien of public relations" during this period was a concentrated expression of negative historical, social, and economic factors. Today, as in feudal society, acquaintances are often sought out, and the "influence" of relatives and former bosses (or their special privileges) are used by people in order to "establish communications with," "open the door to," and "clear the way for establishing relations with someone in power whom they do not know. The same purpose can be achieved by bringing "economic laws" into play and bribing someone with gifts, entertainment, kickbacks, and "cash payments." These two methods are parallel with each other and can be used alternately by anyone to achieve his intended objectives. This is where the difference between our modern "science of public relations" and its feudal and capitalist counterparts lies.

Now let me cite an example, as follows:

RENMIN RIBAO on 21 October 1980 exposed the case of Yuan Peiyu [5913 1014 3768], former deputy director of the political department of a certain PLA regiment. During the Cultural Revolution, he was a military representative at the preliminary examination section of the Palizhuang police station and the Chaoyang public security subbureau. Although his position was not prominent, he planned to divorce his wife and marry her younger sister. In order to move her from the countryside and resettle her in Chaoyang District, he really had to rack his brains and bring his wits into full play: He first besought a middle-school principal to falsely certify her as a student. He then bribed the relevant communes of Fengxian County, Jiangsu and Zhuoxian County, Hebei with 3 tons of chemical fertilizer for services rendered. Finally, he secured the "special service" of his former subordinates at the Chaoyang public security subbureau to move her from the countryside to Beijing. In order to find a job for her, he got someone to contact the job placement department. To divorce his wife, he went through various channels to establish a contact with the deputy chief judge of the higher people's court. All told, he had to take nine steps in building up his personal relationships so they could divorce his wife, marry her sister, and move her from the countryside to Beijing. In doing so, he struck no snags. Facts show that Yuan Peiyu had a good mastery of the "science of public relations." A review of his illegal actions indicates that he knew only too well how to make special privileges enjoyed by cadres, feudal relationships, and the capitalist system of material exchanges serve his private interests. However, his thoughtful scheme still went bankrupt. The reason is that he was skilled only in applying the "science of public relations," but he forgot to take into account opposition from his wife, unfavorable public opinion, and the fact that judicial personnel always abide by the law. This tells us that there exist in our society forces or socialist democratic and legal systems which work together to eliminate those masters of the "science of public relations" as public pests.

Judged in terms of an organized network, this "framework of public relations" consists of many "associated units," which in turn form an invisible multilayer net, at the center of which stands a central figure or a power-wielder who enjoys special privileges. For this reason, to eliminate this "framework of public relations" we must simultaneously eliminate the system of granting cadres special privileges, and special privileges themselves. Without making efforts to solve, once and for all, the problems arising from the implementation of the system of granting cadres special privileges and their abuse of power, it seems impossible to eliminate this network composed of "associated units."

In Shanghai, there is a man named Zhou Liqing [0719 0536 7230]. As a supply chief of a large machinery plant, he engaged in illegal transactions with his "associated consumers" (including 105 plants and leading departments of industry and commerce) in all provinces and municipalities (except Tibet and Xinjiang) throughout the country. He shipped out of his plant without authorization some 2,400 tons of steel products, 41 motor vehicles, 96 freezers, and 33,000 sets of electric machinery. He traveled by plane by way of almost all scenic places or points of interest throughout the country. Wherever he went, he was treated like a VIP. On the day of his triumphant return home, he rode in a car escorted by four other cars. Once he went to Wuhan. Upon his arrival at Wuhan airport, he was met by two companies' representatives with cars. These two "associated consumers" wanted him to stay as a guest of honor at their high-class guesthouses. He also once visited Hainan Island. Upon his departure from the island, he received a lot of gifts from the Hainan political and military organizations. Because the civil aviation plane carrying him from Hainan Island found itself overloaded because of his gifts, he had to leave behind two burlap bags of peanuts as gifts to his driver and others who were on hand to see him off. In his native place, he built a Western-style multistory home filled with nonstaple foods, brocade quilt covers and clothing, and other gifts worth thousands of yuan, all presented by others. Zhou Liqing's success in turning that large plant into an enterprise serving his self-interest dates back to the days when he decided to present its leaders with television sets and carved furniture, thus marking a good beginning of his relationship with them. To make the entire staff under his supervision happy, he allowed them to exchange steel products owned by his plant for things they could not get by any other means. For example, steel products were used in exchange for spacious new homes or to clear the way for moving their children from the countryside to the cities. This network, with Zhou Liqing as its center, was designed to use material supplies as lures (including supplies from other plants which were used to serve private interests). This network consisted of many "associated consumers" throughout the country.

The aforementioned two cases are relatively exceptional. More common are the smaller networks of commodity exchanges that authorize both supply and purchase departments to award agents with extra gifts for providing supplies which are in great demand or are outside state distribution plans. Among these gifts are consumer goods for home use, television sets, and wristwatches. Other forms of awards are big parties that are frequently given in honor of such agents. Such unhealthy practices are very popular with enterprises in major cities. If traveling purchasers or sales agents do not learn to master this art of bribery, they are bound to meet difficulties wherever they go. Zhou Liqing-type figures are certain to emerge as soon as their relationships expand along with their business. Therefore, the existence and growth of "associated consumers" will have a corrupting effect on the socialist economic base and will constitute a hotbed for breeding violators of law and discipline and extorters devoted to enhancing their private interests at the expense of the public interest.

This criminal activity has something to do with the moral quality of its culprits and with social and economic conditions. This means that in times of serious material shortages--which force the authorities concerned to tighten the control of commodity circulation--arrangements will be made to ship all goods outside public accounts (actually, materials which have been transferred from public to private accounts) through channels in order to beneift those "associated consumers." In the future, it is expected that this practice of currying favor with "associated consumers" may undergo changes when enterprises are delegated greater power of self-determination and new measures to encourage competition are put into effect. However, if no fundamental efforts are made to crush these networks, large and small, the enforcement of these new measures may also prove ineffective in changing this situation and in preventing the growth of the trend to bribe "middlemen" with gifts and cash payments.

The "science of public relations" is useful as a method for fulfilling certain forms of economic exchange. Armed with this branch of science, a leader can use his political privileges to open a line of communication between those at the top and those at the bottom, or as a door to illegal dealings so that he can realize what he desires. More often than not, such privileges are used to get his children to pass certain examinations by cheating. He can also mobilize acquaintances to allow his sons or daughters to go abroad, to move his or her residence from one place to another, to transfer educated youths settled in brigades upward, and or to promote cadres and recruit workers in violations of relevant regulations. He can shelter his delinquent sons and daughters from the law and entertain outsiders by showing movies intended for internal circulation. Even applications for bank loans, requests for inspection of certain completed projects, examination of new products and determination of their prices, requests for allocation of new homes, and the official business of inviting superiors to inspect security measures and the quality of work call for giving parties and gifts as part of the public relations program. As distinguished from the previously mentioned material exchanges of mutual benefit, which emphasize horizontal relationships in a network, the reference to "associated units" emphasizes vertical relationships in a network. In other words, the underprivileged can ask the privileged to do them favors or give a green light, or as for special and exceptional care. In such relationships, those at the top can always take something in without giving anything in return. What they are to do is to stamp their chop on a paper without any sense of guilt. In other words, they can trade principles for material benefits.

Parties featuring excessive eating and drinking and "inviting guests to feasts" have become popular entertainment throughout the country and an especially valid device catering to our national tastes that can be used to "draw people into breaking the law." Our forefathers followed a tradition of entertaining the god of the kitchen with sweets once a year in hopes of keeping his mouth shut or getting him to "say something nice upon his ascent to Heaven." In our country there is another popular saying: "Gifts will have a binding effect on the hands of their recipients; food provided by others can keep the eaters' mouths shut." After gulping down a few drinks, a powerful superior is certainly willing to say something nice about his host or even go so far as to commit perjury and cheat those at the top and deceive those at the bottom, without giving a thought to the national interests or the party's "guiding principles."

We have used the phrase "strive to pluck the feathers from migrating wild geese" to describe those greedy and corrupt officials. However, I must add the following two footnotes to this phrase: 1) This popular phrase "strive to pluck the feathers from migrating wild geese" refers more often than not to traveling enterprise agents willing to dispense gifts. 2) Gifts so dispensed do not come from the dispensers themselves but from the people. These gifts are dispensed at the expense of the public interest. They come from the people's pockets, just as all wool originates from sheep. Only those gifts that are used to bribe rural commune heads into approving the transfer of their sons and daughters from brigades to higher government organizations and to bribe managers of housing projects into approving their requests for new homes come from their own pockets.

In this connection, the authoritative instruction "Those who do not engage in backdoor dealings are not necessarily decent; those who do so are not necessarily indecent" must be repudiated, because it has been viewed by some people as a basis for legalizing "backdoor dealings." Actually, this remark by Chairman Mao refers only to the recommendation of worker-peasant-soldier students for admission to college. He made this remark in response to a report that some of them had entered college by means of backdoor dealings. On this occasion, Chairman Mao said that they could not be called bad elements even if they entered college through backdoor dealings. I feel that this remark was not an overall evaluation of backdoor dealings. This is why he could not touch on their detrimental effect. At any rate, this incomplete remark has been misconstrued by some people as an indication that Chairman Mao did not oppose backdoor dealings.

During the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, the term "backdoor dealings" was unheard of. It gained wide popularity, however, during the 10 years of catastrophe. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that "backdoor dealings" became a national fad by the time educated youths were resettled in the countryside while their parents wanted to exhaust every means to bring them back, including bribing authorities in charge of their resettlement with gifts.

The study of the "science of public relations" as a public pest has led us to draw this correct conclusion: Backdoor dealings have had a serious adverse impact on our party's prestige and a corrupting effect on our party's cadres. We must resolutely expose and eliminate backdoor dealings as an unhealthy trend which has led the masses to abandon the party. We must handle faits accomplis resulting from backdoor dealings on a case-by-case basis and on the basis of an evaluation of their consequences and their impact on society.

The "science of public relations" is a branch of science touching on sociology, economics, folklore, and ethics. This scientific study of the "science of public relations" is conducted with the aim of eliminating its existence. This effort to eliminate this public pest may not work in a matter of a few days through the proclamation of a simple decree, however, because it has become deep-rooted and endemic, affecting all aspects of life. I am afraid that eliminating it once and for all may call for many years of hard work and endless hard struggle.

Overt acts of extortion, embezzlement, and bribery were supposed to be an incurable disease in the old society. The fact that this kind of "public pest" still exists today in our country after 30 years of socialist revolution is a shame on the Communist Party and a stigma on socialism. However, the socialist system is in no way the same as the system in old China. We must fully apply socialist democrary, the legal system, and the strong pressure of public opinion to cleanse this dirt from our bodies as quickly as possible. I believe that this dark side of our society can be eliminated.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STEPS IN MODERNIZING SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY OUTLINED

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 5, 1980
pp 1-2

[Article by Tan Gaosheng [6151 6964 3932]: "Modernization of Science and Technology"]

[Text] The modernization of industry, agriculture, and national defense has to be realized through modernization of science and technology, which takes the lead in the four modernizations. That we have to achieve modernization of science and technology is an indication that our science and technology are backward. Generally speaking, our science and technology are 30 years behind the West. There are many reasons for this backwardness. For one thing, while culture was comparatively developed and there were some important inventions and creations in China in the past, no stress was laid on the development of science. Modern science, which has a history of only 300 years in the West, counting from the time of Galileo and Newton, takes a scientific approach to the laws of nature. The scientific approach includes observation, experimentation, and theoretical generalization. Measured by this criterion, the development of science in our country is slow. While there was a turn in events after liberation, unfortunately we did not attach importance to science over the past 20 years and more--particularly during the Great Cultural Revolution. Scientists overseas take the view that China's approach to the development of science is pragmatist and is devoid of basic research. The so-called pragmatist approach means "studying what is urgently needed" "so as to get instant results," in Lin Biao's words. This Western opinion warrants our examination.

Without basic research, modernization of science and technology will come to naught. What is basic research? There was a controversy over this question in the past; later, the consensus that was arrived at called for separating basic research from applied research and engineering technology. Basic research is aimed at knowing nature, and applied research and engineering technology at transforming nature. Transformation of nature should rest on the foundation of knowledge of nature. Without the guidance of theory, transformation of nature is blind practice. Speaking of basic research, people often misconstrue it as basic theory. Actually, basic research includes not only basic theory but basic experiments as well. Catching up with the advanced world level refers to two aspects: theory and experiments. It is comparatively easy for the Chinese people, who are intelligent and talented, to catch up in the field of theory but comparatively difficult for them to catch up in the field of experiments. The level of experiments is closely related to the technological level of a country. It is estimated that it will take 20 to 30 years for us to catch up in the field of experiments. Besides, there are financial difficulties involved.

Some people divide basic science into six major branches: mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and biology. My view is to leave out mathematics. Mathematics is the tool of science. Western scientists regard it as half philosophy and half science. The remaining five branches--physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and biology--should fall into the category of physical science. Engels' definition of chemistry more than a hundred years ago is outdated. He took the view that what lies outside the field of atoms and molecules is physics and what lies within the field of atoms and molecules is chemistry. Today, we find that not only what lies within the field of atoms and molecules but also what lies within the field of atomic nucleus is physics. Chemistry is not physics but is included in the physical sciences. Apart from this, we have astronomy, geology, and biology. Oldtime astronomy, geology, and biology are descriptive. Modern astronomy, geology, and biology are astrophysics, geophysics, and biophysics. These three branches of physics with prefixes are in the category of the physical sciences! Another view of mine is involved, here. In an article that appeared in LIXUE XUEBAO [MECHANICS JOURNAL], I advanced the idea that mechanics is the foundation of physical science. There was a controversy over this point. Comrade Quian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] regarded mechanics as an engineering technology, while I regarded mechanics as a basic science. Later, the question was discussed at symposia of scientists inside and outside the academy; at the national mechanics planning conference held in 1978, Comrade Zhou Peiyuan [0719 1014 3293] announced that natural science includes seven basic disciplines: mechanics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and biology. Let me illustrate this with an analogy. Physical science is like a beam over which bloom five golden flowers--physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and biology--and under which stand two pillars--mathematics and mechanics.

The modernization of science means the physical transformation of science. The foundation of physics is mechanics, which is the science that treats of the law of the basic motion of matter. The modernization of physics means the dynamic transformation of physics. Physics generally refers to power, sound, light, heat, and electricity. In the 19th century there appeared statistical mechanics. In the early 20th century, quantum mechanics and relative mechanics appeared. The physics of the 20th century moves forward through quantum mechanics and relative mechanics. The modernization of physics is realized through the modernization of mechanics. Without the development of mechanics, physics cannot move forward. On the other hand, in the past the contingents of mechanics scientists had always remained within the limits of Newton's classic mechanics system. Today, the modernization of mechanics demands the physical transformation of mechanics. Kailov, a Soviet scientist of the 1960's, pointed out that the first half of the 20th century was the era of electricity, while the second half has seen the era of physics. To meet the requirements of the era of physics, the physical transformation of various disciplines is called for and should be brought into microcosms. This should also be the case with mechanics. The resistance to this is not great. At the last symposium of the mechanics department organized by the Science and Technology University, I proposed taking the four major branches of mechanics (theoretical mechanics, electrodynamics, statistical mechanics, and quantum mechanics) as the basic courses of study. Some comrades disagreed, regarding the four major branches of mechanics as physics. It was only after the chemistry department, the geophysics department, and the biology department put forward the same proposal that comrades of the mechanics department accepted it.

The key to modernizing science and technology lies in having a modern contingent of scientists and technicians. As Vice Chairman Deng has pointed out, "Talent is hard to come by." To foster scientific persons, it is necessary to set minds free, to establish a good style of study, and to let the old train the middle-aged and the middle-aged train the young. Scholars must not scorn each other. Aged scientists in particular should be broadminded enough to let the young advance. Talented persons should receive greater attention than mere achievements. We should not confine ourselves to counting achievements without interesting ourselves in the growth of talented persons. How can you expect a young chicken like a college graduate to lay eggs? You should let the chicken grow larger. I am in favor of laying stress of the training and improvement of scientific persons. To achieve this, it is necessary to study. I emphasized as early as 1973 that study is for work, is essential to work, and is work itself.

A research office is an important avenue for training talented persons. How to run a research office successfully is an important question. The number of researchers in my basic mechanics research office is 5 percent of the total in the institute. Their research papers published in journals in 1979 accounted for 50 percent of the total for the institute, and their research papers published in ZHONGGUO KEXUE made up 85 percent of the total for the institute. One habit of mine is to let young people advance freely and to encourage them to establish their reputations as authorities without fear. Some people do not agree with me on this point. But to my mind, there is nothing wrong with establishing one's reputation as an authority. All famous scientists are valuable assets of the country.

Talented persons should, be trained in diverse ways. Because of the upheaval of the Great Cultural Revolution, conditions are not favorable in our country for study. The aged have not improved, the middle-aged have not pursued advanced studies, and the young have not been trained. This makes it necessary to take measures. The young, those under 35 years of age, should be given every opportunity to study; some of them may be released from work for studies and for admission to college. Aged comrades should study, too. The well-known mechanics scientist Feng Kamen [7458 0595 7024] wore a hearing aid to attend lectures by his students in classrooms when he was 80. I am in favor of a two-step system for graduate students. Under this system, they will be given 2 years to improve themselves and write theses; some of them may be selected at a 1:5 ratio for advanced courses of study. In addition, in sending people abroad for training, I consider it more advisable to select and send graduate students or researchers, because college graduates are not sufficiently mature to be sent abroad. So much for the problem of higher education. Middle school education is also of great importance. Once I contemplated leaving the Academy of Sciences to run a middle school. Without middle schools as the foundation, college education cannot move forward. The key to improving the quality of middleschool education lies in training and improving middle school teachers, whose burden should be lightened and who should be given an opportunity to improve themselves. We should not look to material factors to the exclusion of human ones.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SCIENTIST FIGHTS OBSTACLES HINDERING HIS RESEARCH WORK

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 39-43, 10

[Article by Shi Xiyuan [4258 1585 0955]: "Strive for the Right of Scientific Research"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: The socialist modernization of our country is confronted with a number of problems, talented persons being the most prominent one. Our journal has started a special column--"Investigating and Thinking"--with the aim of promoting investigation and research, conscientiously summing up experiences and lessons, using our brains, and emancipating our minds, thereby creating conditions for shaking off the yoke of certain traditional ideas and for bringing up people of talent in large numbers. We look forward to having our readers assist us in making this special column a success.

In June of last year, a public lecture on the question of the applications of quantitative taxology was sponsored by the biophysics group of the Beijing Society of Physiological Science at the cinema theater in the Astronomics Hall. The lecturer was Xu Kexue [1776 0334 1331]. It was the first time in his life that he had delivered an academic report on such a grand occasion. From 2:30 to 5 pm, before an enthusiastic audience, he freely carried on a discussion of quantitative taxonomy from its brief history, to its application in biotaxonomy and other disciplines, making a careful and detailed analysis. After the applause, people--among them workers in biology, agriculture, and medicine and researchers in physical culture--gathered around him. One after another they asked questions related to their specialties and asked him to keep in touch with them from then on. This gave him great encouragement and even dispelled his fatigue.

This lecturer is a technician at the Pharmaceutical Products Inspection Center in Jindongnan Prefecture, Shanxi Province. He graduated from the Department of Mathematics at Beijing University in 1965. For more than 10 years he had no opportunity to apply what he had studied. With the downfall of the gang of four, he stroke into the new domain of biomathematics. But just as he was working hard on scientific research plans, his wages were suspended as of January 1979.

He lived by borrowing and continued to tackle problems. None of the listeners who were interested in quantitative taxonomy suspected that this scientific worker was in the midst of a "financial crisis." They were astonished at the plight of this 41-year-old scientific worker. First I was astonished, and then I sympathized with him. I could not help writing down what I knew about his situation, hoping that more and more people would pay attention to certain aspects of the first line of scientific research.

Crawling Forward

Born in Shanghai, Xu Kexue loved science from childhood and took an interest in nature at all times and in all places. Starting in his second year at a junior middle school, he began to keep ahead of the progress of classroom teaching and studied higher level textbooks by himself at high speed. In his first year at senior middle school, he read English editions of books on mathematics and studied calculus very hard. Simultaneously, he kept taking a great interest in biology. At that time, little Kexue had no interest in politics and merely "swam free style" on the surface of the ocean of knowledge. Simple and unaffected, he wanted to head for the other shore, where a fascinating word in big letters--scientist--was visible.

Xu was admitted to Beijing University in 1955. Inspired by the political situation at the time, and with the kind help of his organization, he began to realize that an ambitious youth should become not only a scientist but also a revolutionary. Because he was doing well and making fast progress in various fields, he was admitted to the CYL in 1956. After that, he was more strict with himself. He enthusiastically fulfilled the tasks assigned by his organization and continued to study the same way as he had done in his middle-school years. Instead of forcing himself to gain better marks, he strove to learn more and studied in a lively way.

In his middle-school years, Xu had kept his eyes on the controversy in the field of genetics. He detested Lisenko's "academic" criticism, which resorted to political and philosophical ideas. At a course of lectures at Beijing University's Biology Department in 1956, he listened to Professor Li Ruqi's [2621 3067 3825] academic report with reference to the Qingdao symposium on genetics. At the same time, he came to know from RENMIN RIBAO how genetic breeding expert Bao Wenkui [7637 2429 1145] had been repressed. He asked himself: How come scientific development is impeded and scientists are repressed? Over and over again during the rectification movement he studied "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"--particularly the chapter on letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. He deeply felt that the development of science called for democracy and freedom, that the "three scourges"--subjectivism, bureaucratism, and doctrinairism--corroded the revolutionary ranks and undermined democracy and freedom, and that the rectification was directed against the "three scourges." With immense political ardor he threw himself into the rectification movement. When he found that problems involving the social system seemed to be among the subjects forbidden in debate, he wrote a big-character poster saying: "Our socialist system is the most magnificent ever seen in history. But under the socialist system there is a distinction between 'officials' and the people--

that is, between the leaders and the led. Some leaders are unable to reflect the interests of the masses enthusiastically and are unable to understand objective circumstances comprehensively, making the breeding of the 'three scourges' inevitable."

This frank statement from the lips of an honest person was included in the "reactionary speeches at Beijing University." Xu Kexue, a member with only 1 year's standing, was purged from the CYL and turned into an "antiparty, antisocialist" rightist. Seven of his 29 classmates were termed rightists. In addition, some who were subjected to disciplinary action, though they were not labeled rightists, were youths in their twenties.

Xu Kexue was sent to the Qingho Woolen Mill for labor reform. Before he actually strode forward toward society he began to suffer torment. Afterward, this young "enemy" strove for the primary goal of becoming qualified to be "one of the people." He repented like a devout priest and made up his mind not to return home to see his parents until the label of rightist had been removed from him. Xu was doing well in his work and initiated a minor technical innovation that greatly increased the efficiency of trimming twisted yarn. At last, the label of rightist was removed from him. In the course of corrective labor he had become acquainted with Ding Hongmo [0002 7703 2875], a party member and factory director condemned as a right opportunist. Ding was blamed for opposing rash and reckless action in the Great Leap Forward and for advocating the application of science and technology to increase production efficiency. It may be said that the two had the same "foul" odor. They often talked about problems of science and technology. After he was cleared, Ding took the political risk of transferring Xu Kexue, a rightist who had had his label removed, to his engineering office. Xu keenly felt the deficiency of his knowledge for this work and asked to return to school for study.

Back in his classroom after an absence of 4 years, the "rightist with his label removed" was like someone with a tattoo on his face, and people often looked at him with curiosity. He felt a bit relaxed only after he had adapted himself to the circumstances for some time. The higher learning institutes were implementing the 60 articles, giving Xu Kexue valuable time. In addition to his classroom studies, he read a great number of reference books and studied the "Treatises on Measurement." Not long afterward, the string of class struggle was wound tight and once again he lived in an atmosphere of extreme inequality. Unable to stand straight to talk like others, he crawled on the ground to look for more knowledge of all sorts. If he could not take his destiny into his own hands, who knows what he would need one day? Yet he was not despondent. He maintained that life is like a picture, the beautiful or ugly appearance of which will depend on how one paints it with his own words and deeds.

Infatuated With Medicinal Herbs

After his graduation in August 1965, Xu Kexue was assigned to an intermediate specialized school, one of a simple and crude type, in Changzhi Municipality, Shanxi Province, to teach. He won praise for his hard work. As soon as the Great Cultural Revolution began, he was transformed into an "evil leader" bearing the brunt of the revolution. Once he drew a coordinate chart in the press, with the arrow of the coordinate axis pointing in a direction violating the ban. To be sure, those people with a strong sense of smell for class struggle would not overlook the criticism and denunciation value of this incident.

Fortunately, factional struggle covered up the "enemy," and soon Xu was thrown out of the political vortex. Later, under the call of "study anew," he was sent down to the countryside to work. In the countryside, he collected specimens of several hundred medicinal herbs for his brigade. He conducted research on medicinal herbs, not for the sake of going with the tide but with the aim of doing some useful work within legal limits. He wanted to vindicate not only himself but also those students trained by the "old schools" over the past 17 years. After taking part in putting together the "Compilation of Shanxi Province's Medicinal Herbs," he participated in a general survey of medicinal herb resources in Jindongnan Prefecture.

Thereupon he began a long-term life in the field, leaving his footprints on Heng, Luliang, Guanqin, and Xizhou mountains. Year in and year out, he appeared and disappeared in Taiyue, Taihang, and Zhongtiao mountains in Jindongnan, and associated with many health workers and medicinal herb peasants. He entered into thatched cottages that had been inhabited by poor peasants for generations. The backward features of the mountain villages and the hard life of ordinary peasants aroused his will to fight selflessly. In this way, day after day and year after year, eating in the wind and sleeping in the dew on high mountains, he looked for and collected medicinal herbs in deep forests and gullies. The localities with greater possibilities for new medicinal herbs were seldom visited by people and were inaccessible. On one occasion, Xu was perplexed when he lost his way on Wutai Mountain in a curtain of darkness. On another occasion, he was distressed when he found himself in a hopeless situation on overhanging cliffs of Yunmeng Mountain. Once he was terrified when he was close to wild animals in the ancient forests on Zhongtiao Mountain. Yet none of this deterred him from preparing to scale and cross over mountains again. The danger of becoming injured or disabled in a fall or harmed by wild animals never escaped him, but any sense of insecurity was trampled underfoot by his ardent desire for medicinal herbs. Once he was climbing over a locality called Yaman's Nose on a desolate path on Zhongtiao Mountain, when suddenly he found the tuber of elevated gastrodia (Gastrodia elevata), a rare medicinal herb in Shanxi Province. No one could imagine how excited he was; it was as if he had discovered a new continent. The joy of scientific fighters lies in this arduous exploration!

After years of arduous struggle, with the help of some comrades he had collected more than 5,000 specimens in Shanxi by 1975. Basically he had found out about the resources of medicinal herbs in Jindongnan Prefecture, and by and large he had surveyed the resources of medicinal herbs in the whole province. He discovered some new varieties and cleared up certain confusions regarding local medicinal herbs.

The pharmaceutical products examination center in Jindongnan Prefecture was set up in 1975. Xu Kexue gradually shifted his main energies from the collection of medicinal herbs to preparatory work for the construction of the center. He busied himself with making requests for funds and placing orders for instruments and equipment of all sorts, from spectrometers to cement pads, and from scales to screws. He was busy carrying and unloading the equipment and fixing it. In all his activities, from compounding of solutions to biological determinations, from titration tests to chromaton graphic analyses, he had to consult books, ponder, design, and experiment. His major was mathematics, and yet he was called upon to concern himself with materia medica, chemistry, biology, and medicine, and this was very difficult for him. In particular, he was short on chemical experimentation. It was on the foundation of his middle-school knowledge of chemistry and by dint of diligent study that he overcame difficulties one by one. Not having enough daytime, he worked by night. He took no days off except for the annual visit he made to his family in Shanghai. Not having time to mend his wornout quilt, he slept under a quilt cover. When he found no food available at the canteen, he boiled dumplings to eat. He threw all his available time into his work. In those years of arduous struggle, he busied himself with all kinds of business for the examination center, including final checks on the examination of pharmaceutical products. Goodness knows how many instructions were requested, how many reports were issued, and how many requests were made in order to expedite work, and how many rebuffs were received. Sometimes he had to bow many times and run many rounds before a minor problem was solved. What did he rely upon? On young revolutionaries' longing for scientific truth. What did he strive for? For faster progress of the socialist cause. He realized that even the speed of an oxcart would be better than lying down on socialism! In those years Xu Kexue never had a clearly defined duty, but he did assume responsibility of real significance.

With the support of leading comrades concerned, the pharmaceutical products examination center made preparations for construction on the one hand and launched work and took on scientific research projects on the other. At the provincial conference called in February to examine pharmaceutical products, Xu Kexue reported on the work of the center. He received favorable comments and further encouragement and support from the Provincial Health Bureau.

Xu Kexue expended his energy in watering the medicinal herb plants and let his sentiment for life find sustenance in medicinal herbs. But for this he got into inexplicable trouble. Xu was supposed to compile a catalog of the medicinal herb plant seeds collected each year and set up exchange relations with more than 40 units in the country. The seed catalogs were typed or copied in Latin, and each item was numbered by the unit. Once, the Guangdong Botanical Garden sent the unit an official letter requesting seeds according to the serial numbers. Unexpectedly, someone suspected that this was a political matter. When wages were assessed and determined at the end of 1977, someone suddenly launched an attack on Xu Kexue. Though his wages eventually were adjusted, the incident did dampen popular morale. Comrades, who paid no attention to studies, took ignorance as the political sense of smell. It seems that intellectuals are destined to swallow this bitter fruit for no reason at all. Indeed, the learned are hated by the ignorant, and nobody knows when the blind will see light.

Indulging in the Wildest Fantasy

Xu Kexue dug into each line he took up, but he kept thinking about his own line--mathematics, a discipline in which the party and people had made a great investment to help him study diligently, and a discipline he had loved since childhood. Yet, after he left school, nobody brought his strongpoint into play.

The volume of work involved in the general survey of medicinal herb resources increased day by day as more and more basic data were accumulated. Many problems cropped up that could not easily be solved or could not be solved at all by the classic method of classification. The work ahead demanded that he must find greater, faster, better, and more economical methods. He remembered what Ju Weiye [1446 4850 0673] had said in a book he had read in middle school. The gist of what he said was something like this: Give me a piece of bone, and I will restore the entire original shape of the animal. Can one who engages in plant classification rely on a plant leaf to restore the original shape of the plant? Keeping his eyes open here and there, and racking his brains, he considered it possible to use mathematical methods to draw this information from the green world.

He told plant classification experts what was on his mind. The reactions were support in some cases, doubt in others, and derision in still others--derision that he was indulging in the wildest fantasy. Encouraged by those who backed him, he made up his mind to go ahead. At the same time he was collecting a large amount of data on plant taxology, he was pondering how to apply mathematical methods. It was the spring of 1977. Associate Professor Yang Jike [2799 4764 3784], a well-known biomathematician in our country, said this: "What Xu Kexue wants to take up is quantitative taxology, which is making fast progress abroad but is still nonexistent in our country. Xu has a deep foundation in mathematics and years of practical experience in taxology. A talented person such as he is seldom found. For the sake of developing taxology at a great rate, I would willingly serve as his drumbeater."

Xu Kexue asked some people to borrow two books from Beijing. Like a famished baby, he greedily threw himself into the two books, studying them very hard page by page and digesting them paragraph by paragraph. He discovered that certain fragmentary ideas in his mind had already become a system abroad, and that other people had already done what he must expend great energy to do. He found that the problem now was not to adhere to his original ideas but to race over the position already opened by others and find a new starting point.

It was the end of the year and the eve of the national science conference. Science was in vogue then. Xu Kexue reported to his leading body his proposal to develop quantitative taxology and received encouragement. With the support of competent departments, he established cooperative relations with the Biophysics Research Institute of the Academy of Science and other units. In September he came to Beijing to look up documents and data and to acquaint himself with the technique of using electronic computers.

In nearly a year of arduous struggle, Xu Kexue looked up more than 150 documents. He got a rough idea of the development of taxology and the method of taxology abroad, wrote a summary, made many academic reports, and contributed articles to the press giving an account of the progress of this discipline. In the process he cooperated with the researchers on the Academy of Science's committee for comprehensive survey of natural resources, and applied the method of group analysis to ecological research, offering new methods and providing a new basis for expanding the areas of fine-wool sheep development in our country's Northwest region.

Determined To Climb Ahead

Viewed from the history of science, launching research activities along the path of spontaneous development of the scientific thinking of science workers is precisely an important feature of scientific labor. Setting state planning absolutely against scientists' freedom of research, and showing no respect for the spirit of free exploration in scientific work, have placed the scientific cause of our country in an extremely unfavorable position. It looks like our country has to travel a long way before it can really learn some lessons.

After the downfall of the gang of four, Xu Kexue told one of his comrades his idea for applying mathematical methods to plant taxonomy. Before long, a long-distance telephone call transferred him back from Zhongtiao Mountain, and he was severely criticized for "being out of line." It took a lot of talking to clear up the matter. An atmosphere [favorable to] science was getting stronger and stronger after the downfall of the gang of four. Xu Kexue thought he could now straighten his stooped body. Quantitative taxonomy was brought into the unit's scientific planning. In the name of the Pharmaceutical Products Inspection Center he formed a biomathematics cooperation group.

As a new discipline, quantitative taxonomy is still in the stage of initial establishment and development domestically. If we want to catch up and overtake others in such circumstances, it is of course necessary, first of all, to know of the progress being made abroad, to acquire all available data, to keep track of the developments and tendencies of this discipline, and to gradually launch research into theory and application in light of our needs and possibilities. This work is by no means as simple as preparing a cup of tea in our office, nor is it as light as looking at a television screen; still less is it as awe-inspiring as reprimanding one's subordinates. What is needed is time, knowledge, and willpower. What Xu Kexue lacks is, first of all, time. When going to work, many people in a number of units are careless and casual, idling away their time. They may take several months' leave to visit their relatives, and their leaders do not want to question them about it--nor do they know how to question them. But when Xu Kexue wanted to go to Beijing (none of the data he needed was available in Changzhi) so as to race against time, disturbances arose repeatedly. Xu insisted that in order to launch the work of quantitative taxology according to plan, it would be imperative to go to Beijing to look up documents. The leading body of the health bureau, however, maintained that those engaged in scientific research must not leave their units for long periods. Xu then consulted the basic-level leading body and left Changzhi, bringing with him a reference saying he was carrying out an assignment.

After 2 months in Beijing, Xu Kexue received a letter from his unit asking him to come back at once. It was clear to him that if he went back then, the scientific research plan for quantitative taxonomy would go up in smoke. He wrote to the responsible person of his unit, giving his reasons for not being able to come back for the time being. He made the best use of his time in his work and, except for the time necessary for eating and sleeping, he made no distinction between office hours and off-duty hours. His sister asked him to dinner at her home, but he did not want to [accept] because it would take longer than eating at his canteen. His wife, living in Shanghai, asked him to come home to help her move to a new shelter, because she had only disabled elders and two children with her. But he did not go home. All this was for the sake of racing against time.

But the Pharmaceutical Products Inspection Center suspended his wages in January 1979 and would not allow food coupons to be sent to him.

Xu Kexue began to live by borrowing, and he rearranged his everyday life and the expenses necessary for performing official duties. To save 5 cents of the fare when he went to the Astronomics Hall to make his academic report, he took the bus from Zhongguancun to Baishiqiao and then got off the bus and walked to the Astronomics Hall. Generally speaking, he stopped going from Zhongguancun to the Information Research Institute at Hopingli because the journey would cost additional bus fare. He could not afford to pay for carbon copies of the necessary data. He copied it by himself and traced charts and tables, using cellophane paper. To trace thin lines at half-millimeter spacing and small and closely written characters would of course expend much more time and energy. He had no money to send home, and his wife with her low wages carried a heavy burden. Their difficulties are better left to the imagination.

Despite the heavy pressure, Xu Kexue kept advancing.

Xu Kexue was invited to a symposium on "the future of biology" in August. When he returned to Changzhi to await approval, he found a red light.

What to do? Some well-intentioned comrades advised Xu to keep talking to the bureau director, and he did want to try. He thought to himself: It takes time to keep talking, but this produces neither material fruit nor spiritual fruit. How much of our valuable time has already been thus wasted? I am over 40 and have not much time to keep talking. Then, stamping his foot, he took a train to the meeting.

The leading body of the bureau affirmed Xu Kexue's past achievements but did not understand the feelings of a scientific fighter who had made up his mind to climb at the sight of the pinnacle of science. In their eyes, Xu, who was long absent without approval, had flouted organization and discipline and must be dealt with severely. In his own eyes, Xu had acted according to the scientific research plan. He went all out to fill a void in the domain of science, which was irreproachable. To achieve this, he would not hesitate to pay some price for racing against time. Evidently, the difference between the two aspects of contradictions brought to light some irrationalities in the existing cadre system.

Nevertheless, this comrade bureau director was an enlightened person. He indicated that Xu could apply for a transfer.

If he were released from one place, where would he be employed? Some relevant research institutes of the Academy of Science had great need of experts in biomathematics, and comrades who had worked with Xu strongly recommended him to some institutes. But for various reasons, nothing happened. The troubles left over from the past had built a high wall between the urgency of state needs and the possibility of solving the problem. How difficult!

At that juncture, a certain unit expressed an intention to employ Xu Kexue but required him to make a written pledge agreeing that for 2 years he would not be permitted to bring up the question of himself and his wife remaining in separate localities.

Xu's wife and children live in Shanghai, and his parents, who are old and have no children with them, also live in Shanghai. Had he wanted to solve the problem of husband and wife living in separate localities, he would have done something long ago to get a transfer to Shanghai. He never made such a request. As far as he was concerned, where he should be transferred should depend on whether he would be able to pursue his research in biomathematics. But comrades of the unit in question emphasized that Xu Kexue was to pursue research in taxology, not biomathematics. What to do? His own unit had cut off his supplies, the door of the Academy of Science was closed to him, and the unit in question had laid down an additional condition. Still, he thought the said unit would be the best for him, because by working with that unit he would be able to carry on his work. He placed his hopes on nighttime and on Sundays when libraries remained open. Thus, he wrote the pledge.

Our country is originally poor and empty and short of talented persons, particularly after the mopping-up operations of the 10-year Cultural Revolution. Talented persons are now a topic that is often on people's lips. On the one hand, we have juvenile classes for quick breeding and "hastening growth." On the other hand, we have people over 40 who are doing a crash job to learn their ABC's and going abroad. While these measures are necessary to meet urgent needs or ones that have to be taken, nevertheless, judging from the pressing needs at present, the measures represent not only distant water that cannot quench present thirst but also a cup of water used to put out a burning cartload of fagots. We might as well look around further. Domestic "wild fruits" are found here and there after 30 years of efforts to sow but not reap. Why don't we pick them up? A large group of people like Xu Kexue have had their shining period of youth; over and over again, college graduates are being selected by new China. Although a considerable period of their greatest vitality has already been wasted, many of them are still ambitious and capable of making more contributions to the four modernizations. They are willing to dedicate their utmost to the cause of science, which also needs them. Why can't our superior socialist system make the best choice in its own interests?

Before the proofs were read and corrected, the comrade director of the Jindongnan Prefecture Health Bureau told the reporter of this journal when he visited the bureau: Provided the state has needs, I am prepared to provide talented persons. Pending concrete arrangements, the units in question may consult each other and arrange for Xu's transfer. At present, Xu Kexue is throwing himself into a sort of computer program application of a method of classified analysis. With heroic determination he looks forward to the future of biomathematics. With our blessing, we hope he will be contributing his due part to the development of biomathematics in our country.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATURAL DIALECTICS MUST SERVE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 15-17

[Article by Guan Shixu [7070 1102 4958] and Chen Changshu [7115 2490 2562]: "What Does Scientific and Technological Development Ask Us to Do?--on Several Relationships in the Work of Natural Dialectics"]

[Text] The vitality of natural dialectics depends mainly on its adaptation to the practical needs of scientific and technological development. In other words, it must produce the effect of serving the four modernizations, especially the modernization of science and technology. In the past 3 years, we made some effort in teaching and academic research. However, our work is still in the stage of developing and probing, and many problems still exist. Judging from the historical mission to be truly achieved by natural dialectics and starting from the requirement of continuously advancing natural dialectic work, we must look fully and squarely at the flaws in our work and soberly recognize the tremendous difficulties confronting us. Currently, some people in scientific and technical work are striving to learn and employ natural dialectics, but a considerable number of them remains indifferent and uninterested, and a small minority even feels hostile. If we underestimate the intensity and gravity of the problem and fail to conscientiously analyze the reasons and adopt concrete measures to improve our work, if our natural dialectics produces no practical beneficial effect on the development of science and technology over an extended period of time and fails to win the trust and support of more scientific and technical workers, just how valuable is our work becomes indeed doubtful.

Why are the scientific and technical workers indifferent toward our natural dialectic work? The problem is that what they need is the natural dialectics which is deeply entrenched in the scientific and technical reality and rich in philosophical theories and which brings enlightenment in viewpoint and method to the solution of scientific and technical problems. Yet, a big gap exists between the work now performed by us and this need.

The current task is to strive to close this gap. For this reason, we feel that we must concretely analyze and correctly handle the following relationships in natural dialectic work.

The first is the relationship between the development of natural dialectics and the practical needs of science and technology. As a developing subject, how to build and perfect the natural dialectic theories themselves is naturally necessary and important, and the teaching of natural dialectics requires a relatively suitable academic system. The problem is that the development of an academic subject may be accomplished by two methods: One is to place the emphasis of work on the interpretation and explanation of relevant classic works, compile lectures from the existing documentary data, or make programmatic studies of the general nature, contents and structure of the subject, without giving much attention to answering the problems posed by the development of modern science and technology. The other is to devote more energy to the understanding and study of the practical conditions of science and technology, penetrate the scientific and technical workers and management work, explore and solve, together with them, the problems in the philosophy of nature, philosophy of science and methodology encountered in practical work, help them master and employ the general laws of nature and of scientific and technological development, and reenforce and develop the contents of natural dialectics on this foundation. The former was inevitable in the past several years, but it must not continue this way. Evolving around the subject itself will not necessarily benefit its development.

Now is the time to shift the emphasis of natural dialectic work to the direction of starting from the reality of science and technology and serving their modernization. We should, for instance, study the history of scientific and technological modernization of foreign countries, the scientific and technological revolution since the 20th century, the successes and failures of China's major scientific and technological programs in the past 30 years and the reasons for the successes and failures and, in the contrast between domestic and foreign experiential lessons, understand the laws, structures, characteristics and tendencies of scientific and technological development, thereby supplying references for determining the scientific and technological strategies in the future. It will be much more useful than abstract discussions.

When we advocate penetrating the reality of science and technology, it appears that we are not placing natural dialectics in an important position, but actually it is not so. Natural dialectics emerged in the integration of the Marxist philosophy and natural science, and it can only continue to grow in such integration, while the foundation of the integration is the reality of science and technology. We must not only verbally discuss integration, but must recognize it in understanding, truly practice it and strive to make natural dialectics useful to scientific and technological development. By so doing, the subject itself will have a broad future.

The next is the relationship between guidance and service. The basic point of our work is the firm belief that the Marxist philosophy, by means of natural dialectics, the intermediate link, will guide scientific and technological development more successfully. Failing to mention guidance will make us abandon the functions of natural dialectics. At the same time, we must not stop at guidance, but must solve the problems of how to guide, what to rely on to guide and how to make the scientific and technical workers recognize the guidance. The Marxist philosophy occupies a special position in our country, and it absolutely is not equivalent to a police baton directing the scientific and technical workers where to do and where not to go, nor a philosophical judge declaring which scientific and technical results are idealism or metaphysics. To guide, one must serve, and the guiding effect of the Marxist philosophy can only be achieved by means of natural dialectics serving the development of science and technology.

We must serve the scientific and technical workers, make friends with them, understand their needs in scientific research, and help them,in viewpoint and method, solve the problems encountered by them. Actually, among the scientific and technical workers, it is not that there are no problems requiring analyzing and solving by means of dialectic thinking, but that they do not, or seldom, receive help from the natural dialectic workers. We must strive to change this situation, humbly learn from them, summarize, together with them, the experiences in scientific research, and discuss with them the methodology of scientific research, so that they will feel that natural dialectics is useful in helping them determine the direction accurately, widen the field of vision and enlighten the mind. Natural dialectics cannot replace concrete scientific research, but our work should at least provide some ideological enlightenment in scientific and technological exploration. It will contribute to developing the guiding effect of the Marxist philosophy. Not only serving the scientific and technical workers in their work and helping them to be courageous in creating and skillful in thinking, but we must also speak for them. We must theoretically explain the position and role of the scientists and technicians in social progress, the labor characteristics of scientific research and the relations between man and things in scientific activities, thereby enabling them to develop their ability and wisdom more fully. If we fail to perform all such service work and feel unconcerned over their wellbeing, the guiding effect will become an empty phrase.

Our natural dialectic work must also serve the scientific and technical management cadres. The comrades in scientific and technical management work urgently need to clarify the structures of modern science and technology, master the strategy and tactics of their development, formulate the best plans for the prompt realization of their modernization and fully develop their potentials. Here, many problems require the joint effort of the natural dialectic workers and the scientific and technical management cadres. If we fail to conscientiously analyze the problems confronting the scientific and technical management cadres, but blame certain cadres for failing to manage science according to the scientific laws, we will be delinquent in our duties and fail to make natural dialectics produce a guiding effect on scientific and technical management.

The third is the relationship between science and technology as the "target" and philosophy as the "arrow." To start from the reality of science and technology, serve their progress and produce a guiding effect on their development, natural dialectic workers must learn science and technology. The Marxist philosophy as the "arrow" must aim accurately at science and technology as the "target." To shoot the arrow at the target, we must first know the "target." If those pursuing natural dialectics remain ignorant of scientific and technical problems and speak little common language with the scientific and technical workers, they will not be able to either render service or discuss guidance.

Not only knowing the "target," but we must also have the "arrow." The philosophical training of the natural dialectic workers should not be too inferior, for otherwise they will not be able to perform their work successfully. As shown by practice, the main reason that some scientific and technical workers wish to make friends with us and form alliances is not because we also have some of their professional knowledge, and even less because we have more professional knowledge than they do, but because we more or less possess some strong points in philosophical theories which can give them ideological enlightenment unavailable in the realm of their professions. They are not interested in treatises containing only abstract philosophical phrases, without analyzing the practical scientific and technical problems, and nor do they welcome natural dialectic lectures and articles enumerating scientific and technical data without philosophical enlightenment. Nevertheless, our natural dialectic work in providing vivid and profound philosophical theories is too inferior. We must raise our philosophical level and increase our ability in theoretical thinking. Conscientiously studying Hegel's philosophical works and learning Lenin's "Philosophical Notes," for instance, are extremely important to natural dialectic work. If we give attention only to remedying our lack of scientific knowledge, while overlooking the advantages of developing philosophical theories, and consciously or unconsciously feel that traditional philosophy is useless to natural dialectics, we will be just as one-sided.

Finally, it is the relationship between upholding the basic truths of the Marxist philosophy and developing it in natural dialectic work. We must develop before we can uphold. It will be hard for an immutable philosophical "arrow" to hit the scientific "target" developing in leaps and founds. In the past one hundred years, especially since this century, science and technology have been changing with each passing day, yet we have performed very little work and produced very little result in making philosophical summations of the newest scientific and technological achievements. Much of the material in classic natural dialectic works has to be brought up to date, and some of the theses require substantiation or revision. Modern natural science has made a new challenge to philosophy, demanding an answer. We who pursue natural dialectics must undertake the task of enriching and developing the Marxist philosophy. It will be wrong if we only complain that philosophy lags behind modern science, feel that the paucity of philosophy indicates the uselessness of the philosophers, and ask the philosophers for new philosophical theories in natural dialectic work. Summarizing the new progresses of modern science and technology and developing the Marxist philosophy are primarily the affairs of the natural dialectic workers.

To enrich and develop natural dialectics, we must emancipate our thinking and have the courage to innovate. People do not find it strange that any branch of natural science is continuously abandoning old theories, absorbing new nutrients, explaining new facts and proposing new interpretations, and that every natural scientific worker can make contributions. Philosophy and social science should also be thus, but it is a new issue to us. For this very reason, we must enliven academic thinking, overcome mental ossification and study anew the viewpoints which seem to have become final. For instance, we usually only mention the possibility for the scientists of capitalist countries to have spontaneous materialism and spontaneous dialectics, but not the possibility that some among them may, by means of scientific practice and the philosophical thinking in history assimilated by them, acquire conscious philosophical views approaching dialectic materialism. We only mention the scorn felt by the great scientists of capitalist countries for the philosophers, but not the fact that Planck, Einstein and Wiener were also great philosophers and great thinkers at the same time. We only mention the idealism of the Copenhagen school, but fail to ask whether it is dialectic. We only mention the need to criticize modern Western scientific philosophy, but fail to inquire whether it has anything which can be critically absorbed. We only mention the need of logical thinking for the ascent of perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, but fail to look into the effect of intuition and fantasy in the process of understanding. We only mention the fact that the higher forms of motion cannot be concluded as the lower form of motion, but not the necessity of analyzing the higher form of motion with the theory and method of the lower forms of motion. We only mention the need of unified planning for the socialist scientific undertaking, but not the need of freedom in scientific research under the socialist conditions. We only discuss the social conditions required for the elimination of the "three major distinctions," but not the development of the production force and the progress of science and technology on which their elimination mainly hinges. If we cannot examine the final views such as these according to the criterion of practice and boldly express new ideas, the study and propaganda of natural dialectics will not become vivid and lively; we may even spin a cocoon around ourselves and turn the favorable factors for popularizing dialectics into unfavorable ones.

Natural dialectics faces the dual task of guiding the development of science and technology with the Marxist philosophy and enriching the Marxist philosophy on the practical foundation of science and technology. The two are closely linked and mutually complementary. In terms of natural dialectic work, the development of philosophy is still for the purpose of promoting the progress of science and technology and the realization of their modernization. Only by firmly starting from the reality of scientific and technological development and conscientiously studying and solving the practical problems posed to us in such development can we look forward to making headway in completing the dual task mentioned above.

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DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S BIOLOGY DISCUSSED

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 1-2]

[Article by Feng Depei [7458 1795 1014]: "Two Types of Sense of Responsibility"]

[Text] We should increase our sense of responsibility to the development of biology. The sense of responsibility may be divided into two aspects: We must have a sense of responsibility in eliminating the obstacles to the development of China's biology, which may be considered the sense of responsibility in the "destructive" aspect; in addition, we must also have a sense of responsibility in the "constructive" aspect, which is organization, research and personnel training.

Let us first discuss the "destructive" aspect. We may make suggestions to the leaders on such issues as academic democracy. However, we must not rely on charity for academic democracy, but must strive for it, and even struggle for it. Currently, we still hear about a "feeling of lingering apprehension" in some people, and it deserves analysis. "Apprehension" means fear. When handling affairs and conducting oneself, it is not quite right to start from the word fear. It was a fact that some of the things in the past were rather fearful, but starting from the word fear too often is not the right way. Such issues as the lack of academic democracy and the "swarm of bees" produced a fairly serious influence on the development of biology in the past. If we do not handle them conscientiously and strive to overcome them, such issues will continue to exist. As long as we handle them conscientiously, they can be overcome. Take the current situation: One cannot say that it is satisfactory in all aspects, but the general tendency of development of our country is clear, and we should have confidence.

The main reason for the lack of democracy in the academic field in the past was because political and academic issues were often entangled. The forbidden areas in learning were actually the forbidden areas in politics; learning itself has no forbidden area. Hereafter, we must strictly separate academic issues from political issues. The relationship between politics and learning is about the same as that between politics and production. In "Politics and

Economics under the Proletarian Dictatorship," Comrade Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131] said: "Correct political leadership and economic achievements inevitably form a direct proportion." One may paraphrase him by saying that correct political leadership and scientific development inevitably form a direct proportion. Conversely, any political leadership which blocks scientific development is an incorrect leadership. Our country can do much in making politics a promotive force in scientific development, rather than an impediment. We hope that our leading party and government comrades will carefully summarize the experiential lessons of the past and conscientiously consider the issue.

On the other hand, our democratic style and habits require cultivation. The lack of development in academic discussions is not entirely due to outside suppression. To a great extent, we ourselves have not cultivated the habit. We must not blame everything on others. We must, on academic issues, hold free discussions and permit incorrect opinions. It is perfectly permissible for a person to express one opinion today and another tomorrow. In the research institute, it is quite alright for me to say today that you are wrong and to admit tomorrow my mistake. When we change our view on an issue with the change in our background knowledge or experimental results, it is not only not undesirable, but mandatory.

The "gust of wind" issue is also thus. On the one hand, we hope that the leaders, in managing scientific research work, especially in the use of funds, will change the practice of fostering "a gust of wind" and "a swarm of bees." On the other hand, we, as scientific workers, should more or less have our own ideas, and not seek the fashionable and follow the trendy. Those with a professional foundation or special skills should study diligently and strive to broaden their own fields. In the past 30 years, very few people in our country have been able to persevere in any particular field of study for 5 or 10 years, let alone a longer period. If this situation is not changed, the development of our scientific research will have no future. Scientific work must have the opportunity for stable and continuous development. This issue is very important. The maturity of a tree or an animal requires a certain period of time for growth and development. The many branches of biology and the various academic realms must all be developed. It is a good thing for each branch of learning to peddle its own "melons." We must encourage them to cultivate their own melons for sale. In China, the varieties of melons are too few, and they should be greatly increased.

After entering the new era of the socialist modernization construction, the work awaiting us is largely "constructive" tasks. A considerable number of people among us generally performs work in three aspects simultaneously: First, we have some responsibility in the organization and management of scientific work, which are not solely the affairs of the responsible party and government comrades. Second, we are on the front line of scientific research work and have the responsibility of directly promoting scientific research. Third, we have the responsibility to train scientific workers of the next generation. The third aspect in particular, the task of training the next generation, should be specially stressed. For the future of China's biology, as long as we properly train the next generation, we oldsters will have no need to worry. This is indeed a key issue, and many problems require solution. One of the problems is how to build more successfully the cooperation between the research organs and the universities. It will benefit the development of both the universities and the research organs, and is closely linked with the future of China's biology. Today, whether with the research organs or with the schools, all feel the shortages of buildings and instruments, but the greatest shortage is people. How to accelerate the training of people is indeed an extremely urgent issue. I particularly want to do two things in my late years: To trumpet for neurobiology, a field which I have engaged in for many years; to trumpet for the training of young people. Naturally, not just trumpeting alone, but also doing while trumpeting.

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REMEDIES OF FLAWS IN ENTRANCE EXAMINATION SUGGESTED

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 3-4

[Article by Xu Hao [1776 3185]: "Entrance Examination and Admission Base"]

[Text] In midsummer last year, several million young people took the entrance examinations for colleges, senior middle schools and technical secondary schools. When the results were announced, a minority was gratified, but the majority was disappointed or even depressed. As the number of examinees was large, the admission quota small and the competition extremely keen, it is very normal for some people to question the entrance examination system.

Starting out from maintaining imperial power, the feudal China, in the employment of administrative officials, alternated between the method of recommendation and selection and that of examination. They were merely the means, and what determined their essence was the nature of the regime. Not long after the introduction of the recommendation and selection method, the Han dynasty discovered the serious phenomenon of control and manipulation by local or social forces. By the time of Emperor Huanling, there was the folk rhyme which ran: "electing a first-degree scholar who knows no books; electing a second-degree scholar who lives apart from his father." Some households occupied a high position for generations, such as that of Yuan Shao with "three dukes in four generations." The situation did not end until the Huangjin Uprising. When the Jin dynasty replaced Han and Wei, Sima introduced the "Law of Nine Ranks," resulting in "no humble households in the high ranks; no high-placed households in the low ranks." The practice of entering by the back door flourished. Regardless of the ability, as long as a person came from a famous household, he was made an official. This system of selecting and promoting administrators according to the power and influence of their families naturally led to extreme corruption in officialdom and deterioration of the national condition. Beginning with Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, the method of imperial examination was initiated to obtain officials. The subjects of examination through the dynasties were not all arbitrary. Whether poetry, the eight-paragraph essay or themes, they were, on the one hand, for the convenience of drawing the line of admission and on the other, for the purpose of testing the depth of the examinees' understanding of the feudal culture. As a comman

man could become a high official by following this path, passing the examinations became the sole goal. The story of Fan Jin passing the examination in "Romance of the Scholars" was a bitter satire of this system at its ludicrous and disgusting end. However, compared with the method of recommendation and selection, the imperial examinations provided an outlet for some people.

Modern capitalist countries and countries following the production means public ownership system also employ the examination system. The characteristic of this method is that the subjects of examination have a very strong link with the examinees' future work or future training and with the combined requirements of society. Combined requirements refer to work adaptability, organizing and leadership ability, creativity, and the ability of practical operation in technology. Due to the conditional limitations during the examinations, especially when the number of examinees is large, written tests have to be given for the purpose of having a basis and preventing fraud. While the written tests are closely linked with the requirements of society, such as the tests on physics and chemistry, which are far superior to the examination on the eight-paragraph essay, the superior students admitted by written tests often are not adept at practical experiments, have no organizational ability, or lack drive and ambition. The greatest flaw in the method of recommendation and selection was reliance on the influence of the parents. As a result, the children of influential households did not have to exert themselves, while it was useless for the youths of families without power and influence to make an effort. As there was no competition, the young people idled away their time. The greatest flaw of the examination method is that there may be mistakes at times, and the best and those satisfying the combined requirements are not necessarily chosen. However, as there is competition, most of the young people are able to be occupied in their minds.

It is easy to criticize the defects of a method, but the problem is to remedy them. One must not solve the problem by the simple means of flogging or retracing one's steps. People have been eating wheat for a long time. However, the defects of wheat as a food are very obvious. It requires grinding and often fermentation, and its lysine content is low and its output small. Nevertheless, if this unsatisfactory wheat is not planted, half of the people in the world will go hungry. The remedy is rational processing and the use of dietary supplements.

Looking at the grades of the examinanees, we find that the admission generally follows the gaussian distribution, i.e., it shows a normal curve. Though there may possibly be deviations in the curve, the general tendency is as shown in the diagram. The shaded area, A, represents the number of people admitted (assuming it to be 4 percent). In other words, the grades of the majority are in the middle ranges. As the results of the subjects in the written test, though related, are not completely identical with the combined requirements of society, we can understand that among those attaining the grades for admission, coming under A, who also possess the creativity required by society may be $\frac{a}{A}$;

who possess organizational ability may be $\frac{b}{A}$; who possess practical technical ability may be $\frac{c}{A}$ .... Among the people in A, those who satisfy all the requirements should be:

$$P = \frac{a}{A} \times \frac{b}{A} \times \frac{c}{A} \times \ldots$$

(1) Probability of number of people appearing
(2) Grades

It can thus be seen that the probability of the emergence of superior students satisfying all requirements is very low. To make P, a very low emergence probability, represent as many people as possible, we can only, under the condition of assuring the quality requirement of the examinees' knowledge, expand the admission quota as much as possible. We must make the admission quota include the mode, viz., somewhere to the right of the middle of the gaussian distribution normal curve. Concretely speaking, setting the admission at slightly under 40 percent may be suitable.

However, a larger admission quota will require more schools, which hinges on financial abilities. Only developing production will the excessively low and irrational admission ratio be improved. During the transitional period when we cannot increase the admission quota, we should, instead of the unified admission method, adopt the method of nation-wide regional admission and slightly different criteria for the admission line of students attending schools and that of the youths in society. It will guarantee that every province, region and level will admit the part of the examinees of their own areas in the normal curve who should be admitted, and reduce the flaw of training superiority (better teaching quality in large cities) and squeezing out the combined requirements of society. Even in the imperial examination system of the Qing dynasty, to create a centripetal force of the local areas, quota distribution according to provinces was practiced. In short, to guarantee more talents in the future, we must do our best to make the base of those admitted as large as possible. It is a platitude, but if we do not fully understand it by analysis and verification, but concentrate on stringent selections, we will go to the extreme of "one examination deciding the whole future."

Under the condition of not expanding the recruitment quota and for the purpose of making accurate selections of talents, we should introduce the vacancy admission system, such as reexamining the students on the special requirements of certain subjects, e.g., practical technical ability, speed of reaction, etc. For some subjects, certain psychological tests may be added. In addition, society must not discriminate against the professionals who have learned their skills through practical training; it must not adhere rigidly to academic background and famous universities. However, in case of exceptional admissions, there must be definite requirements and standards, and abuse and fraud must be prevented.

There is no flawless method in the world, and so is examination. Before it can be replaced by a better method, as it is relatively fair and rational, one may say that "there is no alternative." However, we must recognize its defects and deviations and, especially under the present situation where the admission quota is rather small, do our best to remedy it, for otherwise we will make a big mistake, because retracing our steps and replacing the examinations with the method of recommendation and selection will not work.

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POPULATION FORECASTING MODELS, PREDICTIONS DISCUSSED

Shanghai ZIRAN ZAZHI [NATURE JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 249-252

[Article by Song Duan Yu [1345 3843 3768], Wuhan Mathematics and Physics Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences; Shao Kezhen [6730 0668 2182], South Central Academy of Electric Power Design; Jiang Zhongquan [5592 1350 6898], No 1 Metallurgy Company, Ministry of Metallurgy; Wu Weimin [0702 1983 3787], Institute of Rock and Soil Mechanics; Feng Ronghao [1409 2837 6275], South Central Academy of Construction and Design: "Population Forecasting Model and National Population Forecasting"]

[Text] Importance of Population Forecasts

Population is a complex element in society, and it is also a principal part of and a foundation of social activity. The population problem, like other objective matters, possesses its own laws, and has become a science, which increasingly attracts the serious attention of scientists. How to effectively control population has become a problem about which people are more and more concerned in the process of realizing the four modernizations in China. At the present time, the level of China's production is rather low, and there is a vast gap between national average earnings in China and those of advanced countries. If China's national average income is to show fairly great increase by the end of this century, it will be necessary to control the speed of population growth. Population planning requires forecasting the level of population development after the year 2000 on the basis of the present population birth situation in China. Thus, population forecasts can provide precise information for population policies and population planning. Population forecasts differ from meteorological, earthquake, or economic forecasts, and have their own characteristics. The forecast period is not 1 or 2 days, but rather several years or several decades. This article provides a briefing on the model for population forecast calculation methods that we use, and discusses our views about national population forecasting.

Types of Population Forecasts

The traditional concepts of the past on the population development issue must be changed. The longstanding historical idea that "a vast territory with rich resources and a teeming population" is an honor, has been acknowledged to be an arrogance of the Chinese race. Now, we must regard the problem of population development not only as a problem of further population growth, but also regard it as a serious impediment to the four modernizations process that the country faces, which carries with it serious latent political problems. It relates to increases in the standard of living of the present generation, and simultaneously determines what kind of accumulated wealth this generation will leave posterity--hardships or happiness. Thus, population policies must control the present population and institute planned parenthood. Correspondingly, population forecasts should use the mathematical models of controlled population forecasts. If population development is not controlled and people are free to give birth as they please, it will become a free population forecast mathematical model.

We must make population forecast calculations; however, population statistical methods currently are not unified. In using data from population statistics departments, mathematical processing will be required. In the two national population census years of 1953 and 1964, data on population distribution by age and by deaths was generally not available for other years except for individual cities, and so it is recommended that a unified population forecasting mathematical model and commensurate statistical forms be established nationwide.

In our mathematical models, the population birth cycle is a rather major statistical coefficient. The population birth cycle is not derived from legal age, but from the use of statistical methods.

Our mathematical model is calculated on the basis of a closed population system, and for population shifts in each area, consideration must be given to age distributions of those who move, meaning population distribution according to age and distribution of deaths. If this is not done, the accuracy of the forecast will be impaired.

Unless methods are accurate and statistical criteria reasonable, the attainment of fairly high accuracy in figuring population forecasts will be difficult. Song Jian [1345 0256] et al[1] have proposed a series of partial differential equation structural forms on the issue of population control, and have used discretely calculated mathematical models to predict China's population for 100 years, attaining a rather high degree of accuracy, and blazing a trail for the scientific development of China's population system. Here we have adopted the direct calculation method to make population forecasts, and our reasons for emphasizing the direct method are as follows:

1. Population forecasts or other calculations should attain a high degree of accuracy.

2. The layers and bands developed in the historical development of population should be retained. These constitute a special kind of information for population births.

3. The structure of mathematical models should be perceived directly and be easily promoted.

4. Information that satisfies the requirements of other population models (such as working population models, models that show fluctuations in population in enterprises) should be readily separated out of these models.

Statistical Distribution of Three Sets of Population Movements

People's life span and age are calculated in terms of their present age. Population statistics in China today use ages from 0 to 100 as their statistical range, which is called a centenary table. Inasmuch as the number of the population above the age of 100 is fairly small, it is ignored, thus naturally there is some error in this. If a person who lives to maximum age is postulated as age r_m, when the population is counted, it is divided into 0, 1, 2, ..., r_m in an age spread of $r_m + 1$. There are three sets of data in terms of age distribution: First is the number of the population of different ages in any given year, which is termed population distribution according to age, or simply population distribution, which is written as $M_r(t)$, with t standing for the time, and r standing for the range of age, and $r = 0,1,2,\ldots, r_m$. Second the number of deaths at different ages in any given year, which is termed distribution of population deaths according to age, or simply distribution of deaths, and written as $M^d_r(t)$, with $r = 0, 1, 2, \ldots, r_m$. Third is the number of women bearing children in any given year, which is termed distribution of childbearing women according to age, or simply distribution of births, and written as $M^o_r(t)$, with $r = n', n' + 1, \ldots, n$. In the distribution of the above three sets of statistics, data about the last set is very difficult to locate in population statistics departments.

In forecast calculations, when T is used as the starting point for any given year, that year is known as the datum year or base year. The sum total of this base year's population distribution $M_r(T)$ is $M_\Sigma(T)$, thus:

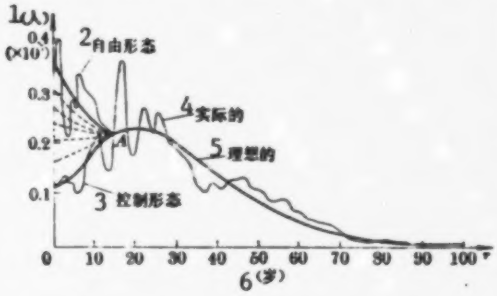
$$M_\Sigma(T)=\sum_{r=0}^{r_m} M_r(T). \qquad (1)$$

We define the proportion of age r males and females $M_r(T)$ in the total population $M_\Sigma(T)$ as the density of population according to age in T year, p (r, T), or density of population distribution, for short,

$$p(r,T)=\frac{M_r(T)}{M_\Sigma(T)} \quad (r=0,\ 1,\ 2,\ \cdots,r_m). \quad (2)$$

Because population distribution may be distinguished as having a controlled configuration or a free configuration, the two are described separately in Illustration 1. Illustration 1 has descriptive curves. The bold line is an ideal situation following an ironing out, while the thin line shows actual fluctuations in population distribution, called the population band. The sections of the curve up to point A show the fluctuations between the controlled configuration and the free configuration. The dotted lines show transitional configurations. After point A, the free configuration, the controlled configuration, and the transitional configuration are combined into a single curve to become a complete population distribution curve of numerous bands.

Illustration 1. Depiction of Population Distribution Configuration



Key:

1. (People)
2. Free Configuration
3. Controlled Configuration
4. Actual
5. Ideal
6. (Age)

Distribution of deaths in the population on the basis of age in T year is M^d_r (T). During any given year, the number of deaths of people of different ages varies, the aged being most numerous, children and middle age people being second, and youths being least. The death rate or death density $\sigma(r, T)_2$ characterizes the distribution of deaths:

$$\sigma(r, T)=M^d{}_r(T)/M_r(T) \quad (r=0, 1, \cdots, r_m), \qquad (3)$$

Its significance is the number of population deaths at age r, M^d_r(T) as a proportion of the population at age r.

Thus is derived

$$\varphi(r, T)=1-\sigma(r,T) \quad (r=0, 1, \cdots, r_m), \qquad (4)$$

which is termed the population survival rate by age range in year T, i.e. the proportion of the surviving population at M_r (T) at the end of year T. These basic concepts are used not only in calculating population forecasts, but are also used in calculating average population longevity.

Distribution of childbearing women by age in T year is M^o_r (T). Presented in the following table is the data we obtained from nearly 10,000 pieces of statistical data on the number of women between the ages of 20 and 43 who gave birth in 1979 among women of childbearing age in a certain prefecture.

Statistics on Number of Childbearing Women in a Certain Prefecture in 1970

Age Range r	Number of Childbearing Women $M^o_r(79)$	Age Range r	Number of Childbearing Women $M^o_r(79)$
20	10	32	318
21	27	33	181
22	59	34	98
23	166	35	78
24	564	36	35
25	1,680	37	29
26	2,690	38	22
27	2,422	39	14
28	1,858	40	4
29	1,402	41	3
30	937	42	2
31	488	43	1

To find the average age, R, of childbearing women,

$$R=\sum_{r=20}^{43} r M^{o}_{r}(79) \Big/ \sum_{r=20}^{43} M^{o}_{r}(79)=27.43(\text{age}). \quad (5)$$

This table shows the average age, R, of the childbearing women in that prefecture to have been 27. Thus the population birth cycle R + 1 = 28 is derived, and so 30 years is the population median forecast standard.

The corresponding number of women for the average age, R, of childbearing women is M_R (T)/2, because M_R(T) is the sum of the male and female population. In order to simplify calculations, the probability for males and females is half for each, thus, it is multiplied by 1/2. M_R (T) is related to the number of people born in T + 1 year, thus the following formula is established:

$$M_o\ (T + 1) = \lambda(T + 1)\ M_R\ (T) \qquad (6)$$

In this formula λ(T + 1) is total birthrate, or average birth coefficient, i.e. half the individual number of children born in T + 1 year per every man and wife, which is one-half the average number of births. If $\lambda = 0.5$, the average births per man and wife is one.

Setting up Mathematical Models for Controlled Population Forecasts

Once we have derived the three kinds of distribution given above, we can calculate population forecasts. Our method is the discrete direct recurrence method of calculation. Using this, we first figure out a continuous population development activity formula. Using the rotational movement in ages of the population, we know that this year is age r, and next year is age r + 1. If in a certain area, the number of people at age r in year t is M_r (t), a year later the number of people will be M_{r+1} (t + 1), the population delay relationship existing between being:

$$M_{r + 1}\ (t + 1) = M_r\ (t) - M^d_r\ (t) \qquad (7)$$

By substituting formula (1) in the above, from $\Delta r + \Delta t = 1$ and the total differential definition is derived

$$\frac{\partial M_r(t)}{\partial r} + \frac{\partial M_r(t)}{\partial t} = -\sigma(r, t) M_r(t), \quad (8)$$

This is a continuous population development activity formula.

If T is the base year, construct

$$M_r(t)|_{t=T} = M_r(T) \quad (r = 0, 1, \cdots, r_m), \quad (9)$$

This is called formula (8)'s initial condition, while

$$M_r(t)|_{r=0} = M_0(t);\ M_r(t)|_{r=r_m+1} = M_{r_m+1}(t) = 0, \quad (10)$$

is called formula (8)'s border condition.

Thus, formula (8) can be solved under the initial boundary conditions of (9) and (10), and the solution is unique. Formula (8) is considered under the circumstances of a closed system. If there are migrations, the population distribution of the migrants has to be added to the right side of formula (8).

The steps in our recurrent calculations are explained below. We first sought the population distribution and its sum for T + 1 year. We used three statistical distributions, making the population distribution in base year T the initial condition M_r (T) (r = 0,1,...,r_m), M_o (T + 1), i.e. formula (6), and deriving M_r (T) from the birth distribution, (T + 1) being the control coefficient in the setup. Then formulas (3) and (4) were substituted in (7) to derive

$$M_{r+1}(T+1) = M_r(T)\varphi(r, T). \quad (11)$$

Use of formulas (2), (6), and (11) derived population distribution in T+1 year as follows:

$$\begin{cases} M_0(T+1) = \lambda(T+1) M_R(T) \\ \qquad = M_\Sigma(T)\lambda(T+1)p(R, T), \\ M_r(T+1) = M_{r-1}(T)\varphi(r-1, T) \\ \qquad = M_\Sigma(T)p(r-1, T)\varphi(r-1, T) \\ \qquad (r = 1, 2, \cdots, r_m), \end{cases} \quad (12)$$

In this formula, M_o (T + 1) represents the children born in T + 1 year, with no consideration given to the infant mortality rate, because when counting the number of infants, infant deaths for the year were not treated as birth in the population.

From formula (2) was correspondingly derived the total population in T + 1 year

$$\begin{aligned} M_\Sigma(T+1) &= \sum_{r=0}^{r_m} M_r(T+1) \\ &= M_\Sigma(T)[\lambda(T+1)p(R,T) \\ &\quad + \sum_{r=0}^{r_m-1} p(r, T)\varphi(r, T)]. \end{aligned} \quad (13)$$

Continuing to find out the population distribution and its sum in T + K year. This is figured by using year by year changes in death rate. As a result of social progress, the mortality rate is fairly stable, and can be rendered approximately as:

$$\varphi(r, t) \doteq \varphi(r, T) \quad (t = T+1,\ T+2, \cdots,\ T+k). \tag{14}$$

Through continued application of formulas (6), (11), and (14), population distribution in T + K year was derived as follows:

$$\begin{cases}
M_0(T+K) \\
\quad = M_{\Sigma}(T)\lambda(T+K)p(R-K \\
\quad +1, T)\varphi(R-K+1,\ T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(R-1,\ T), \\
M_1(T+K) \\
\quad = M_{\Sigma}(T)\lambda(T+K-1)\,p(R-K \\
\quad +2, T)\varphi(R-K+2, T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(R-1, T)\varphi(0, T), \\
\quad \vdots \\
M_{K-2}(T+K) \\
\quad = M_{\Sigma}(T)\lambda(T+2)p(R-1,\ T)\varphi(R \\
\quad -1,\ T)\varphi(0,\ T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(K-3, T), \\
M_{K-1}(T+K) = M_{\Sigma}(T)\lambda(T+1)p(R,\ T)\varphi(0, T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(K-2,\ T), \\
M_K(T+K) = M_{\Sigma}(T)p(0, T)\varphi(0, T)\varphi(1, T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(K-1,\ T), \\
\quad \vdots \\
M_{r_m}(T+K) = M_{\Sigma}(T)\,p(r_m-K,\ T)\varphi(r_m-K,\ T) \\
\quad \cdots \varphi(r_m-1,\ T) \quad (K=1,2,\cdots,k).
\end{cases} \tag{15}$$

Thus, the population total correspondingly derived from (15) for T + K year is:

$$\begin{aligned}
M_{\Sigma}(T+K) &= \sum_{r=0}^{r_m} M_r(T+K) = M_{\Sigma}(T)\Big[\sum_{j=1}^{K} \lambda(T \\
&\quad +j)p(R-j+1, T)\prod_{e=0}^{j-2}\varphi(R-e-1,\ T)\prod_{i=0}^{K-j-1}\varphi(i, T) \\
&\quad + \sum_{r=0}^{r_m-K} p(r,\ T)\prod_{e=0}^{K-1}\varphi(r+e,\ T)\Big] \\
&\qquad (K=1,\ 2, \cdots, k).
\end{aligned} \tag{16}$$

By using formula (16) to make calculations, we can forecast any year's population total. Since the $\lambda(t)$ choices differ, various different control programs are derived. For example if for each man and wife there is only a single birth, $\lambda = 0.5$; if two births, $\lambda = 1$.

Setting Up Mathematical Models for Free Population Forecasts

Formula (16) is the calculation method we recommend. In instituting population control in China's present planned births, it is through choice of λ the number of births in the population is regulated. However, some countries with a sparse population encourage births, and when this is done, it is necessary to use a mathematical model for free population forecasts. Instead of trying to determine the corresponding distribution of average reproductive age R, it is necessary to count the number of people born at each age during women's reproductive years, M^{o}_{r} (T) (and to further divide the number according to double, triple...), and from these calculations to derive the reproduction probability of women of r age in T year.

$$\mu(r, T) = M^{0}{}_{r}(T)/M_{r}(T) \quad (r = n', n'+1, \cdots, n), \tag{17}$$

其中 n' 为最小生育年龄，n 为最大生育年龄.

从公式(17)得出第 $T+1$ 年的出生人口为

$$\begin{aligned} M_{0}(T+1) &= \sum_{r=n'}^{n} \mu(r, T) M_{r}(T) \\ &= M_{\Sigma}(T) \sum_{r=n'}^{n} \mu(r, T) p(r, T), \end{aligned} \tag{18}$$

Other distribution of population and control models being the same, the total population derived for T + 1 year is:

$$\begin{aligned} M_{\Sigma}(T+1) = M_{\Sigma}(T) [&\sum_{r=n'}^{n} \mu(r, T) p(r, T) \\ &+ \sum_{r=0}^{r_m - 1} p(r, T) \varphi(r, T)]. \end{aligned} \tag{19}$$

以此类推，第 $T+\bar{m}+1$ 年的人口总和为

$$\begin{aligned} M_{\Sigma}(T+\bar{m}+1) = M_{\Sigma}(T) \{ &\sum_{r=n'}^{n} \mu(r, T) [\sum_{j=1}^{\bar{m}+1} p(r-i \\ &+1, T) \prod_{e=0}^{j-2} \varphi(r-e-1, T) \prod_{i=0}^{\bar{m}-j} \varphi(i, T)] \\ &+ \sum_{r=0}^{r_m - \bar{m}} p(r, T) \prod_{e=0}^{\bar{m}} \varphi(r+e, T) \} \quad (\bar{m} = 1, 2, \cdots, m). \end{aligned} \tag{20}$$

National Population Forecast For 100 Years

Inasmuch as the number of immigrants to China may be ignored, [2] the population of the entire country may be regarded as being a closed system, and the population is being controlled; therefore we used formula (16) to draw up a Fortran language program, using a computer to forecast China's population for a hundred years. The annual total population and related criteria were calculated. For calculation porposes, total death rate was 6.1 percent; average reproductive age was 27; and reproduction control coefficients were worked out for three situations with λ= 0.5, 0.75, and 1.0, i.e. each man and woman averaging the birth of 1, 1.5, and 2 children (λ = 0.5 declining in 10 years from λ = 1, while λ + 0.75 declining gradually over 5 years from λ = 1). Population distribution for the base year was calculated from preliminary data investigated by Comrade Song Jian et al. Ages run from 0 to 114 years old.

Results of calculations show that when λ = 0.5, i.e. a man and woman producing a single child, population will rise from 970-92 million in 1979 to 1,089,730,000 maximum in the year 2000, gradual decline occurring thereafter until the year 2079 when population will decrease to 298.55 million or less than 300 million.

When λ = 0.75, i.e. when each couple produce 1.5 children, population will rise from 970.92 million in 1979 to 1,156,620,000 in the year 2000, reaching a maximum of 1,179,800,000 in the year 2012, thereafter gradually declining to 670.27 million in the year 2079.

If λ= 1, i.e. each couple have two births, the population will be 1,243,070,000 in the year 2000, and reach its zenith at 1,407,540,000 in 2032, thereafter declining until it totals 1,312,260,000 in 2079.

Currently, we currently advocate birth of a single child per couple, in order to bring the population growth rate under control with all possible speed, so that the total national population will be no more than 1.2 billion by the end of this century.

A look at the population of the year 2000 on the basis of the data acquired above shows that if each couple having only a single child can be accomplished, the population in the year 2000 will not exceed 1.09 billion. However, in advocating universal birth of a single child per couple, it is impossible to guarantee that all couples will have only a single chid. Therefore, it is a certainty that by the year 2000, population will exceed 1.09 billion. If each couple gives birth to two children, the population in 2000 will not exceed 1.25 billion, but it will exceed the decided upon objective of 1.2 billion. If half the couples in the country produce one child, and half the couples produce two children, that will mean an average of 1.5 children per couple (of course, in practice it is impossible to give birth to one and one-half children). Using these calculations, the 2000 population will be 1.156 billion, not exceeding the 1.2 billion figure. Thus, the aforestated objectives are attainable. Inasmuch as minority people areas may continue to have more than two births per couple, the actual year 2000 figure may be a little higher than 1.156 billion. In short, people will have to make an effort to achieve the objective.

The foregoing calculations show that if population is to be controlled at above 1.1 billion and below 1.2 billion within the next 50 years, during this period of time every couple will have to have one and only one child. If each couple is permitted to have only a single child during the next 100 years, the population of China will drop to 300 million. Consequently, it will not be necessary to wait 100 years. By the year 2054, population will drop to the 548 million level of the end of 1949, and other population programs can be formulated. It is not too late to readjust the population reproduction situation; there is no need to worry.

The foregoing gives a general introduction to population forecasting methods and national population forecasting, as well as to other population criteria. Space limitations prohibit giving further detail here.

FOOTNOTES

1. Song Jian and Li Guangyuan [2621 1684 0955], ZIRAN ZAZHI, 2 (1979) 570

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No. 219

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22 September 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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REPORT ON POLAND'S SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

OW101812 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, September 10 (XINHUA)--The Polish Solidarity Union Congress in Gdansk enters its sixth day today having issued an open letter to the workers of the Soviet Union and six East European countries and demanded a national referendum on workers' self-management.

Polish Minister of Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek attended the congress. He urged solidarity to help the government to tide over the economic crisis and reminded it of its own statement concerning the status of the trade unions. As it is, he pointed out, solidarity is at a crossroads. He hoped that solidarity would chose the course of cooperating with the government.

Ciosek read to the congress a message from deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski who emphasized that the Polish trade unions were under obligation to work for the cause of socialism and respect the leadership of the United Workers' Party and Poland's allies.

A report of the solidarity's national coordination commission, read to nearly 1,000 delegates to the congress on the second day, declared that it is no exaggeration to call what is happening in Poland a revolution and that solidarity is the main driving force of this revolution. "We have resolved to take into our hands the responsibility for the country's renewal and for getting the country out of the crisis," it said.

In its open letter to Soviet and East European workers passed on September 8, the congress offered to send representatives to help "those of you who have decided to take the difficult road of struggle for free and independent unions."

The central party newspaper, TRYBUNA LUDU, retorted by pointing out that the union is violating its own constitution and upsetting Poland's allies. It said the letter lacked "elementary realism" and that "it harms only solidarity itself but, what is worse, Poland."

On the same day, the congress passed a resolution asking the national assembly (SEJM) to call a nationwide referendum to decide the form of workers' self-management. It demanded workers' right to hire or fire the managers or directors of the factories and to make major decisions concerning their enterprises.

The congress added that solidarity would undertake to make arrangements for the referendum itself, if SEJM rejected the demand.

Commenting on the resolution, the Polish army newspaper, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, warned that the solidarity is using the issue of workers' self-management as a springboard for a takeover of power.

TRYBUNA LUDU yesterday carried some letters from its readers, one of which said, "Solidarity will not rest until it carries out a coup, its ultimate goal."

The Warsaw chapter of solidarity yesterday circulated a resolution at the congress calling for free elections by secret ballot and open to all candidates. "The road to Poland's sovereignty leads through democratic elections to representative organs," says the resolution.

A UPI dispatch from Gdansk reported that in the corridors of the congress hall, "the talk centered on whether or not the 10-million member union was headed for another major confrontation with the government.

""'People are aware that confrontation is drawing near,' Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the Warsaw chapter of solidarity told reporters."

CSO: 4020/244

RAKOWSKI, WALESA DISCUSS GOVERNMENT, 'SOLIDARITY'

OW041226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, September 3 (XINHUA)--Polish Vice-Prime Minister M. Rakowski said today that the consultation line is still the basis of current government policy. The government will continue to pursue this line.

Rakowski also said this at a press conference here today that in recent months, the radicals of the "Solidarity" trade union have intensified attacks on the government. But proceeding from the interests of the whole country and the people, the government has adopted measures "to prevent Poland from being in disorder and in a state of anarchy." The government will continue to follow the consultation line, to negotiate with the moderate and sensible elements in the "Solidarity" trade union.

At present, Rakowski continued, the reactionary forces in Poland have intensified open attacks against the Soviet Union. Activities of open opposition to the Polish United Workers' Party have emerged. Some activists of the "Solidarity" trade union planned to set up an opposition party--the Polish Labour Party--"in an attempt to seize state power."

He said in conclusion that the moderate and sensible forces are important and strong now and should unite together to defend the consultation line.

In a speech at a press conference in Gdansk on the same day, Lech Walesa, president of the "Solidarity" trade union's national consultative committee, pointed out that the "Solidarity" trade union must "discard activities which create disorder, give up the struggles for secondary aims, and avoid taking violent measures."

On workers' autonomy, Walesa stressed that "we should not struggle for the dismissals of one or two directors, but for the rights of all the directors to have power according to the posts they hold and to serve society." He stressed that he did not agree with the basic stand of the government on the question of workers' autonomy.

CSO: 4020/244

WALESA TV ADDRESS VIEWS CURRENT POLISH SITUATION

OW030832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, September 2 (XINHUA)--The situation in Poland is very difficult. It is not the time for polemics or confrontation, it is time for constructive action, said Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa in a TV address here yesterday. The TV address was arranged under an agreement signed recently between the Solidarity trade union and the government radio and TV authorities.

Recalling the situation of this country since the conclusion of the Gdansk agreement a year ago, Walesa said it has been a year of difficulties. Under such a grave situation, as members of trade unions, we should seek ways and means to save the country from the present crisis and help the people live a normal life. He said the Polish people should overcome the difficulties by their own efforts. "We believe in wisdom instead of disputes," he declared, adding that Solidarity is for consultation, not for endless polemics.

Walesa noted that the Solidarity trade union has done quite a lot in the past year. It has had successes as well as failures. In future, it will act according to its own charter, that is, act as a trade union. It does not want to take over power, but want to serve society, he pointed out. He also made it clear that the Solidarity union wants to share the mass media and is against government monopoly.

On the same day, the Polish CATHOLIC DAILY published an interview with Walesa and quoted him as saying: "Things have reached the point where the authorities start to lose social approval and support. What will come off in the future? This situation is compelling us to shoulder the responsibility for the destiny of our country--a responsibility all of us must shoulder," he stressed.

CSO: 4020/244

USSR MANEUVERS EXERT 'NEW PRESSURES' ON POLAND

OW031858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 3 Sep 81

["NATO, USSR Show Military Strength in Europe"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Brussels, September 2 (XINHUA)--NATO began a naval and air exercise off Norwegian, Danish and British coasts today.

Canada, the Netherlands, Portugal, Britain, Denmark, West Germany, Norway and the United States took part in the military exercise involving 60 ships and submarines and almost 200 aircraft. The "magic sword" exercise, due to last until September 8, is the first in a series over the next two months in Western Europe.

Besides, NATO's month-long field exercise and four-week naval manoeuvre will be held in Denmark and the Mediterranean respectively on September 5. There will be other military manoeuvres in West Germany, Norway, Italy, Turkey and Greece over the next few weeks.

Meanwhile, over 50 Soviet ships and 30 amphibious vessels and at least 25,000 troops will take part in what military experts say is the biggest Soviet naval exercise ever held. The Soviet manoeuvre, due to start on the Soviet border with Poland on September 4, is believed to exert new pressures on Polish political and trade union leaders.

CSO: 4020/244

LCY, PCI CONFER ON INTERPARTY RELATIONS

OW091820 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, September 9 (XINHUA)--The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the Italian Communist Party [PCI] have reiterated the principles of full respect for sovereignty, independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as the guideline in international and interparty relations.

They declared that cooperation between various communist parties, workers' parties and different democratic and progressive forces, and between all countries should be based on these principles.

This was underlined in a communique issued upon the conclusion of the three-day visit to Yugoslavia by Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

During his stay, Berlinguer conferred with President Lazar Mojsov of the Yugoslav League of Communists on Bilateral Relations, the workers' movement and pressing international issues. Identical or similar views were expressed during the talks.

The communique said, the two parties reiterated that various parties which hold themselves accountable to the working class and people of their own country have the right to decide freely the form and content of their struggle for social progress and socialism.

CSO: 4020/244

NATO ROLE DEBATED IN NORWAY ELECTION CAMPAIGN

OW041656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Stockholm, September 4 (XINHUA)--The election campaign is in full swing in Norway as the parliamentary election is only ten days away (Sept. 14).

The six political parties that are represented at the present parliament have held congresses and adopted programmes since March. They are the Labor Party, the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, the Central Party, the Socialist Left Party and the Liberal Party.

The other parties, such as the Progressive Party, the new Liberal People's Party, the Red Election Alliance and the Communist Party, have announced their readiness to join in the campaign.

All the major parties have elected their candidates for the post of prime minister.

The campaign appears to be mainly one between the "socialist group" (comprising the Labor Party and the Socialist Left Party) and the "non-socialist group" (comprising the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party and the Central Party).

Mme. G. H. Brundtland of the Labor Party and K. I. Willoch of the Conservative Party are believed to be the chief rivals in the campaign.

The Conservative Party is making redoubled efforts in its competition with the Labor Party, the largest party in the country that has been in power many years. However, the Labor Party has been greatly weakened since the election in 1977 while the Conservative Party has gained strength since the mid-seventies.

On the whole, the constituencies of the two parties are getting closer in strength.

Economic problems, especially unemployment and taxation, remain a bone of contention in the campaign. Norway has fared quite well in recent years because of an increase in oil production, but it cannot stand the impact of the Western economic crisis and is suffering from growing economic stagnation and inflation. In the present campaign, the various parties have put forward their platforms about ways and means on improving the economic situation. The Labor Party emphasizes its record of success in governing the country and makes guaranteed full employment its chief campaign slogan. The Conservative Party, on the other hand, accuses the labor government of its failure in dealing with inflation and of pursuing a wrong taxation policy. It proposes tax reductions, which are attractive to electors.

Moreover, the two parties are divided in their diverging views on industrial management and the oil policy.

Another bone of contention is about the foreign and security policies, specifically about the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone. Both the opposition and the ruling parties stand for a settlement of the issue through negotiations among NATO countries, but certain quarters within the Labor Party think otherwise. The dispute reflects differences of opinion within each party in regard to the depth of Norway's involvement in the NATO as well as public fears of any possible involvement in a nuclear war.

The average figures of the three public opinion polls in June indicated that 50.1 percent of the voters polled support the non-socialist group as against 41 percent for the socialist group. The pre-election developments seem to offer better prospects for the non-socialist group in the election, but the constant change of the political trend in the campaign may help the socialist group win a majority vote and assure the Labor Party of another four years in office.

CSO: 4020/244

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO CHIEF COMMENTS ON RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE

OW041700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Ankara, September 4 (XINHUA)--NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns announced in Izmir yesterday the establishment of a rapid deployment force in an exclusive interview with the paper, CUMHURIYET, today.

Luns said, "According to the latest information we received, a rapid deployment force has been formed and is in the process of becoming institutionalized."

He went on, "There is a very strong American force in the Gulf, there are also strong British and French forces. They are on stand-by with the latest arrangements made in the Diego Garcia Island."

Luns also said, "A stronger Turkey is a factor in the balance of power for the defence of the southeastern flank of the alliance."

Luns went on, "NATO has always supported the idea that Turkey should be economically and militarily strengthened. Economic aid to Turkey is being provided by the organization of cooperation and economic development and military assistance comes from NATO. The U.S. and the Federal Republic of Germany lead the list in this respect."

Luns arrived in Izmir on Wednesday on a four-day private visit at the invitation of the mayor of Izmir. He took the opportunity to call at the command headquarters of NATO and Turkish Aegean army headquarters in that Aegean port city and had talks with Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen there.

CSO: 4020/244

FRENCH OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ARMS SALES, WORLD EVENTS

OW241938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1907 GMT 24 Aug 81

[Excerpts] New Delhi, August 24 (XINHUA)--An Indian military mission will visit France shortly to discuss supply of armaments, the visiting French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said here today. Addressing a press conference at the end of his two-day visit to India, Cheysson pointed out that France has been supplying certain quantity of armaments to India in the past.

Cheysson arrived here yesterday. He had talks with Indian External Minister Narasimha Rao and Defense Minister Shivraj Patil. He also met with President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy and Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Asked about prospects of France supplying Mirage-2000 to strengthen the Indian Air Force, Cheysson said, "We decided to look into every possibility of cooperation in everything--scientific, development, trade exchanges and in military field," he added.

On international issues, Cheysson said France and India agreed that there should be no foreign interference in any country and there should be withdrawal of foreign troops both in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. On issues like Afghanistan, Kampuchea and other trouble spots, Cheysson said while France itself would not take any new initiative, "We are anxious to stand behind those in the Non-aligned Movement who have the authority and experience and can take the initiative. We shall be available when they feel we can help."

He announced that Mrs. Gandhi would visit France in November.

CSO: 4020/244

FUKUDA WARNS AGAINST SOVIET MILITARY EXPANSION

OW041236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, September 4 (XINHUA)--Former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda warned in Jakarta yesterday that the Soviet Union was expanding its military presence in different parts of the world, according to news reports from Jakarta.

The former Japanese prime minister made the remarks at the opening of a three-day symposium sponsored by Japan's MAINICHI newspapers and an Asian Affairs Research Council.

Fukuda said the present international situation was at the most critical juncture since the end of the second world war.

He warned that the "military capabilities of the United States and the Soviet Union had come to be more or less even. The Soviet Union has begun to conduct expansionist activities in various parts of the world. In particular, it is a cause of worry to us at this moment how the situation in the Middle East and Poland will develop."

He stressed that "Soviet presence, backed up by increasing military strength, is manifesting itself in various parts of Asia."

Referring to the Kampuchean situation, Fukuda expressed the hope that the efforts of Japan and the ASEAN nations would lead to a final peaceful solution of the problem. He felt regret that Vietnam and the Soviet Union had failed to attend the international conference on Kampuchea held last July. "Occupation of other countries' territory by the use of military strength cannot be recognized in international society," he noted.

Fukuda also dealt with his country's present economic relations with the ASEAN states. He was happy to see that the total trade volume between Japan and the ASEAN states has exceeded 30 billion U.S. dollars both ways, or 2.2 times that of 1977.

CSO: 4020/244

CHINESE, JAPANESE YOUTH GATHERING IN BEIJING

OW241924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 24 Aug 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, August 24 (XINHUA)--Six hundred Chinese young people gathered with more than 300 members of a Japan-China Youth "Hand in Hand" Friendship Delegation at the Great Hall of the People this evening. Liu Weiming, acting president of the All-China Youth Federation, and Tokuma Utsunomiya, honorary leader of the Japanese delegation, joined the gathering.

Jin Jian, president of the Beijing Municipal Youth Federation, was the first to speak. He said Chinese youth are willing to inherit and develop, hand in hand, with their Japanese friends, the cause of Sino-Japanese friendship from generation to generation.

Delegation leader Kunio Hatoyama said that upon returning home, they will tell the Japanese people about their exchanges with the young Chinese, and "make the flower of the Japan-China friendship blossom throughout Japan."

Tokuma Utsunomiya, 75, spoke, stressing the importance of Sino-Japanese friendship to world peace. He encouraged the youth of Japan and China to carry on this friendship from generation to generation.

The gathering was jointly sponsored by the All-China Youth Federation and the Beijing Municipal Youth Federation.

CSO: 4020/244

THAI PAPER REPORTS KGB ACTIVITIES IN THAILAND

OW021556 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bangkok, September 2 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has sought every opportunity to send KGB agents and military intelligence agents into Thailand and unscrupulously collected all kinds of information in this country, reports the September 5 issue of the Thai weekly, SIAM MAI. Soviet spies, the report says, are placed in every Soviet agency here, such as the Soviet Embassy, the Soviet commercial counsellor's office, the Soviet civil aviation office, the Soviet news agency and the UNESCAP office. Official sources have disclosed that over one half of the 80-odd Soviet staff of the Soviet Embassy and the UNESCAP office are KGB agents or Soviet military intelligence spies.

On the top floor of the main building of the Soviet Embassy here, there is a "referentura" room equipped with communication devices for receiving and transmitting information. Only KGB agents are allowed to enter this special room.

Soviet military intelligence agents monitored round-the-clock Thai official wireless communications and intercepted radio messages between the foreign embassies here and their home countries. All these Soviet agents know the Thai language and are able to decode Thai coded messages.

A senior Thai intelligence official told SIAM MAI that the Soviet Embassy had from time to time asked for Thai permission to increase the number of embassy staff. When such a request was turned down after the Thai side found that many Soviet spies were included in the list of additional embassy staff, the Soviet Embassy presented another list in which KGB agents were mixed with genuine diplomats. Soviet agents rejected by the Thai Government were sent to the UNESCAP office here because it is an international organization and the Soviet Union did not have to get the approval of the Thai Government.

Thai immigration authorities have also discovered that many Soviet officials entered into Thailand in the name of "tourists." Some of these officials were KGB agents who were greeted at the airport by Soviet diplomats and later stayed in the Soviet Embassy. Some of these agents refused to leave this country despite the expiry of their visas. Obviously, they are KGB agents on temporary missions.

In addition, Soviet agents also often contacted diplomats of the East European, Vietnamese and Laotian embassies here and gave them instructions on collecting Thai intelligence.

CSO: 4020/244

JAPAN OPPOSES USSR POLICY IN NORTHERN ISLANDS

Pullout Urged

OW311530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Tokyo, August 31 (XINHUA)--Tokyo and Moscow had agreed to continue negotiations for a peace treaty including the northern territories issue, Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Yasue Katori told Soviet Ambassador to Japan Dmitriy Polyanskiy yesterday, according to a KYODO report.

Katori explained to Polyanskiy about Japan's stance over the northern territories issue in reply to a Soviet protest against Japan's campaign for the return of the Soviet-held islands. In its protest, the Soviet side said there was no territorial problem between Japan and the Soviet Union. Katori told the Soviet ambassador that the afore-said agreement between the two countries was fixed in the 1956 joint statement which opened the diplomatic ties between them and in other diplomatic documents. He added that the government leaders of the two countries reconfirmed the agreement in 1973 when the then Prime Minister Kakuei Takaka visited Moscow.

Katori told the Soviet ambassador that Japan was justified in making a public campaign of its stand within the United States organizations and other international forums. Katori also urged the Soviet Union to withdraw its military forces from the Soviet-held northern islands, because their deployment there ran counter to the spirit of mutual confidence and good neighbourliness. He called on the Soviet Union to sit down at the negotiating table for a peace treaty.

The Soviet ambassador replied, however, that his government would not change its stand whatever campaign Japan might stage.

USSR Policy Condemned

OW031914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1848 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Tokyo, September 3 (XINHUA)--Leaders of ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), six cabinet members and governor of Hokkaido attended a rally here today to press for the return of four northern islands from the Soviet Union.

The rally of 2,700 people, organized by the LDP, condemned the Soviet occupation of the Japanese islands and vowed to carry on the struggle till the final recovery of the territories.

LDP secretary-general Yoshio Sakurauchi, LDP chairman of the Executive Council Suzumu Nikaido and chairman of the special committee on the issue of northern territories Masaki Nakayama spoke at the rally. Sakurauchi described the establishment of "Japan-Soviet Friendship Guild Halls" in different places of Hokkaido under Soviet manipulation as "obviously an act of indirect aggression."

Nikaido told the meeting: "Many countries have seen a major threat in the Soviet arms expansion. Japan cannot afford to take what happened in Afghanistan as something of no concern to itself. It (the invasion of Afghanistan) has made the Soviet threat more tangible and deepened their feelings of indignation against the Soviet Union."

The rally unanimously adopted a resolution which says: "The Soviet Union, paying no heed to agreement reached between Japan and the Soviet Union, has unjustifiably maintained that there exists no territorial dispute between the two countries. What is more, it has been strenuously maneuvering to weaken and break the movement of our people for the recovery of the northern territories."

The resolution points out: "The Soviet Union has increased its military presence on the northern territories to confront Japan with a fait accompli."

In conclusion, the resolution states: "The Japanese people vehemently protest against the illegal Soviet occupation of the northern territories. They will unite as one to strive for their return until this goal is attained."

CSO: 4020/244

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER OBSERVES USSR-OCCUPIED ISLANDS

OW101900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1632 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Tokyo, September 10 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki today flew in a helicopter off the coast of eastern Hokkaido to make a personal inspection of the four Japanese islands now under Soviet occupation.

He is the first incumbent prime minister to observe the northern islands..

He undertook the trip to demonstrate the strong desire of his people for the return of the islands seized by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

Suzuki was accompanied by three cabinet ministers including Taro Nakayama, director general of the prime minister's office, Governor Naohiro Dogakinai of Hokkaido and Mayor Terashima Isao of Nemuro.

Suzuki flew for about an hour along the coastline from Nemuro to Rausu in eastern Hokkaido aboard a self-defence force helicopter, affording him a view of the four islands--the Habomai group, Kunashiri, Etorofu and Shikotan.

Later the prime minister left Nemuro by car for Cape Nosappu on the tip of the Nemuro Peninsula from where he observed through binoculars Kaigara Island of the Habomai group, lying only 3.7 kilometers from the cape. Suzuki was reported to have looked very serious when he caught sight of Soviet warships cruising off the northern islands.

The weather was fine today. Some 1,300 people in Nemuro area, including school pupils and former islanders now residing in Hokkaido, gathered at the cape to greet the prime minister. Suzuki's trip is taken here as a major move following the government's designation of February 7 as northern territories day this year.

While in Hokkaido Suzuki heard views of the local representatives on the recovery of the northern territories before his return to Tokyo later in the day.

At a later press conference Suzuki said: "The early return of the northern territories is a long-cherished aspiration of the Japanese people. I was filled with emotion while observing the four northern islands from Cape Nosappu." He added that "an all-out effort shall be made with firmer resolve" for their recovery.

Asked about the Japan-USSR relations, the prime minister said it is a pity that the Soviet Union has so far remained obdurate on the territorial dispute and showed no desire for a solution. It alleged that there exists no territorial dispute with Japan.

Referring to Brezhnev's recent hint for better relations with Japan, Suzuki said that it indicates that the Soviet Union persists in shelving the territorial dispute and building up Japan-USSR relations. This is what Japan will not accept, he said, adding "It remains difficult to work out a fundamental solution to the Japan-USSR relations." "The government," he stressed, "will seek a peace treaty with the Soviet Union only after the problem of the northern territories problem is settled."

CSO: 4020/244

DPRK VICE PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON REUNIFICATION

OW091414 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Pyongyang, September 9 (XINHUA)--The most correct way to achieve national reunification is to carry into effect the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo," says Pak Song-chol, vice-president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

He was addressing a meeting here yesterday in celebration of the 33d anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"Our proposal for convening the conference," he said, "is the most active and just step of national salvation to solve the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and interests of the whole nation and by the united efforts of all the patriotic forces at home and abroad."

He reiterated that it is reasonable to convene at an early date a conference for the promotion of national reunification with the representation of the political parties and organisations in the north and the south and overseas compatriots. To convene the conference successfully, "We are ready to meet anyone in South Korea and overseas Koreans except the Chon Tu-hwan group and we shall always keep the door of dialogue open," he declared.

Referring to what the U.S. news media called "incident of missile attack by the north," he said, it is sheer fabrication aimed at legalizing U.S. war preparation in South Korea and creating a pretext for a new war. The U.S. could not shirk its responsibility for aggravating the situation in the Korean Peninsula, he said.

CSO: 4020/244

SINGAPORE PAPERS VIEW KAMPUCHEAN STATEMENT

OW061336 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] Hong Kong, September 6 (XINHUA)--The tripartite joint statement signed by leaders of the Kampuchean patriotic resistance forces in expressing their desire to work together towards a coalition government is "a step forward in unifying efforts to dislodge the Vietnamese from their homeland," said Singapore paper THE STRAITS TIMES in an editorial yesterday.

The editorial added: "The more difficult task comes when the ad hoc committee sits down to work out details of the proposed coalition. This is when the true intentions of the different factions will be put to the test."

"To have a workable coalition," it stressed, each party "must devote full attention to the most pressing task at hand: evicting the Vietnamese."

Another paper, SIN CHEW JIT POH, in an editorial yesterday pointed out the result of the tripartite meeting has brought confidence and hope to countries that have been supporting the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnam. This will also conduce to winning more support for Democratic Kampuchea to retain her lawful seat in the United Nations.

"The joint statement constitutes a head-on blow to Vietnam with the idea of permanent obsessed occupation of Kampuchea," the editorial stated.

It also pointed out that in the course of the formation of a coalition government, there will be disputes among the three parties.

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THAI PAPERS HAIL MEETING OF KAMPUCHEA UNITY GROUPS

OW071608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Bangkok, September 7 (XINHUA)--The meeting of the Kampuchean resistance groups in Singapore was a very good thing for their cause of getting together to resist the Vietnamese aggressors, said Lieutenant-General Som Kataphan, director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces.

According to today's Thai newspapers, Som Kataphan told reporters here yesterday that the coalition of the resistance groups, if achieved, will surely reinforce the political and military forces in Kampuchea against the Vietnamese invaders.

The director said that the coalition is also an expression of the patriotism and unity of these groups. Although there are problems which can not be solved immediately, it is believed that under the prerequisite of resisting Vietnamese aggressors for national salvation, they will finally abandon prejudices to achieve a great patriotic unity.

Som Kataphan warned that Hanoi and the Heng Samrin regime will neither remain indifferent to such a development in Kampuchea, nor give up their ambitions of invading their neighbours. There is no doubt that they will launch offensive attacks on the Kampuchean resistance forces, notably mopping-up operations in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas. They will surely let shells fall inside Thailand, infringing upon the Thai territory publicly, he added. However, Som Kataphan said, Thailand will never lower its guard; it has made all preparations and taken effective measures against the attacks.

Chief of staff of the Supreme Command of the Thailand Armed Forces General Saiyud Kerdphol told reporters that the unity of the three Kampuchean resistance forces is politically a positive development.

The newspaper TAVAN SIAM, in an editorial today entitled "A New Step for Kampuchea," said that the meeting of the three anti-Vietnamese resistance leaders, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann and Khieu Samphan, and the adoption of a four-point declaration will contribute to Kampuchea's international activities to safeguard Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations and makes it clear once again that the Vietnam-backed Heng Samrin regime is a tool used by Vietnam for its occupation of Kampuchea.

The paper said that if the three Kampuchean parties realize their own duties to end the Vietnamese occupation of their country, there should not be big problems in the election of Kampuchean coalition government leaders.

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THAI PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES ROLE OF MILITARY

OW272028 Beijing XINHUA in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Bangkok, August 27 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon declared here today that his government would try in every possible way to strengthen the army so that it may rise to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country at any moment. He made these remarks while presiding over a ceremony held at the Don Muang airport here to mark the reception of a batch of 20 F-5E and F-5F fighters purchased from the United States. This is the second batch of such fighters Thailand has bought from the United States over recent years. The first batch was delivered to the Thai Royal Air Force in 1978.

Prem said that with the change in the situation in this region, the Thai Government thought it necessary to raise the anti-aircraft capability of the Thai army. "Although the government is working hard to establish good relations with foreign countries and is seeking peace and tranquillity in this region through political channels, we are still worried about our country's security, independence and sovereignty," he added.

"Therefore," he continued, "it is imperative for us to purchase up-to-date fighters, to train a group of highly skilled pilots and other military personnel and to be ready to go into fighting at any time." He said with confidence: "So long as we make full preparations, we would be able to make timely counterattack against the invaders and maintain our peace and tranquillity."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EXISTENCE OF DANGER OF SOVIET ARMED INTERVENTION IN POLAND ANALYZED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese No 1, Jul 81 pp 60-63, 39

[Article by Zhang Dunhou [1728 2415 0624]: "The Situation That Has Taken Place in Poland During the Past Year"]

[Text] I. What Has Happened in Poland?

Since July 1980, the volatile and unstable situation in Poland has aroused worldwide attention.

1) One Strike Wave Follows Another

On 1 July 1980, the Polish government announced an increase in meat prices, thus triggering strikes by workers in Warsaw and other parts of the country protesting this decision by the government and demanding wage increases. Despite explanation by the authorities concerned, the voices of protest were still in the air as the strike wave spread to the other parts of the country. On 16 July, a general strike was called by factory and railway workers in the city of Lublin bordering the Soviet Union. During the strike, the railway traffic was blockaded, and the functions of the entire city were paralyzed to bring the first strike wave to a new height. Then a series of measures were taken by the Polish authorities to increase the wage by 10 to 15 percent and to meet the striking workers' demand for free election of their trade unions. In the end, the strikes in Lublin and other cities were called off and order was initially restored.

However, the strikes were soon resumed in various localities. In late August, some 16,000 "Lenin" Shipyard workers in the city of Gdansk went on strike. On the following day, more than 50,000 workers throughout the city walked off their jobs, grinding traffic to a halt and cutting off telecommunications with the rest of the world. An interfactory strike commission was soon formed by the strikers to elect Lech Welsa as their leader. On 22 August, the Gdansk interfactory strike commission conveyed a total of 21 demands to the government. Among them were economic demands, demand for the formation of "free trade unions," and demand for the establishment of a monument to workers who died in the December 1970 strike. Workers in other cities came to their support by calling their own strikes engulfing the coastal area as a whole. Thus the second strike wave reached a peak. On 30 August, the Polish government reached an agreement with the strike commissions in Szczecin and Gdansk. The government agreed to the formation of the self-governing trade unions by workers, and the erection of a monument to workers who died in the 1970 strike and pledged to protect the personal safety of striking workers in exchange for their recognition of the leading role of the party and the alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union. Later, all striking workers returned to work.

On 1 September, the Gdansk independent and self-governing trade union held its inaugural meeting at the "Lenin" Shipyard during which Walesa was elected its responsible person. On 22 September, representatives of 36 independent and self-governing trade unions from all over Poland met to adopt a charter naming their organization "Solidarity" Union. Its membership has grown quickly and has swelled into nearly 10 million. Meanwhile, on 5 December, the Central Board of Directors of the original Polish Trade Union announced that it has been scheduled to terminate all its activities effective 31 December.

On 24 September, the "Solidarity" Union submitted to the Warsaw District Court an application for the legalization of its organization. The court made major changes in the charter of the "Solidarity" Union by deleting from it "the right to strike" and by adding to it an article calling for recognition of the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party and allegiance to the socialist system. On 24 October, the "Solidarity" Union appealed to the Supreme Court after issuing a statement of protest against such changes. While holding negotiations with the authorities concerned, "Solidarity" announced a nationwide general strike scheduled for 12 November, thus adding fuel to the tension again throughout Poland. On 10 November, the Supreme Court approved the original charter of the "Solidarity" Union and attached it with a proviso as a condition for legalizing its organization. The proviso contains a portion of the Gdansk agreement reaffirming the leading role of the party and the need for the socialist system. Then the "Solidarity" Union agreed to call off its scheduled general strike, thus avoiding a major clash with the authorities.

On 16 Dedember, the monument to workers killed in the December 1970 strike in Gdansk was ceremoniously unveiled in the presence of hundreds of thousands of representatives of workers, party and government leaders and representatives of the "Solidarity" Union. In their speeches, both government leaders and representatives of the "Solidarity" Union emphasized that "the people, the working class and the government must join forces in building their common life so that the tragedy of the past will never be repeated again." They also called on the people to "vigilantly protect the safety and sovereignty of the motherland," to maintain the "social tranquillity" and to start "the process of national harmony and concord."

However, the situation in Poland remained volatile. After entering 1981, one strike after another were organized by "Solidarity" to fight for their 5-day-a-week work system. Meanwhile, the Rural "Solidarity" Union organized by individual farmers throughout Poland also called for approval of its legalization by the authorities and other rights. Some institutions of higher learning followed suit by demanding the approval of the legalization of their independent student unions and reform in the education system. These storms that buffeted society echoed to each other, making the volatile situation appear more dangerous than ever.

On 31 January, the government and the "Solidarity" Union reached an agreement on a compromise formula calling on workers to work 42 hours a week and entitling them to 3 Saturdays off a month in 1981. The government also agreed to the demand of the "Solidarity" Union for publishing four weeklies including a national weekly journal and for scheduling a special television program for trade unions once a week.

On 19 March, at the end of the Bydgoszcz provincial People's Assembly session in northern Poland, policemen beat up and inflicted injuries on responsible persons of the local "Solidarity" chapter. On 27 March, the "Solidarity" Union called a 4-hour long warning strike in major cities in a protest against this incident. It demanded a thorough investigation into the case and punishment of those responsible for it. The "Solidarity" Union decided that if no agreement were reached through negotiation with the government, it would call an indefinite nationwide general strike on 31 March. Thus "A most dangerous moment ever since August last year appeared on the horizon." (Quotation from a speech by Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.)

From 29 to 30 March, the Ninth Plenary Session of the Polish Party was held as a matter of emergency to concentrate on a discussion of the current tense situation calling the attention of "Solidarity" Union leaders to the grave consequence of a general strike. The session also expressed its willingness to thoroughly investigate the beatings of responsible persons of the Bydgoszcz chapter of the "Solidarity" Union while emphasizing the need to settle social disputes by political means. On 30 March, the government and the "Solidarity" Union reached an agreement on this matter as indicated in the following joint communique: In view of our deep concern with the destiny of the motherland, both sides are taking concerted actions to eliminate the root cause of the threats of social and political crises. The government will follow the due process of law in handling the case of beatings while the union has agreed to call off its strike. In this way, tension gave way to conciliation.

Troubles centering around the legalization of the Rural "Solidarity" Union also became a matter of concern. In the wake of the formation of the "Solidarity" Union, farmers in the Lublin area formed a rural "Solidarity" union with a request for its legalization. Both provincial and supreme courts rejected this request. In February 1981, in a report to the Eighth Plenary Session of the Polish Party, the Politburo said that there was no need for the formation of the rural "Solidarity" union. Because a settlement of the dispute over the legalization of the rural "Solidarity" union was nowhere in sight, its members began a sit-in at the headquarters of the Bydgoszcz provincial peasant party in March 1981.

On 30 March 1981, the "Solidarity" Union and the government signed an agreement in Warsaw expressing their willingness to do everything possible to avoid a situation of confrontation over the issue of organizing the individual farmers into a union. On 17 April, the government and the rural "Solidarity" union reached an agreement on the latter's legal status, thus ending a month-long sit-in demonstration organized by the agricultural union and other protest activities in support of this demonstration. On 12 May, the Warsaw court officially approved the application of the Rural "Solidarity" Union for its legalization. At present, this union claims nearly 2.5 million members.

2) Party, Government Leadership Reshuffles

From July 1980 to May 1981, or in less than a year, a total of seven plenums (from fourth to tenth) were held by the Polish United Workers' party.

Gierek was replaced by Kania as first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party during its Sixth Plenum held in September 1980.

In August 1980, Edward Babiuch was relieved of his post as chairman of the Council of Ministers and replaced by Jozef Pinkowski at the former's request. (Babiuch assumed that position in February 1980) In February 1981 or barely 6 months later, Pinkowski resigned from that post and was succeeded by Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelki.

This reshuffle affected most of the members of the politburo and secretariat elected during the Eighth Plenary Session of the Polish United Workers' Party held in February 1980. On 29 April 1981, a coal miner and a tractor factory worker were elected to the Politburo membership of the Central Committee during the Tenth Plenary Session of the Polish Party. Most of the vice chairmen of the Council of Ministers were changed. A large number of leading members of the various departments of the Party Central Committee, government departments, committees and provincial party committee secretaries and provincial governors were replaced along with many mass organization leaders.

This personnel reshuffle stems from various reasons. Some were dismissed on incompetence and corruption charges; some were replaced at the persistent request of the "Solidarity" Union; some were retired due to old age and poor health; some were transferred to other posts.

According to the information released by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Polish Party held in February 1981, since the summer of 1980, some 92,000 members quitted the party; another 2,400 were expelled from the party. Piotr Jaroszewicz who was chairman of the Council of Ministers before his replacement in February 1980 has been expelled from the party.

3) Beset by Greater Economic Difficulty

The consistent convulsive social upheavals have had grave adverse impact on Poland's already difficult economic situation. From 1979 to 1980, the value of gross industrial and agricultural output dropped 3 and 9.6 percent respectively; the value of crop production dropped 15.2 percent; the labor productivity and national income were down 2 and 4 percent respectively. This was the third year in a row that the national income declined. Appalling foreign trade deficit has appeared. In 1980, Poland's foreign debt stood at US$23 billion (on the basis of the communique on the implementation of Poland's 1980 economic plan released on 4 February 1981). Of this debt, one-fourth was due for payment. As a result of the restructuring of its import and export trade in 1980, Poland used most of loans to purchase food grains, animal feed and other consumer goods which cost at least US$2 billion. Poland, a nation with a population of 30 million, imported 9 million tons of food grains and high quality animal feed in 1980, or 26 percent more than in 1979. In 1980, it imported sugar and meat for the first time in its history. Originally, fuels, electric machinery, foodstuffs, and agricultural products were among the traditional export items. But their export that year also dropped in proportion to the export trade volume.

Despite falling production, in 1980, the regular wage increased by 12.8 percent, or actual 3 percent after deducting inflation. The result was that inflation deteriorated further, soaring commodity prices to a new level. In 1980, the cost of living was up 9.1 percent from the level of 1979, hitting the highest mark ever in the past 25 years. The prices of foods were up 14.1 percent on the average. Among the increases in food prices, potatoes were up 44 percent and vegetables up 33 percent.

Because of work stoppage, the shortening of work hours and raw materials and energy shortages, many factories have been forced to close down or operate at a half capacity. Last year, the losses incurred by strikes were estimated at US$ 1.2 billion. Since the beginning of 1981, the economic situation has continued to deteriorate. During the first quarter of 1981, industrial production was down 10.2 percent from the level of the corresponding period of 1980; particularly noteworthy is a decrease of 20.8 percent in the output of crude coal which plays an important role in the development of Poland's economy. This failure to fulfill the repeatedly adjusted modest economic targets has adversely affected its export trade, and has had a direct impact on electric power supply, shipping service and energy supply for home use. The purchase of meat animals dropped 14.7 percent. On the other hand, cash income for residents increased by 18.1 percent. In the end, the shortages of goods on the market became more acute than ever. Since last March, the Polish government has announced a temporary measure to ration edible sugar, meat, butter, flour, rice, and oats and other food items.

II. The Nature and Cause of Crisis

Just as Kania said, the situation in Poland during the past year was characterized "by an economic crisis followed by a political crisis." He pointed out: The strike wave that began in July 1980 is not "a wave of protests against the socialist principle, our alliance with the Soviet Union, and/or the leading role assigned to our party by history. But it is a wave of opposition to the distortion of truth and our erroneous policy." He further pointed out: "The erroneous economic policy and unhealthy social life are basic factors that triggered the massive strike wave."

In December 1970, former Polish leader Gomulka was forced to step down under the impact of the strike waves triggered by the announcement of price increases by the government. The new leading organ headed by Gierek then proposed "a new economic strategy" calling for a speedy development of the economy through the use of foreign loans and the importation of new technology. Its aim was to "rebuild Poland," to realize "Poland's second industrialization," and to raise wage scale by big margins and improve the welfare program. This policy did reap some fruits during the first few years of its implementation. From 1971 to 1975, industrial production rose 73 percent, and agricultural production grew 22 percent. From 1970 to 1976, the national income increased by 100 percent. It grew at a rate of 9.5 percent a year. (From 1966 to 1970, the average growth rate was 6 percent)

However, the economic base has become shaky during the past few years. Former premier Babiuch said: "We depend on loans for a living and development." Practice proves that a grave consequence has resulted from the implementation of the "new economic strategy."

From 1970 to 1980, Poland's foreign debt grew from merely US$800 million to US$23 billion. Payments of foreign debt were due one after another. To pay back the principals plus interests carries an increasingly heavy burden on Poland. In 1980 alone, the payment of principals plus interests was estimated at US$7.6 billion accounting for 74 percent of the total foreign exchange income for that year. This was clearly far beyond its ability to pay.

The "new economic strategy" calls for investment in the construction of large-scale new projects and for importation of technology and equipment to build 450 major projects financed by foreign loans, projects most of which must take a long time to complete. Meanwhile, Poland's foreign trade deficit became greater than ever when the international market prices of fuels, raw materials and food grains which Poland must import from abroad went up and its export volume dropped. As a result, its original plan to pay off its debt through the expansion of export trade could not be materialized.

Polish agriculture is mainly based on individual economies (individual farmers work on nearly three-fourths of arable land throughout the country). There are shortages of investment capitals and manpower, which constitute a weak spot in the national economy. Because the crop growing business lags behind animal husbandry, Poland has adopted a policy "to import animal feed in order to export meat." In the late 1970's, crop failure in Poland continued for 5 years in a row, thus further widening the gap between the development of industry and that of agriculture and disrupting the development of the national economy as a whole. In the first half of the 1970's, Poland had to import an average of 4.1 million tons of food grains and animal feed each year, which accounted for nearly 20 percent of the annual domestic output. In the second half of the 1970's, it had to import an average of 8 million tons of food grains and animal feed each year, an equivalent to 40 percent of the domestic output. In that decade, such imports cost the country more than US$9 billion, an equivalent to 40 percent of its foreign debt.

The flow of laborers in large numbers from the countryside to cities, triggered by attractions of high wage paid by the builders of some large-scale capital construction projects, has caused acute manpower shortages in the countryside. The implementation of the high wage policy has resulted in a situation in which the growth of wage has surpassed the growth of production and placing a great pressure on the supply side of the market. Since the beginning of the 1970's, Poland has increased the purchase prices of agricultural products several times while keeping the basic food retail sale prices at the same levels for a long time under a state subsidy program which forced the state to earmark nearly US$16 billion or set aside approximately 40 percent of the state budget to subsidize such sales in 1980 alone. In order to relieve this heavy financial burden, it decided to adjust its meat retail sale prices, which consequently triggered a strike wave.

The people have become increasingly disenchanted with the political life in Poland where the democratic principle has long been trampled under foot, and some leading cadres cherishing bureaucracy and special privileges have been found guilty of abusing their power. This is another important factor that triggered this crisis. For this reason, Kania pointed out: "Our most important task is to restore the confidence of society in the people's government and to restore the confidence of the working class and workers in the party."

The Polish party is prepared to carry out some reforms with the aim of overcoming its already publicly known shortcomings. On 2 April 1981, Poland's PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE carried an editorial revealing that disputes over a series of important issues still exist within the party. On 9 April, Kania said at the "Lenin" Shipyard: "The leadership of the Central Committee is determined to crush any resistance to the process of socialist reform that exists in the party and social life. We need to build a social climate which will rule out the possibility of restoration to the old life." At the same time, he pointed out: "Wiping out deepening crisis is a process that will take years instead of just a few weeks."

III. Danger of Soviet Military Intervention in Poland

Soviet interference in many ways in the development of the situation in Poland has never stopped during the past year.

On 5 December 1980, the leader of the Warsaw Pact countries issued a communique on their Moscow meeting. Although they expressed confidence in Poland's "ability to overcome its own difficulties," they emphasized that Poland "can firmly count on fraternal assistance and support" from the Warsaw Pact nations. On 11 December, Soviet PRAVDA carried an article reminding Poland by insinuation of the "historical lesson" that Czechoslovakia drew from its 1968 incident, accusing anyone opposing the social "pattern" of the Soviet Union of being "a counterrevolutionary." The article alleges that "the internationalization of class interests of all socialist family members conforms to the objective laws of our time." Soviet newspapers and journals even went so far as to openly declare that if the Soviet Union fails to intervene in Poland, "the Soviet Union cannot be called the Soviet Union." (NEW TIME, issue No 11, 1981)

Although the Polish party and government have consistently tried to solve properly some major problems Poland now faces through cooperative negotiation with the already legalized "Solidarity" Union, the Soviet Union has repeatedly attacked "Solidarity" by name while demanding that the Polish party take "a clear-cut and uncompromise stand" against its activities. The Soviet leadership has also taken overt measures of interference in the affairs of the Polish party. On 23 April 1981, or the eve of its Tenth Plenum, Suslov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, made an unscheduled visit to Poland. After his return to Moscow, on 25 April, TASS carried an article accusing the Polish party leadership of accommodating "revisionists" within the party.

Political intervention is often paralleled by military pressures. It was reported that by the end of 1980, hundreds of thousands of Soviet troops were concentrated and deployed around Poland for conducting one military maneuver after another.

These troops in high gear of combat-readiness are prepared to fulfill any combat missions. On 17 March 1981, the Warsaw Pact nations began a joint military exercise in Poland originally scheduled to end on 23 March. This military exercise was extended due to the unexpected outbreak of the Bydgoszcz incident which built up the tensions to a new level in Poland. The war games came to an end on 7 April after the Bydgoszcz incident was settled. It was reported that the completion of this military maneuver marked a step forward in preparing Soviet military intervention in Poland.

At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Polish Party, its leaders said: "Our allies" have gone at great length to try to "understand" what has happened in Poland. "However, if we are bogged down in disorder, they will not forgive us." Once the situation worsens, the Soviet Union "will never look on with folded arms." It appears that the danger of Soviet military intervention in Poland still exists.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH PARTY PLENUM RESULTS REPORTED

OW060004 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1232 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (XINHUA)--The Third Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party was held in Warsaw on 2-3 September. The session adopted a resolution on carrying out economic reform in Poland, developing a system of self-management in state-owned enterprises and a self-rule system for workers and staff members, beginning from 1 January 1982.

The resolution holds that it is necessary for the Polish Government to put forward a plan in September this year on reforms to be carried out in various economic sectors. The resolution instructs party organizations at all levels to widely publicize the significance in the self-rule of workers, staff members and economic reform, and actively participate in making preparations for the reform.

The plenary session listened to and discussed a report by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, on "the party's task in determining the self-rule status of workers and staff members of socialist enterprises under the conditions of economic reform."

The resolution adopted by the session on this report points out: the economic reform will focus the attention of central planning on matters of economic strategy and development, strengthen society's role in drawing up plans and supervising their implementation and implement self-management of enterprises and self-rule of workers and staff members, relying mainly on economic means and the principle of insuring that the activities of enterprises are in keeping with the interests of the whole people to influence the development and function of the enterprises.

The resolution holds that the training and proper selection of enterprise cadres, particularly leading cadres, is a fundamental question of insuring the normal activities of enterprises. Managers of state-owned enterprises should be appointed by central or local state administrative organs after obtaining the agreement of the workers committee of the enterprises. Moreover, the power to confirm the managers also belongs to relevant state administrative organs.

Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, presided over the plenary session and spoke at the opening and closing sessions.

He said: "It is a matter of extremely great importance to make the self-rule of workers and staff members give expression to the will of the working class and serve the interests of the working class and the interests of the whole people. We must establish a pattern of self-rule which proceeds from the harsh realities of our life and is conducive to developing the economy and democracy to meeting wide-ranging social needs and overcoming the various kinds of difficulties in our life."

Kania pointed out that the self-management of enterprises in general and the broader scope of their self-management powers must be combined with attention to establishing a sound position for the managers. He said: "The party will not give up the cadre policy of our state organs. This conclusion is based on the historical responsibility of the Polish United Workers' Party for the country's development and its socialist form and on the party's leading role as clearly stipulated in the constitution of the Polish People's Republic."

Kania called on party organizations at all levels to shift their work to the economic field, bring into play the initiative of all trades and occupations, overcome all obstructions to development and stimulate the nation's hardworking spirit.

Kania said: We must create favorable conditions for carrying out economic reform. At the same time we must also exercise the necessary prudence and not make mistakes. He said that when necessary the government will defend socialism by all means. At the same time he also expressed his support for reaching an understanding with all forces on the side of socialism.

Kania reported on the results of the recently held Polish-Soviet summit meeting stressing that the Crimea communique is a document of friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union. He said that Soviet leaders believe that our party and our people are able to control the difficult situation by our own strength. We have an opportunity to show our gratitude to our Soviet friends for the help and attention they have given us.

The plenary session also adopted a resolution on the establishment of a mining industry commission under the party Central Committee and a resolution on the establishment of a special commission responsible for investigating the circumstances, facts and causes of all social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic.

CSO: 4005/880

DENG'S FOREIGN POLICY CRITICIZED

OW122244 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] To create and consolidate a peaceful environment for the motherland's socialist construction--this is the main task of our country's foreign policy line. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: We need a lasting peaceful environment and peaceful borders. Although the road is long and tortuous, we must develop friendly and harmonious relations with the people of neighboring countries. To achieve this goal, we must steadfastly follow a principled and flexible foreign policy line. In our relations with other countries, on issues where concessions can be made, mutual concessions should be made in a sensible way. On issues where there is no room for concessions, we must adhere to our own principled stand.

However, certain leaders of our country are making excessive, even unprincipled, concessions to some countries, while demonstrating unnecessary, even unwise, toughness toward other countries. For example, in accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opinion, we have made a major concession to Japan on the question of Tiaoyu Island. In fact, we have ceded China's territory to Japan. On the Taiwan question, we have made concessions to the United States which in fact amount to tolerating U.S. interference in China's internal affairs. Making endless concessions on vital issues concerning our sovereignty and national pride cannot be tolerated by the Chinese people.

In dealing with other countries, however, we have done exactly the opposite: adopted an absolutely tough stand and refused to yield an inch. Take our relations with Albania, for example. China supported Albania for many years and relations between the two countries were very friendly and close. Today, several years after relations ended, some central leaders have suggested holding talks with Albanian leaders to seek possible ways to improve relations between the two countries. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has rejected the suggestion arguing that it would be unprincipled and beneath our national dignity.

A certain central leader has taken an equally tough and unconciliatory stand toward Vietnam. The Sino-Vietnamese talks have been suspended for a long time and the border situation is extremely tense. The two countries' armed forces are facing each other with frequent armed conflicts. Officers and men are being wounded and killed. In view of this situation, a certain central leader has talked about teaching Vietnam another lesson. It is quite obvious that the Sino-Vietnamese border issue, like other countries' border issues, cannot be solved by resorting to force. Only by negotiating will it be possible to achieve peace and tranquillity on our southern border. Yet, a certain central leader has again shown an unnecessary toughness and refused to resume the Sino-Vietnamese talks. At the same time, he has put forward the stand that absolutely no concession will be made to Vietnam and that Vietnam must accept China's eight-point proposal. However, this stand can in no way be considered sensible. In negotiations between two sides, if one side insists on having its way, how can the two sides successfully negotiate a solution to the complicated problem? To smoothly negotiate, both sides must be sincere, understand each other, make mutual concessions, try to make the disputed issue clear and explore ways of solving the problem. Of course, concessions should be sensible, acceptable to both sides and based on the legitimate interests of both sides.

In the past Premier Zhou put forward the principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences. This principle has played an important role in pursuing our country's principled and flexible foreign policy, particularly in settling international disputes and issues. The principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences is still a good way to settle current international disputes and hold negotiations smoothly. Although the road is long and tortuous, peace and tranquillity can be achieved on our southern, northern, western and all other borders, if we engage in patient and sensible negotiations.

CSO: 4005/880

EGYPT, ISRAEL AGREE ON FINAL SINAI WITHDRAWAL

OW281549 Beijing XINHUA in English 1527 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Cairo, August 28 (XINHUA)--Egypt and Israel reached an agreement yesterday on Israel's final withdrawal from Sinai, according to local newspapers today. The agreement was reached at a meeting between Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali and Israeli Defence Minister Ari'el Sharon in Alexandria. Under the agreement, Egypt will take over the rest of her territory in Sinai next April free of all traces of Israeli occupation so that the establishments may be peacefully used.

Declaring its commitment to the Camp David accord, the Israeli defence minister promised to evacuate the settlements and withdraw military equipment together with transportation and communications installations. Sharon told reporters after the meeting that besides the implementation of the second stage of the peace treaty, the pending issues concerned and the normalization of bilateral relations were also discussed. Asked whether Israel will remove all the settlements from Sinai, Sharon replied that the agreement will be carried out to the letter and this is actually done by the two sides.

Egyptian sources said that Sinai should be handed over without the settlements. Israel can take what they want, but Egypt is also ready to purchase any equipment it leaves behind.

Meanwhile, the Israeli radio claimed that Egypt has turned down an Israeli proposal to turn Yamit and Sharm al-Shaykh settlements into bases for a multinational force.

CSO: 4020/243

'XINHUA' CITES REPORTS ON AFGHAN RESISTANCE

OW271842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Beijing, August 27 (XINHUA)--The people of northeast Afghanistan have regained control over the Nouristan region and vast rural areas in some other provinces in their stiff resistance to the Soviet aggressors. Highway traffic that links the Soviet Union and Kabul and the interior parts of Afghanistan has been attacked and sometimes cut off by freedom fighters. The Soviet troops had to depend on air transport for their needed supplies.

This military situation in Afghanistan was described in a dispatch cabled by correspondents of the PEOPLE'S DAILY and XINHUA from Chitral, West Pakistan. The dispatch was carried in the PEOPLE'S DAILY yesterday.

Nouristan--"the land of light"--is a mountainous region with an area of 5,000 square miles and a population of 100,000. Since the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan, the people of Nouristan have been subjected to barbarous bombing and attacks by the Soviet invaders and the Kabul government troops. But they have fought the invaders incessantly. They disrupted highway traffic, sealed up the access to valleys and succeeded in blocking the passage of Soviet armoured vehicles. They took advantage of the difficult terrain to take cover from Soviet air raids. As a result, the Soviet troops have failed in their attempts to occupy the region.

The Soviets and Kabul troops are forced to take a defensive position in the Nouristan region. Their main job there is to prevent the freedom fighters from making thrusts southward. Thousands of Kabul troops have been deployed along the line stretching from the border village of Birkot in Kunar Province to places west of the Nari Village. They laid mines and erected barbed wire entanglements around their outposts for fear of being attacked by the freedom fighters. Nevertheless, they cannot prevent attacks by the freedom fighters.

In June this year, 500 freedom fighters from different resistance groups launched a joint attack and succeeded in capturing the Nari Village, a heavily guarded "fort" of the Karmal troops.

The Soviets have amassed troops in northern border provinces of Afghanistan. But there they are active only during daytime. When night falls, they used to confine themselves in army barracks for fear of being attacked by the "omnipresent" freedom fighters.

The Soviets have stationed heavy troops to guard the key highway that runs from Kunduz to Kabul via Baghlan, the very road over which the main Soviet aggressor forces marched southward at the end of 1979. Even so, the road traffic was recently cut off for several days by the freedom fighters.

The Soviet Union has long coveted Afghanistan's Wahan area which borders on the Soviet Union, China and Pakistan. There the Soviet forces have imposed direct military control. A representative of an Afghan resistance organization told the correspondents that the Afghan people are determined to drive the Soviet troops out of all Afghan territory including Wahan.

CSO: 4020/243

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DELEGATION--A European parliament delegation led by (Ye-er-ma-er-di-nei), head of the delegation for relations with China, arrived in Beijing this afternoon for a visit to China at the invitation of the NPC Standing Committee. The delegation, whose members were elected by a general election held by the member nations of the European Community to include all major European nations, is the first official delegation ever sent to China by the European parliament. Members of the delegation include vice president of the European parliament. When the guests arrived at the airport, they were warmly received by Zeng Tao, secretary general of the NPC Standing Committee. It is reported that during its visit to China, the delegation will meet China's leaders and exchange views with the NPC Standing Committee on the international situation, China's economic policy and relations between the European Community and China. [Text] [OW011319 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 31 Aug 81]

U.S. DEFENSE CUT--White House Chief of Staff James Baker told reporters on 31 August that President Reagan is preparing to cut defense spending by $20 to $30 billion in the fiscal years 1983 and 1984 in order to make good his promise to balance the budget in 1984. Baker stressed, the United States has never been very willing to cut its $222 billion defense budget for fiscal year 1982. Even if there are big spending cuts in fiscal years 1983 and 1984, it is still hoped to increase defense spending by 7 percent. According to an AP dispatch of 1 September, the United States still needs to cut spending by $75 billion in 1983 and 1984 in order to balance the budget in 1984. If defense spending can be cut by $30 billion, a further cut of $45 billion will be needed in social planning. The social planning budget for fiscal 1982, which begins next month, has already been cut by $35 billion. [Text] [HK060326 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 81 p 6]

JILIN FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION--The Jilin provincial friendship delegation headed by Liu Cikai, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, returned to Changchun on 2 September after completing its visit in Changgang Province, the DPRK. Receiving the delegation at the station were Chen Zhong and Wu Duo, vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, (Yan Jieshan), deputy secretary general, and (Bi Kebin), vice chairman of the provincial foreign affairs office, as well as responsible persons of departments concerned. [SK050654 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 81 SK]

HEILONGJIANG DELEGATION TO CANADA--Invited by Alberta Province, Canada, the Heilongjiang provincial government 8-person delegation headed by Governor Chen Lei left Harbin for Beijing by plane this morning. The delegation will stay in Beijing for a few days and leave for Canada 25 August. Since 1980, Alberta Province and our province have held discussions on the establishment of friendly ties and have continuously developed friendly relations. The Heilongjiang provincial delegation will sign a draft agreement on establishing friendly ties between the two provinces and discuss economic, cultural, educational, sports and technical cooperation with Alberta. [SK211250 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Aug 81 SK]

SOVIET MANEUVERS IN HUNGARY--Moscow, September 3 (XINHUA)--Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty States Anatoliy Ivanovich Gribkov, and Hungarian Defence Minister Czinege Lajos have reviewed the recent tactical manoeuvres by Soviet motorized infantry units in Hungary, according to a report of army newspaper, RED STAR, here today. The manoeuvres were said to have been patterned on actual combat. Since August 25, the RED STAR has reported military exercises and training conducted by the tank units of the Soviet Central Army group in Czechoslovakia, Soviet motorized infantry and tank units in the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet pilots of the Soviet northern army group stationed in northern Poland. [Text] [OW031736 Beijing XINHUA in English 1656 GMT 3 Sep 81]

SFRY OPPOSES INTERFERENCE--Belgrade, September 12 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia resolutely opposes any outside interference in its internal affairs, and attack on its territorial integrity and security, said Stane Dolanc, member of the presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at a mass rally in Kobarid today to mark the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist uprising. Expressing concern over the international situation, Dolanc pointed out that the present world situation was deteriorating rapidly. He reinterated that Yugoslavia would make every effort, together with other non-aligned countries, to arrest this unhealthy development of the situation. [Text] [OW130308 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 13 Sep 81]

ATHLETES LEAVE FOR DPRK--Beijing, August 28 (XINHUA)--Nine Chinese table tennis players left here today for the international table tennis championships in Pyongyang, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The players include Qi Baoxiang, a pen-hold grip paddler from Hebei Province. She won the singles crown at the 1980 national competition and the third Asian championships in 1980. Taking part in the world championships for the first time is Novi Sad, Yugoslavia. She helped the Chinese team defend the crown. Men's players include Wang Huiyuan, a member of the Chinese team which won the Swaythling Cup at the 36th world championships and singles winner of the 27th Swiss international championships last May, and Yang Yuhua, China's national runner-up. Players from China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Japan, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and hosts DPR Korea will compete in the championships. [Text] [OW281604 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 28 Aug 81]

SOVIETS IN THAILAND--Bangkok, August 20 (XINHUA)--Fifteen Soviet spies have infiltrated into Thailand to collect information, Thai paper MATICHON disclosed today quoting the police authorities of Bangkok. The paper said that the spies were all Soviets, but they did not carry Soviet passports. These KGB agents had tried to get in touch with secretaries of senior military officers and government ministers. They also planned to worm their way into the prime minister's office to gather information, the report added. The report was confirmed by Surapol Chullaprarm, director-general of police yesterday at a press conference. He said: "We have adopted a series of measures to maintain state secrecy and preserve national security." Thai policemen are now busy tracing and nailing the Soviet spies. Initial information obtained by Thai police revealed that KGB had ordered its members to carry out spying activities in Asia, particularly in ASEAN nations. [Text] [OW201510 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 20 Aug 81]

AUSTRALIAN REVIEW OF KAMPUCHEA--Canberra, September 4 (XINHUA)--Thailand has urged the Australian Government to review its position on Kampuchea, Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila told the press in Melbourne yesterday. The foreign minister was accompanying Thai Prime Minister Prem on a visit to Australia this week. He said, "We have told your officials we strongly wish that you should reconsider your position on Kampuchea." Australia's decision to withdraw recognition of Democratic Kampuchea had set a dangerous precedent which could erode the ASEAN stand aimed at containing Soviet influence in Southeast Asia, he added. "We do not want other nations to follow the example of Australia." He stressed that Kampuchea was the only major point at issue between Australia and Thailand, which were good friends and had close links as trading partners. Replying a question raised by THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, the Thai foreign minister said that "China does not practice hegemony. There are no Chinese troops in Kampuchea or Laos." [Text] [OW040802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 4 Sep 81]

SOLUTION TO ISLAND ISSUE--Dacca, 6 Sep (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and India have agreed to materially defuse the tension over the dispute of South Talpatty Island, or New Moore as India names it, according to an Indo-Bangladesh joint announcement published tonight. The joint announcement said, following discussions through diplomatic channels, the governments of India and Bangladesh had "agreed to undertake all further necessary steps to remove the remaining causes of tension and resolve the issue." The announcement said that as agreed upon by the foreign ministers of the two countries in August 1980, "both governments stand for a peaceful settlement of this problem. With a view to continuing our joint efforts for a peaceful resolution of this and all other outstanding problems between Bangladesh and India, and also with a desire to reinforce mutual trust, understanding and friendship between the two neighbouring countries, the external affairs minister of India has invited the Bangladesh foreign minister to visit New Delhi. The Bangladesh foreign minister has accepted the invitation and will be visiting Delhi later next week." [Text] [OW070242 Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 7 Sep 81]

AFGHAN BORDER VIOLATIONS--Islamabad, 8 Sep (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq today lodged a strong protest against the recent border violations by the Kabul regime. Pakistan was fully alive to the situation and would take appropriate steps to meet it, he declared. President Zia, fresh from inaugurating an international seminar on environment here this morning, was asked by newsmen to comment on reports of border violations by Afghanistan. The president answered that Pakistan does not recognize the present Afghan Government and that the border violations might be an attempt to create a situation at this particular time. [Text] [OW081542 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 8 Sep 81]

CSO: 4020/243

PARTY AND STATE

MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT, PARTY'S CURRENT POLICIES PRAISED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jun [1728 0193]: "Persist in Developing the Great Practice of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Excerpts] The "Resolution on Certain Qeustions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party and state have made new progress in all fields of work as a result of the revival and development of the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the party's correct policies under the new conditions." This judgment is entirely correct.

True, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, held in December 1978, marked "a great turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC." Since that plenary session, our party has really begun an overall and thoughtful program to rely on the masses to resolutely bring order out of chaos. Through the holding of the fourth, fifth, and sixth plenums and other meetings, our party has realistically corrected the leftist mistakes it committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," has resolutely criticized the erroneous policies associated with the "two whatevers," and has fully reaffirmed the need for a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. Our party has also made public its guiding ideology of "emancipating the mind, starting up the machinery, seeking truth from facts, uniting and looking forward"; it has adopted a resolution to terminate the use of the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link," which is no longer useful to the socialist society, along with a strategic policy decision to shift the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization; it has stressed the need to improve socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system; and it has investigated and settled cases involving people who had been falsely, unjustly, and wrongly charged and sentenced and has laid to rest some issues of right and wrong and merits and demerits affecting a number of key leaders.

What prompts us to call the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenum a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought?

First, the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum conform to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as well as the objective reality of social development in our country.

One of the important aspects of the line of the Third Plenum was the decision to shift the emphasis of our party's work to socialist modernization. This strategic policy decision was in complete agreement with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. After the proletariat captured political power, and especially after the socialist transformation of the means of production had been mainly completed, what should command the party's first attention? In their "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels explicitly explained: "The proletariat will by degrees wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, and will proceed to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engles," Vol 1, p 272) In his famous article "The Current Tasks of Soviet Power," Lenin emphasized: "After fulfilling its basic mission to eliminate the exploiters and plunderers, the proletariat must list the effort to raise labor productivity as a priority item on its agenda and must regard it as a primary task to create a socio-economic system unmatched in capitalist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 509) After the socialist transormation had been mainly completed in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong in his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" said: "Our basic task has changed from liberating the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production. A battle against nature must be fought in order to develop our economy and culture." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, pp 375,377) Our party's decision to shift the emphasis of its work to the socialist modernization program actually resulted from its correct application of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

The line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum have proven correct because they meet the actual requirements for social development in our country and because they correctly reflect our national aspirations. An example is the party's strategic policy decision to shift the emphasis of its work. As everyone knows, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production in our country, the landlord, rich peasant, and capitalist classes have been eliminated. Although the class struggle will exist in some specific localities for a long time to come, and may grow intense under certain conditions, it has ceased to exist as the principal contradiction. "The principal contradiction that needs to be resolved in our country is the contradiction between the people's growing demand for a better material and cultural life and backward social production." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC") This is why our party and country must shift the emphasis of their work to the socialist modernization program aimed at developing the economy, and vigorously develop productive forces as the basis for gradually improving the people's material and cultural life. This objective fact that the principal contradiction has undergone changes in our society came to the attention of our party when its "Eighth Congress" was in session in 1956. To meet such changes, our party drew up the correct line, principles, and policies for various aspects of its work. Unfortunately, for certain reasons, our party failed to fulfill this strategic shift in accordance with the guidelines of the resolution of the "Eighth Party Congress." Nor did it value the economic construction program as a matter of prime importance to be grasped. As a result, this failure had a serious adverse effect on the development of the national economy and the program to improve the people's material and cultural life. Keenly aware that the escalation of class struggle has wreaked havoc within our society, the broad masses of people have earnestly hoped to achieve stability and unity so that resources can be concentrated on realizing socialist modernization and so that the people's material and cultural life can be gradually improved as production develops. Therefore, the strategic policy decision adopted by the Third Plenum to shift the emphasis of the party's work to socialist modernization is one that takes into account the objective reality that the principal contradiction has undergone changes in our country. This decision also reflects a desire on the part of our society for development, [and reflects] the basic interests and aspirations of the broad masses of people, indicating the revival and development of the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the party's correct policies.

Second, the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum correctly reflect the objectives laws governing the development of socialist construction.

Since the Third Plenum, in the course of conscientiously summing up both the positive and the negative experiences it has accumulated in socialist revolution and construction, our party has gradually devised a way to build socialism in this new historical period. Its aim is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country and to mobilize all positive factors to work with one mind and one heart and to seek truth from facts; to work out plans for a proportionate development of the economy, politics, and culture with greater, faster, better, and more economical results; to build a modern socialist power with a high level of democracy and a high elvel of civilization. This program has been formulated on the basis of our past experiences and lessons and on socialist economic laws, and therefore it meets the objective requirements of these laws. The development of socialist undertakings must take into account our nation's actual conditions and its available resources, and it must emphasize efficiency and results. It must be realized according to plans and be in proportion to other aspects of the economy. Only thus can we develop socialist undertakings with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. Otherwise, our efforts in this field will suffer losses, make little headway, and become ineffective and wasteful. In this way, the past shortcomings resulting from our overlooking objective economic laws and the exaggeration of the role of subjective will and effort can be overcome. This indicates that this socialist construction program, formulated by the party for this new period, represents a shining example of how the Party Central Committee has applied the universal truth of Marxism to develop the correct line on the basis of the objective laws governing the development of the socialist economy and in a way that takes into account the current realities of our country. This also reflects the development of Mao Zedong Thought.

In order to ensure the thorough implementation of the socialist construction program formulated by the party for this new period since the Third Plenum, our party has adopted a series of specific principles, policies, and measures. These policies embody details of the program to build socialism for this new period. This program has nothing in common with its counterpart during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Nor does it appear exactly the same as the program that was in effect prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some aspects of this program are a revival of the correct approaches that existed before that revolution. Some are not only the revival but an expansion of such approaches. Some are entirely new policies. Whatever forms these principles and policies take, they are all based on the objective laws governing the development of things, are consistent with the demand for the development of history, and are compatible with the basic interests of the broad masses of people.

Third, the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum have been instrumental in accelerating the vigorous development of the socialist modernization program and in helping all fronts score remarkable successes.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Practice has given and will continue to give the most valid answer to the question of whether the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenum are correct. During the past 2 years, under the guidance of the line, principles, and policies formulated by the party, in the course of socialist construction we have scored tremendous successes on the political, economic, cultural, military, and diplomatic fronts. Politically, as a result of our efforts to implement the series of the party's principles and policies, to correctly handle contradictions among the people and to perfect and develop the socialist superstructure, a lively political situation of stability and unity has gradually taken shape throughout the country. Economically, as our party's policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" the national economy is taking deep root in the hearts of the people, our economic construction program has been "shifted to a course of development that takes into account the basic conditions of the country and the limits of our ability--a course of a step-by-step movement aimed at seeking practical results and steady advance." (Hu Yaobang's "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the CCP) As a result, an excellent situation seldom seen since the founding of the PRC has developed. In short, our country is moving full steam ahead toward prosperity.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In the final analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1079) The line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum have proved instrumental in developing the productive forces and in ensuring the smooth development of the four modernizations program. This proves that the party's current line, principles, and policies are correct.

This analysis of the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum clearly reveals that since the Third Plenum our party has spared no effort to bring order our of chaos; in doing so, it has not only strived to uphold Mao Zedong Thought and return to its scientific track, but it has also revitalized Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions. For this reason, we must unswervingly and continuously implement the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenum and, in the course of their implementation, continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought. On no account should we exhibit any misgivings or doubt about this point.

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CSO: 4005/893

PARTY AND STATE

LIFE OF QING DYNASTY THINKER INTERESTED IN WESTERN TECHNOLOGY RECOUNTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Chen Zheng [7115 6927]: "Wei Yuan [7614 3293], a Patriotic Thinker in China's Recent History"]

[Text] Wei Yuan [1794-1857] was a native of Shaoyang, Hunan, and a prefectural magistrate who passed the national civil service examination held at the nation's capital. Among his principal literary works were "Collection of Guweitang Articles," "Guweitang Poems," "Guwei Book," "Guwei Poems," "A New Compilation of the History of the Yuan Dynasty," "History of the Shengwu Reign," and "Geography of Sea Faring Nations." He was a well-known patriot and an advanced thinker in the recent history of China.

When the British aggressors launched the Opium War against China in June 1840, the capitulationists vigorously distorted the true nature of this war, blaming its outbreak on the decision to ban opium. They vilified Lin Zexu [2651 0463 1776] and his followers as "inept and bungling officials who acted too impetuously" in their efforts to ban opium. They alleged that the "burning of opium" was a factor that "made the British angry" and drove them to launch the war of agred aggression against China. Their attempt was to absolve the aggressors from the responsibility for aggression and denounce the Chinese people's just struggle against external aggression. As a good friend of Lin Zexu and a supporter of his persistent struggle to ban opium, Wei Yuan repudiated the capitulationists for drawing a conclusion that turned the relationship between right and wrong upside down. He concluded through an analysis that the "desire to seek profits alone" rather than the "decision to confiscate opium" was a basic factor that led the British to launch the opium war. ("Chapter: Proposed Buildup of a Navy")

In May 1841, the struggle waged by the people in Sanyuanli Guangzhou against atrocities committed by the British army reflected the Chinese people's patriotic and heroic spirit unwilling to submit to the aggressors. In the "Chapter: Proposed Buildup of a Navy," he wrote: "During the battle of Sanyuanli, our poorly armed and poorly trained militia units encircled the barbarian commanders and killed their soldiers before they were persuaded by our own officials to allow the enemy troops to flee. How could anyone say that our ground forces are inferior in combat to barbarians?"

He warmly extolled the Sanyuanli people's struggle against the British and angrily condemned the capitulationists for shamelessly allowing the aggressors to break out of the encirclement. In the following poem he wrote: "So high is our morale in the face of our common enemy, soon an army of 100,000 responded to an appeal for mobilization.

In old days, we heard only civilians desert to the enemy side. Today, it was out officials who deliberately let barbarians flee." (See "Sheyinglou Poems") This poem contrasted starkly to the description by the capitulationists of "the Guangdong people as suspected traitors none of whom can be trusted and of the militia cherishing justice as stubborn hooligans." In Wei Yuan's view, dampening the people's enthusiasm in their just struggle against the aggressors was a factor that put China in an unfavorable position during the Opium War.

In August 1842, the signing of the "Nanking Treaty" marked the end of the Opium War. China's defeat in this war was a great shock to Wei Yuan. After the war, he wrote many poems expressing his love and affection for his motherland. "The flame of fire north of the Yangtze River is as red as blood, the waves south of it is as gloomy as ink. The sound of the gunshot comes amid the chilling waves, tens of thousands of families wail in its wake" was a poem depicting his gloomy view of the tragic situation at that time.

Indignation drove him to write books. In the second half of 1842, he completed the writing and compilation of "History of the Shengwu Reign" and "Geography of Sea Faring Nations." The book "Geography of Sea Faring Nations" was compiled and published in accordance with Lin Zexu's instruction and on the basis of his Chinese edition of "Geography of the Four Continents." The first edition consisted of 50 volumes. Later, it was increased to 60 and 100 volumes. Wei Yuan explicitly explained that the purpose of its publication was to "cope with barbarians with their techniques and to triumph over barbarians through the study of their advanced technology." "Geography of Sea Faring Nations" was a popular book with a systematic introduction to the history and geography of various countries throughout the world. In this book, there was a "Chapter: Proposed Buildup of A Navy" elaborately spelling out the concept of "triumph over barbarians through the study of their advanced technology." Its essence was a call for studying the advanced technology of the capitalist countries in the West, developing new industry and strengthening national defense in order to protect our country from foreign armed aggression. This concept of self-containment and self-aggrandizement, a fresh idea which has had a significant effect on the recent history of China. However, the group of conservative elements of the Qing Dynasty viewed the new-type production technology as "exotic techniques and juggling skills" which, they feared, might have "an adverse impact on the minds of our people." They regarded the efforts to understand the situation in foreign countries as "something necessary" and viewed "the study of advanced foreign technology" as "wasteful practices." The consequence of keeping their eyes shut and turning a deaf ear to whatever was taking place elsewhere was that they became panicy when confronted with the aggressors and were forced to capitulate and make concessions to them. Wei Yuan declared that "everything useful to China including exotic techniques but not juggling skills" was worthy of emulation by China which should send students abroad to study them. Meanwhile, he emphasized that the purpose of study was to "convert the advanced Western technology into advanced Chinese technology."

Wei Yuan also realized that the realization of his proposed concept of "triumph over barbarians through the study of their advanced technology" could not depart from the domestic programs to reform the political system and to change the unhealthy lifestyle. After exposing many social ills during the Qing Dynasty, he proposed some formulas for reforming the administration of water conservation, salt and river shipping industries, and sharply criticized the officials for sticking to the old tradition and unhealthy trends calling on people to show interest in profitable high positions alone. He charged that "except for riches and honors, they do not know what the development of the national economy means to the people; except for their private cliques, they do not know how vital are the talented people to the nation. They know only how to follow the old regulations, which spell trouble for our future if not corrected in time. They know how to protect themselves by playing safe and by keeping reticent at all times." He was deeply grieved to see the inept and incompetent performances by many officials who acted like cowards during the Opium War. Believing that "a nation depends on its citizens for survival, and there is no easy success through good luck," he suggested that everyone play an important role in "eliminating hypocrisy and masks, in overcoming the fear of difficulties, in reforming cumbersome regulations, and in stamping out the idea of building a cozy home for onesself and many other things troubling the people."

9574
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PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON 'GANG OF FOUR' MURDERING LIN BIAO

OW140209 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] It is 10 solid years to the day since the 13 September incident occurred. Ten years ago, or on the night of 13 September 1971, lackeys of the "gang of four" sneaked into Lin Biao's villa at No 96 Lianhuachi in Beidaihe and brutally murdered Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo and others at the scene. Later, they used treacherous means to fabricate and stage the so-called farce that Lin Biao attempted to flee the country and go over to the enemy. Subsequently, the "gang of four" concocted the so-called myth that Lin Biao plotted a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat to murder Chairman Mao. The notorious "Lin Biao incident" came out precisely in this manner. This sham case has caused the army great damage both in the past and at present. A large number of innocent cadres of the 15th Army were persecuted.

Historical facts prove that the so-called Lin Biao counterrevolutionary conspiracy did not and could not possibly exist, let alone the so-called Lin Biao plot to murder Chairman Mao. In fact, Lin Biao was always a close comrade-in-arms, loyal to Chairman Mao. He always followed Chairman Mao's teachings, acted according to his instructions and honestly carried out Mao Zedong Thought.

We now play the recording of Lin Biao's speech for you all so you can hear how Lin Biao eulogized Mao Zedong Thought and how he called on the people to closely follow Chairman Mao:

[Begin recording] Only when we have Chairman Mao's wise leadership and firmly grasp Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon of victory can we sweep away all obstacles and be ever-victorious and win a complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The supreme commander of the great proletarian cultural revolution is our Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is our commander. Under the command of our great commander, we follow our commander Chairman Mao's teachings, and the cultural revolution will certainly develop smoothly. We will certainly win the great victory! [applause. Shouts of "long live Chairman Mao! Long long live Chairman Mao!"] [end recording]

If you recall, you will still remember that at that time the party, government and military leaders admitted that deputy commander in chief Lin was Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and successor. Chairman Mao himself also deeply trusted

Lin Biao and regarded him as his close comrade-in-arms and successor to his life-time cause. We all know that Chairman Mao personally designated Lin Biao to make the political report to the Ninth National Party Congress.

The following are the recordings of speeches by Chairman Mao and Lin Biao:

[Begin Mao recording] We hope that this Ninth Party Congress can be held well. We hope that the congress will be a congress of unity and of victory and that, after its conclusion, still greater victories will be won throughout the country. We invite Comrade Lin Biao to make the political report on behalf of the party Central Committee. [applause] [end recording]

[Begin Lin Biao recording] This congress of ours will be a congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our party. Our present congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. [end recording]

Historical facts have shown that it was precisely following Chairman Mao's instruction that the party constitution adopted by the Ninth National Party Congress specifically stated: Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor.

Facing these hard facts, how can one believe that Lin Biao should suddenly become Chairman Mao's mortal enemy, plot a conspiracy and attempt to kill Chairman Mao? All this was unfounded. It was a malicious slander spread by the "gang of four" with ulterior motives.

The crux of the matter is that the "gang of four" had bitter hatred for the army and its leaders and cadres. This is why the "gang of four" tried by hook or by crook to deal them blows and persecute them. It is precisely for this reason that the "gang of four" engineered the 13 September incident to get rid of Lin Biao and other principal leaders of our army. The "gang of four" framed up the so-called Lin Biao case in an attempt to willfully deal blows to the army and its cadres.

Ten years have elapsed since Lin Biao was murdered, but this question left over from history has yet to be solved impartially Out of their ulterior motives, some persons of the party Central Committee are trying by every means to hinder the settling of the framed-up case of Lin Biao. Furthermore, they are using this case to persecute and suppress army cadres.

As far as our army is concerned, the Lin Biao case framed up by the "gang of four" is a major question left over from history that urgently calls for solution. It is necessary to thoroughly redress the framed-up case of Lin Biao and to make public as soon as possible the truth of the 13 September incident before the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country.

CSO: 4005/881

FORMER RED GUARDS RECALL THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 3, 20 Jun 81 pp 28-29

[Article by Xu Xinhua [1776 1800 5478] and Xu Mou [1776 6180]: "People Trained at Special Cost--Interviews With Several Former Red Guards in the Capital"]

[Text] Today few people speak of the "red guard movement" which startled the world at the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In the view of some adults who felt the impact of the red guards, it is an absurd segment of history which requires no mention; some former red guard youths feel that it was an inglorious segment of history and they are unwilling to speak of it.

But, after all, it is an actual page in the history of China's youth movements. History is not a document which can be revised. A Marxist should be good at learning from history. Regardless of whether this bit of history was a fantasy come true for you or was all but intolerable; was correct or incorrect, we both can and should draw meaningful instruction from it. This is because "history is all things to us, and we more than any other philosophical school...place great importance on history." (Engels)

It was with this understanding that we wanted to visit some of those who were red guards during the early years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" to see how they recalled this bit of history and what they are thinking and doing today. We do this to inform society. But things are always easier said than done. The factions and organizations to which the red guards belonged in those years were so complex, and there later transformations so large, that regardless of how deeply you go into it some things tend to be overlooked. And it is all too easy to get into areas of dispute. But if we stop to think about it, no matter how complex matters were, the vast majority of the red guards were basically good. Listening to their own understanding of the path they followed can be good for our society and for the youths of that era.

And so in accordance with set plans we interviewed the following red guards:

Peng Xiaomeng, originally the "head of the propaganda department" of the "Red Flag Struggle Group" at a middle school affiliated with Beijing University, On 25 July 1966 she gave a speech on rebellion which caused quite a stir. Later she was persecuted by Jiang Qing and others because of her opposition to the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group. Presently she is working in the Ministry of Communications. She is 33 years old.

Li Dongmin, originally a red guard in Beijing's No 25 Middle School. At one time he was the leader of the core group of the Red Guard Congress of Beijing Middle Schools and was on the standing committee of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Presently he is a researcher at the Beijing Social Science Rsearch Institute. He is 34.

Liu Longjiang, originally the person in charge of the red guards of the No 2 Boys Middle School in Beijing. He was at one time a member of the core group of the Red Guard Congress of Middle Schools in the capital and was a member of the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee. At present, he works at the Beijing Municipal Farm Management Bureau. He is 34.

Zhang Licai, originally a sponsor of the red guards at the middle school affiliated with the Beijing Agricultural University. On 15 November 1966 he and his classmate, another red guard named Liu Wozhong, using the names Di Xi and Yi Lin, put up at Qing Hua University the first big character poster in the nation to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. Afterwards, they were labeled active counterrevolutionaries and were jailed. Now he is a worker at No 12 Beijing Wireless Parts Plant No 12 in Beijing. He is 33.

Li Lindong, originally a red guard at No 25 Middle School in Beijing and an editorial writer for the newspaper of the Red Guard Congress of Middle Schools in the capital, the "East Wind." Now he is a language instructor at No 209 Middle School in Beijing. He is 34.

They enthusiastically granted our interviews. Li Lindong said, "I greatly respect your coming here to interview us. Your sincere discussion of our feelings with us as we recall this historical lesson together gives us a feeling of great warmth."

When the "Great Cultural Revolution" began these red guards were all 17 or 18 years old. They were high spirited and naive. They responded to the call for "caring about matters of importance to the nation," and truly viewed the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a great revolution that touched people's souls and as a life and death class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But, because of the sabotage by the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and the mistaken line of the party, from the beginning the red guards were led down the wrong path.

Peng Xiaomeng explained in detail the circumstances surrounding her entry into the movement: Before the "Great Cultural Revolution" began, the leftist errors in the guiding ideology of the party had already had an effect of young students. After it began, we felt very pious about the revolution and arose to rebel against school and party committees, to wander about struggling against teachers, to boycott classes, to boycott examinations, to write big character posters, to string together [travel about the country making contact and discussing issues with others], and to struggle against the "black gangs" [anti-party, anti-Mao]. In our enthusiasm we slept little and forgot about eating. Once we discovered the quotation, "rebellion is reasonable," in a newspaper put out before liberation, the vigor of our rebellion was increased. All of this was welcomed by Jiang Qing and her gang. Jiang Qing praised us for her own purposes as being "young tigers of great families," and Chen Boda called us the youth with "undaunted spirits a thousand feet high." Kang Sheng then said, "Not a thousand feet high, but ten thousand feet high." This sort of shameless flattery made us even more dizzy. Under the derangement imparted by the slogan of the Lin Biao gang, "sweep away all demons," we "charged" from the schools into society to confiscate property, to sweep away the "four olds" and to spread the so-called red terror.

Remembering the past, Peng Xiaomeng very sadly said: We departed from reality. We merely bandied about Marxist rhetoric and believed that personally carrying out startling and monumental undertakings was revolution. We considered ourselves "saviors of the world," the only true revolutionaries. We loved to take things to extremes. We had an obviously petty bourgeois fanaticism. These weaknesses and shortcomings were the intrinsic reasons that we were so easily used by the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing gang.

Social practice is the teacher of the young. Many red guards in the course of their own individual and very different personal experiences came, sooner or later, to gradually recognize the true faces of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing gang. Li Dongmin said: In the beginning I looked on Jiang Qing and the others as the proper leftist faction. In 1967 Jiang Qing fired us up to "knock down the militarist line of Liu and Deng," to oppose and disrupt the military. Less than 2 months later, when the scheme of the Jiang Qing gang ran into Chairman Mao's censure and the stiff resistance of the broad soldiers and people, she did an immediate turn about and laid complete responsibility on the red guards, saying: "This is destroying our nation. If I were the People's Liberation Army, I would open fire." Who was the chief destroyer of our nation? It was Jiang Qing! Later, because I was unhappy with Jiang Qing, I was labeled a "May 16" element [those claiming to base themselves on Mao's directive of 16 May 1966--later attacked as anarchists] and was investigated for half a year.

Sooner or later the counterrevolutionary stamps on the backs of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," those sham revolutionary rascals, were bound to be exposed. As time went on the red guards gradually discovered that the true aim of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing gang was to overthrow the leading cadres of the CCP at every level, but especially those at the highest levels. These young people who grew up receiving the traditional education of the party began to be confused. They began to doubt the line promoted by the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group.

In September of 1966 Peng Xiaomeng traveled to Beijing. She repeatedly discussed things with other red guards and they drafted and circulated "An Open Letter to the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group--Five Questions for the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group." It publicly demanded explanation of Jiang Qing and the others asking: why do you want to overthrow all the old cadres? Later they further called for resolutely criticizing the capitalist reactionary line of some of the leaders of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group. Furthermore, in their meetings they loudly proclaimed: Some people in the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group should be less crazy! This infuriated Jiang

Qing and the others. Jiang Qing labeled these youths the "Parental Protection Faction" and the "Military Police Group," and issued orders to have them suppressed. As a result, Peng Xiaomeng and the other red guards were imprisoned and cruelly persecuted.

Young people are courageous in their practice of independent thinking. On 15 November 1966 Liu Wozhong and Zhang Licai, red guards of the middle school affiliated with the Beijing Agricultural University, assumed the names Yi Lin and Di Xi, and posted a 6,000 character big character poster at Qing Hua University. It criticized the "18 September" speech by Lin Biao, objected to his splitting of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and objected to his encouragement of the cult of personality. The big character poster forecast the fall of Lin Biao: "Merciless dialectic will force you to stand as die!" This big character poster sent tremors through Beijing.

When we interviewed Zhang Licai, he said: Recalling this bit of history I can see one thing and that is that we red guards stood in the same battle trenches as the older generation of revolutionaries. Within one short month of the time we posted our big character poster several thousand people expressed support. Li Hongshan of the Beijing Forestry College and other red guards of the capital rushed to post big character posters objecting to the extreme leftist line of the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group. This series of activities on our part was labeled the "Black Wind of December." In reality, this so called "Black Wind of December" was on the same wavelength as the so-called "February Countercurrent" [a phrase used by those who met reverses in February 1967]. Even Lin Biao in the Ninth Party Congress report spoke of the two together saying: "This was that countercurrent which ran from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967."

Things developed in this contradictory way. The red guards were the product of an extreme leftist line, were used by the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing gang and caused extensive damage to our cause. But there were some red guards who arose to struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Splintering occurred as the red guards began to awaken. Except for a minority who blindly sought advantages and crowded onto the "gang of four" battle wagon to roll toward denigration, many red guards sooner or later, in varying degrees, flung themselves into the revolutionary flood of opposition to Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At the beginning of April in 1976 at Tienanmen Square which had been the site of reviews of red guards in the past a great mass movement, which had been building up and brewing for a long time, finally exploded. Those of the red guards that we interviewed who were in Beijing at the time were, without exception, active participants in this "5 April" movement. Li Dongmin was in the square passing out pamphlets calling on all Marxists, both inside and outside of the party, to arise and struggle against the fascist, revisionist elements; Liu Longjiang was in the square reading aloud poems in opposition to the "gang of four"; Lin Lindong wrote down a poem at the foot of the monument mourning Premier Zhou and denouncing the "gang of four" in which he predicted that "the furious lightning bolts are not far off...." All this makes it clear that although the red guard movement was a tortuous one among China's youth movements, China's youth came through it more advanced and mature.

The 10 years from "18 August"[1966, when Mao first addressed millions of red guards in Beijing] to "5 April" were 10 years of nerve-wracking thought for them. They thought about history and reality, politics and economics, people and leadership, the individual and society.... In their travels for the purpose of stringing together, their participation in group labor, and their other contacts with the masses, they gradually came to understand the reality that is China. And in their comparisons and appraisals of various ideological tides they began to learn the theory of scientific socialism and to refine their ability to think independently and to distinguish truth from falsehood.

And what did all this thinking get them? Here are some excerpts taken from diaries, study notes and conversations--

Li Lindong: "Wherein lies the greatness of our motherland? Everywhere there are the peasants! It is their silent, unending sweat that nurtures our beloved mother, that nurtures tiny little me. They are the enlightenment of my future life. They are the example helping me to refine a strength of perseverance. We can never forget them."

Liu Wozhong, Zhang Licai: "Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' used the doctrine of 'bourgeoisie within the party' to sabotage the party, to poison our people, to force us to tear ourselves apart body and soul, and to force us to trample upon and kill each other."

Liu Longjiang: "The disaster that was the 'Great Cultural Revolution' did not happen suddenly. Besides the sabotage by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' it was the result of the evil development of leftist mistakes that sprouted in the 1950's. It was created by the sickness that existed within our society. Practice has proven that you can never use violent and disruptive methods such as the 'Great Cultural Revolution' to solve internal contradictions, but rather must, under the leadership of the party, use democratic and scientific methods to make adjustments and find solutions.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" disrupted the lives of an entire generation of young people. But, "somehow unconsciously the planted willows grow." Mistakes and setbacks also educated a generation. These people were trained at a special cost.

Two years ago on "4 May" Youth Day the comrade on the party Central Committee in charge of such things added the following remarks to a letter sent in by a red guard: The number of youths who made mistakes of one kind or another during the great cultural revolution is quite large. We must give them an analysis of history, and furthermore we must build our policies on the foundation of this analysis. In short, for the vast majority of them it was difficult to avoid being used and misguided because they lacked experience. It would be a mistake for us to continue to ridicule, laugh at, and look down at the vast majority of them. We must make an effort to unify the vast majority of them and make them feel at ease so that they can pull themselves together and help with the four modernizations. For the small minority that have still not come to their senses and do not conduct themselves properly we should carry out criticism and education and help them to change.

The historical episode that was the red guard movement has already past. But, today we continue to feel the tremendous damage done by this disastrous affair to our material and spiritual civilization. The after effects of history continue to punish us. But just as Engels said: "A great class, just as a great race of people, regardless of the area of study, will learn faster from the results of their own mistakes." The Chinese people have passed through a great catastrophe and have already come to understand numerous truths. Old man time is not a scrooge. He also gives us precious compensation. Among the red guards of the past, some have matured into very talented people. They are now contributing their own light and warmth for the betterment of China.

9705
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PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF YOUTHS DISCUSSED IN CONFERENCE REPORT

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 7 May 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028]: "Young People Are the Hope of Modern Socialist Construction--Report at the Conference Commemorating the 62d Anniversary of the May 4th Movement in Beijing"]

[Excerpts] At the report conference jointly held by the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, the All-China Youth Union, the All-China Student Union, and the League's Beijing Municipal Committee to commemorate the 62d anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, the director of the research office of the Party Central Committee Secretariat gave a report which strongly encouraged League cadres and members as well as the young people who attended. We are publishing the entire report in response to requests from our readers.

Problems for Consideration:

1. How should we view the significance of the establishment of new China in the history of over 100 years of suffering by the Chinese people?

2. How should we view the setbacks and great achievements in the course of new China's development?

3. Why do we regard the triumph of socialism in China as a historical inevitability? How should we understand the citing of individual phrases of Marxism to deny the reality of socialism in our country and the viewpoint of the two "whatevers" which basically differ little in methodology?

4. Why did Lu Xun say we could not view the relationship between old and young people from the standpoint of evolution?

5. How can young people attain a broad future? Why do we say that whoever is with the people will conform to the tide of history and will advance endlessly? How do we contribute to the vigorous development of China?

The majority of those who are attending today's conference are young people. In the presence of young people I can say that I am old. In the presence of the older generation I can only say that I am getting older but dare not claim to be old. It is reasonable that more young comrades should be invited to speak at this conference, and it is not suitable for an older person like me to speak. But I was once a teenager and a young person, a member of the CYL who had a variety of experience, including suffering and happiness. Some people say that there is a gulf between the older and younger generations which cannot be bridged and that their minds cannot communicate. I disagree with this view. I am a member of the CCP. Among you there are members of the Communist Party and the CYL. We all struggle for the ideals of communism and advance under the banner of communism. With the same ideals and path, how can we say that our minds cannot communicate? At the League's Central Committee forum, convened at Huairen Hall, I was inspired and moved by the speeches given by the young advanced representatives of the national learn-from-Lei Feng movement. I feel that my mind can communicate with theirs. The absolute majority of old people and the absolute majority of young people throughout the country all earnestly hope to build our motherland into a modern, strong socialist country. The minds of the two generations can communicate on this question. Even today, there is an absolute minority or a very few individual old people who stubbornly want to persist on the capitalist road. Of course they cannot communicate with the absolute majority of old people. Similarly, there is an absolute minority or a very few individual young people who worship foreign things and fawn on foreign powers, to the extent of ignoring the national and personal character, and who want to take the capitalist road. Of course they cannot communicate with the absolute majority of old and young people. The absolute minority or very few of the old people as well as the absolute minority or very few of the young people are kindred spirits who are vainly attempting to turn back the wheel of history. There is no chasm between them. Have we not discovered that some dyed-in-the-wool old revolutionaries are giving counsel to some young people who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos? Clearly, it is very difficult to draw correct conclusions merely by looking at the problem from age differences, without observing the relationships among people on the basis of the law of historical development and through scientific analysis of all existing social contradictions. Lu Xun said that he had always believed in evolution and that all young people were superior to old people. In 1927 in Guangdong, he witnessed young people splitting into two major camps. Some young Communist Party members struggled heroically and bravely gave their lives, while others threw in their lot with Chiang Kai-shek and betrayed the revolution. Learning from events and studying Marxism, [Lu Xun] ultimately became a communist, corrected his bias concerning evolution, and believed that "the future depends solely on the rising proletarians."

In several points below I will discuss with the young comrades who share a common goal some of the stronger impressions of my long experience from youth to old age.

The Chinese People Have Stood Tall Since the Establishment of New China

The young comrades who are present have not lived through the era when our motherland and people suffered humiliation. But they must remember that there was such an era and must resolve not to allow it to return!

Can we recall that we have signed one unequal treaty with imperialism and social imperialism since the establishment of the PRC? No. On the contrary, we have firmly abolished the unequal treaties signed by successive reactionary governments and have conducted relations with other countries only on the basis of equality. Have we shamelessly paid one cent of indemnity, ceded one inch of territory, or sold out any sovereign rights to the imperialists and social imperialists? Again, no. On the contrary, our people's armed forces have defended the motherland by triumphantly countering and defeating the aggressors on numerous battlefields. We have always insisted that Taiwan is an inspearable territory of the PRC and have made fruitful efforts for its return to the motherland.

In old China, the Chinese people were suppressed and exploited by the aggressors and the reactionary ruling class, while overseas Chinese were discriminated against and persecuted. In new China, the people have become the masters of their country and destiny. Overseas Chinese are cared for and protected by the motherland and can proudly and elatedly call themselves Chinese.

In old China, the country was split apart. Politicians, warloards, and national reactionaries all occupied their own domain, and each did things his own way. Even during the period of rule by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, with the exception of the revolutionary base under the leadership of the Communist Party, government orders of the Kuomintang were actually ineffective, at least in Xizang, Shanxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Xinjiang. In new China, over 50 fraternal nationalities coexist on the basis of equality and in unity. Never before has the great motherland been truly unified.

We established the people's democratic political power, encompassed their interests, organized various forms of social life, and carried out economic construction in a planned way. The daily life of the people gradually improved, and the feudal system of ownership of private land by the landlord class in China ended once and for all. The socialist economy of the system of public ownership firmly took control. Communist morality, customs, and social order reached very high levels. After the "Great Cultural Revolution," the level of public security in our society distinctly declined in some areas, but now there has been some recivery and improvement. Because of this, the state of our society's public security is better than that of old China or even of all the economically developed capitalist countries today.

Never before has our international position been so enhanced as it is now. On global strategy matters, China's weight holds the balance. From the position of an independent, unified, and powerful socialist state, we are carrying out a great struggle against hegemonism with the people of other countries to safeguard world peace and create human progress.

All this shows clearly that the establishment of the PRC has enabled the Chinese people to stand up forever and has buried the days when imperialism and social imperialism did as they pleased and played the tyrant. The time when we had to be subservient and humiliated in order to survive has ended once and for all. For 30-odd years out of the 4,000 years of the nation's history, the Chinese people have truly been their own masters. This is an unalterable fact and is the basis of China's hope for the future.

The Triumph of Socialism in China Is the Glory of the Chinese Nation

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, comrades of the entire party and people of all nationalities have emancipated their thinking, exercised their minds, sought truth from facts, and united together in looking ahead to the future. They study new conditions to resolve new problems. At the same time, fully certain of the enormous achievements made since the founding of the state, we are summing up the experiences and lessons of various aspects of our work and striving to correct the leftist mistakes of the former guiding ideology. This party policy has achieved results that are universally acknowledged. In the course of this, however, an ideological confusion has appeared in society--namely, downplaying and obliterating the successes of our socialist revolution and socialist construction since the founding of the state and denying in varying degrees the four basic principles. This ideological confusion is manifest in quite a number of theoretical essays and literary pieces. It is due mainly to the existing pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and its continuing ill effect. Moreover, we need to ge through a process of resolving various problems that have accumulated over many years in our work. This ideological confusion is therefore not without a certain market. In particular, some young people are easily captivated by it, as they do not understand the history of the Chinese revolution and the distinctions between old and new China, and as they have not been systematically educated in Marxism.

By and large, the present ideological confusion has two existing forms. One is blatant opposition to the four basic principles, while the other appears under the guise of theoretical studies and cites Marxist phrases to deny the reality of our socialism. This state of affairs poses extremely solemn and urgent tasks for our ideological and political as well as our theoretical propaganda work; these are: to deal with various ideological problems that exist in reality by continuing a thorough criticism of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; to study truly and scientifically the practice of the socialist movement of over 100 years since the birth of Marxism, over 60 years since the October Revolution led by Lenin, and more than 30 years since the founding of our state; and to adhere to the basic tenets of Marxism while continually developing and enriching it.

I wish to talk about the latter problem in particular.

On the basis of several statements by Marx, some comrades deny that ours is a socialist society. For example, production relations must suit the nature of productive forces. Socialist revolution can take place only when productive forces reach the stage where they must break through the outer shell of capitalist production relations. For instance, the first stage of communist society in "An Outline Criticism of Goethe" refers to a society that has already eliminated commodity productiyn and currency. But since we have not gone through the stage of independent development of capitalism, and since our productive forces are backward, ours is therefore not a socialist society.

Here a problem arises. We have criticized the viewpoint of the two "whatevers," and have repeatedly and profoundly popularized [the tenet] that practice is the sole criterion for judging truth. In that case, must the first stage of communism conceived by Marx also undergo the test of practice? Marxism is great, has vitality, and is true precisely because the correctness of its basic principles has already been proven by practice in the world socialist movement for over 100 years, and because it enriches and develops itself. Practice has proven that in the world today the system of public ownership is superior to the system of private ownership, and eliminating exploitation is superior to not eliminating it. Marx and Engels expounded on the conditions of socialist revolution and society. Their exposition contains extremely great ideas, but with regard to how the system of public ownership can actually replace the system of private ownership, how a system free of exploitation can actually replace the system of exploitation, they never believed that future history would develop exactly according to their exposition. Actually, their own views on socialism were different at different times and in different writings. They always opposed people treating their doctrines as dogma. They [instead] call on the proletariat of the world to develop new tenets from practice for the world. Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action.

Judged from the entire course of human development throughout history, production relations must suit the nature of productive forces. However, neither production relations nor productive forces can be easily or mechanically specified within certain quantitative limits. We cannot believe that only by possessing all the conditions can we carry out the so-called pure socialist revolution. When Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, the advanced countries in Europe, France, which have given rise to the Paris Commune, and the system of capitalism were all just starting to develop; the level of productive forces was much lower than today, and not as high as that in China in 1949. But they had hopes for these countries. At the time the struggle of the Paris Commune broke out, they gave their most enthusiastic encouragement and highest appraisal. Revolution is not purely an economic process. Its occurrence requires other conditions, the mutual coordination of other conditions, and the collective formation of a historical situation. With the existence of large industries that are somewhat developed, and with the existence of a proletariat, why cannot a revolution be carried out when all other conditions are already present? The October Revolution took place this way. The Chinese revolution also took place this way. On the other hand, any society, including one that has the character of a socialist society, cannot be judged solely in terms of economic conditions. The economy is the foundation and determinant of the nature of a society. But the foundation or determinant is not everything in a society. Even if we judge in terms of economic conditions, we should still recognize that our society has realized the system of public ownership of the means of production, eliminated exploitation, and carried out the socialist principle of distribution according to work. It already has the basic characteristics of a socialist society. Although our socialist society is still in its initial state, it needs to develop to an even higher stage. But undoubtedly it belongs to the scientific socialism of Marxism, and absolutely not to "agricultural socialism" as mentioned in certain essays today.

There is a basic question of methodology in dealing with things. Should practice be judged by isolated words and phrases of Marx, or should Marxism be adhered to and developed in practice? The world socialist movement has a history of over 100 years and the establishment of the system of public ownership over 60 years. Socialism is the great undertaking of world communists, the proletariat, and the laboring people in their sacrifice and struggle. It is a historical movement that is full of heroic and exploratory spirit and is rich in endless creativity. It is the glorious practice of millions of laboring people. How can we write it off with one stroke just because Marx did or did not say something, or because we can only remember what the book says, or because we cannot remember or have even forgotten what the book says? If Marx were alive today, he would not agree to such an action. Even if we do not raise political questions but discuss things in terms of methodology, it is hard to see any basic difference between this and the two "whatevers" that we have criticized.

Practice in socialism cannot be separated from the guidance of Marxism. Similarly, Marxism cannot be separated from practice in socialism. With a history of over 100 years of socialist movement before us, this cannot be denied by any serious and true Marxist. Engels said long ago: "Basically, we have never thought of suspecting or underestimating 'the revelations of history.' History is everything to us. We emphasize history more than any school of thought, even Hegel. To Hegel, history is merely an instrument for testing the structure of his logic." Later [Engels] pointed out very clearly: "Communism is not a theory but a movement. It proceeds not from principles but from facts." We cannot rely on Marx to work out all the detailed formulations for the development of history after him. Marx himself always refused to do that. He merely pointed out the basic outline and direction of the development of history. If Marxism did not follow the development of history after Marx's death and did not continually become nourished from practice and enrich itself, then its vitality would be finished. Today, the conditions in the world and the socialist movement are very different from those in the time of Marx, and yet Marxism exists, grows, and continues to be treated as the guiding ideology by the advanced elements of the proletariat in the world. This clearly shows not only the greatness of Marx's own ideas but also the fact that the doctrine named after him has been greatly enriched and carried forward by the revolutionary practice of the proletariat of all countries.

The socialist movement in each country increases the treasurehouse of Marxism with its own uniqueness. In this respect, the experience of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction has a particularly great significance.

Marx did not expect that China, a backward Eastern country with a long history of feudal society, could successfully carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction earlier than France, Britain, and Germany, on which he placed great hopes. Our achievement is a result not only of our adherence to the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninism but also of our party's being good at closely combining these tenets with China's reality under the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong's older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. Essential points in Mao Zedong Thought, such as proceeding from reality in everything, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and testing truth and developing it through practice had already been formed long ago in the process of the new democratic revolution. After the founding of the state, our party continued to adhere to and develop this Marxist ideological line. Because Marx, Engels, and even Lenin did not have an in-depth understanding or a good grasp of China's reality, and because there were no readymade theories and experiences from which to draw directly, our party opened the victorious path of carrying out a socialist revolution and socialist construction that has its own national characteristics as well as international significance.

It is not possible to demonstrate here the results and experiences of our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. I only wish to point out: As a great socialist country, the PRC is truly standing firm. None of us can deny its indelible and objective existence for over 30 years. The clamor by the Chiang Kai-shak clique for a "counterattack against the mainland," the plot by U.S. imperialism to strangle us through aggression in Korea, the Khrushchev clique's breach of faith and tearing up of contracts, the Brezhnev clique's use of instigation and force and the 10 years of destruction by the antirevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were all defeated when confronted by our socialist motherland. We stand lofty and firm, and we are impregnable. This is the most convincing proof. Regardless of the number of shortcomings we have and mistakes we have made, in short, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction are successful and victorious. We are earnestly correcting our own shortcomings and mistakes and learning from experience and lessons. Our socialist revolution and socialist construction will surely be even more successful and victorious.

After Marxism had been extensively disseminated, tested, and developed through the workers' movements in many countries, Engels said something very impressive in his later years: "We absolutely will not use empty theoretical talk and dogmatism to teach a great nation." This is precisely the case. The introduction of Marxism-Leninism aroused generation after generation of Chinese revolutionaries. The combination of socialist thought and the workers' movement has basically changed the direction of Chinese history. The CCP is a mature party which for a long ago time has been able to concretely analyze and determine the line, principles, and policies of revolution and construction that suit the conditions of the country. We have provided a lot of successful experience for the treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism and for the development of world history. Not only are we different from the communists of other countries, but we are not what the founders of Marxism suggested or could concretely be in touch with. Some comrades believe that we were once a country of small producers in a boundless ocean. We accepted Marxism from the viewpoint of small producers, so we basically cannot correctly understand Marxism but can only separate from scientific socialism, put forth and plan to practice the fantasy of "agricultural socialism." Comrades, this viewpoint and this argument basically do not accord with historical facts. They are very incorrect and harmful. Could "agricultural socialists" have attained the high level that we have just said about our party? Of course not. We cannot discuss this problem in detail today. I only wish to say that we should not adopt a reckless political attitude and improperly deny the history of our party, the people, and the PRC. On the contrary, the facts have proven and will continue to prove that the experience of our socialist construction will become wealth for the international communist movement and will be recorded in history. This is the pride of Chinese communists and the Chinese working class, as well as the glory of the Chinese nation.

Always Being With the People, We Will Succeed In Our Undertakings Every Time

The people of all the nationalities of China are great. This is manifested not only in the splendid ancient culture created by the Chinese people and admired by the world, and not only in their having repeatedly defeated internal and external reactionary rulers who had lain like a dead weight on their backs. In particular, it is collectively manifested in the fact that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, at last having overthrown their semicolonial and semifeudal rulers, have triumphed in the new democratic revolution and subsequently build a socialist and new China. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our Chinese nation has the spirit to fight its enemy to the finish, the resolve to recover former things on the basis of self-reliance, and the ability to stand independently among nations of the world. We must make fundamental changes in the selfish, cowardly, corrupt, and dispirited habits which are popular among many people." It is the sole aim in the life of every Communist Party member and the basic guarantee of the prosperity of our party's undertakings to be with the people always, believe in them and rely on them, and endlessly struggle for the benefit of the people.

In this respect, Comrade Mao Zedong established a magnificent model for us in his lifelong struggle.

In the early period of his revolutionary activities, Comrade Mao Zedong enthusiastically and attentively arranged for young fellow-fighters of the New People's Society to go abroad for part-work, part-study [program] and to study Marxism, while he himself was willing to stay in China to engage in student, worker, and peasant movements and to gain a better grasp of China's circumstances. In summing up the experience of the 1911 Revolution, he believed that the basic lesson of its failure was the absence of major change in the rural areas. During the period of the great revolution, after its failure, and for a rather long period of time he carried out an arduous struggle against Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming over the right and "leftist" opportunist line that abandoned the broad masses of the peasants; he also taught and guided the whole party along the path of armed revolution in which the rural areas would encircle the cities.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was a victory of subduing "leftist" and rightist opportunism in the party. It was also a victory of resisting foreign intervention in our party's internal affairs.

The Chinese people sincerely accepted the friendship of the Soviet people, but we firmly resisted the way of the "big brother party" and the actions of hegemonism. When Khruschev visited China in 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong denounced his attempt to control China's navy through the establishment of a so-called common fleet, so [Khrushchev] had no choice but to confess face-to-face that this was a deviation from Communist Party principles. Khrushchev was affected and pretentious, and said that we had offended their self-respect and had understood their policy crudely. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: What? Offended your self-respect? But who has offended whose self-respect? By asking such a question you offend our self-respect! Who is crude? It was your representative in Beijing who raised this question to us on five occasions. At that time it was our understanding that we had to participate in a common fleet or else there would be no aid. Comrade Mao Zedong said: If you are willing to help us, then help us; if you do not want to, then forget it. He also said: If you persist with this kind of scheme, we will not do it. If you persist for 10,000 years, we will refuse to do it for 10,000 years. As the facts have proven: so what if they tore up contracts and withdrew their experts? We still sent satellites into the sky, exploded two types of nuclear bombs, and successfully tested long-range missiles, making continuous achievements in socialist construction. We defeated both the armed intrusion into Zhenbaodao and the support of Vietnam in the disruptions on our southern border. Comrade Mao Zedong did not see some of the problems clearly in his later years and made mistakes, but he always kept a very sober mind, a firm will, and a high degree of alertness regarding any problem involving our national independence and the sovereignty and safety of the state.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have always firmly believed in the strength of the people of all of China's nationalities. The people of China's nationalities are heroic people. All difficulties can be overcome and all enemies can be defeated if only they unite together, rouse their spirit, take the Marxist line, and do not refuse to learn the strong points of others but still depend mainly on themselves. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years have brought great misfortune to our state and people. But in terms of his whole life, his contributions are primary and his mistakes are secondary. He deserves to be the greatest revolutionary of the proletarian class and the greatest national hero of the Chinese nation. His greatness lies precisely in his loyalty to the Chinese people and his strong belief in their strength, in his class and national spirit and revolutionary will of a communist that were as strong as steel. His tenacious struggle for the people's undertakings and his unceasing spirit are everlasting and deserve our study.

Our party has also repeatedly warned the young people to be with the people always, and to safeguard and represent the interests of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong's "The May Fourth Movement," and "The Direction of the Youth Movement" have expounded on this reasoning profoundly. In the past, present, and future, the success of all accomplished people is in direct proportion to a high degree of safeguarding and representing the people's interests. One who is with the people will advance; one who deviates from them and opposes them will fall behind and become reactionary. This is a historical truth. In the contemporary age, young people in the revolutionare movement have played a great and positive role. Like the May Fourth Movement, which centered on young people, has this not been because the advanced youth at the time embodied the direction of history?

All Aspects of Society Should Be Concerned With the Work of Young People

Our party has always cared about the work of young people. The Central Committee especially studies their work and makes relevant decisions. Leading comrades write essays on problems in this regard and make reports for them; this has become a fine tradition. At present, comrades of the League's Central Committee further improve the work of young people in dealing with the new circumstances and problems of the new era, and continually explore and accumulate experience. In this regard, I wish to talk only about one thing: The creation of favorable conditions for the healthy growth of the young generation is a glorious task that all aspects of society should shoulder.

On every front, young people are gradually becoming or have become the fresh troops for the undertaking of modern socialist construction. Their large numbers, high degree of enthusiasm, and great capacity have made it impossible for the work of any locale or department to be separate from them. Conversely, we can ask: How concerned and supportive are the different areas of society? Have things been going so well that there is no room for further improvement? We cannot look at it that way.

It is precisely because young people are everywhere in our motherland that not a single department or unit should fail to place the question of the yough on its own daily work agenda. The work of young people is not just a matter for the large organizations or the education departments. Sole reliance on the comrades of these departments, even though they might labor day and night, still cannot result in their work being done well. These comrades must arduously strive to obtain a firm grasp of the laws that underlie their own work. Take, for example, making friends with young people. Making them speak their mind is a special skill. The organizational arrangement of the activities of young people is another example. It is not easy to enable them to obtain a beneficial education while suiting their characteristics, not by coercion but by getting them interested in participating in activities enthusiastically. As to the study of the psychology of young people, a study of their characteristics pertaining to different ages, jobs, background, and sexes, and a study of how young people today can make more speedy progress in all aspects and how they can permanently stand in the forefront of the times, are matters that must be investigated in depth and summarized theoretically. Our country strongly needs a group of specialists in the work of young people. At present, qualified talents are few and very insufficient. In addition, comrades engaged in the work of young people have the right to appeal to all areas of society on their behalf. Within the limit that circumstances allow, all areas of society should try their best to satisfy the needs [of young people].

The hope of our country and nation hinges on whether there is hope for our youths. As an ordinary member of the Communist Party, I am filled with such hope in attending this conference and in giving my congratulations to the comrades on the 62d anniversary of the "May Fourth" youth festival.

9486
CSO: 4005/804

PARTY AND STATE

NATION MUST PROMOTE MIDDLE-AGED, YOUNGER CADRES

OW131701 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] The Sixth Plenary Session of the current CCP Central Committee stressed that it is a pressing strategic task for us to select more middle-aged and younger cadres and appoint them to leading posts at all levels, and to put an end to the practice of lifelong tenure of cadres which benefits no one and brings only harm to the country. Cadres of advanced age should retire and those in the prime of life who combine ability and political integrity should be promoted to leading posts. However, owing to the opposition by the person holding the supreme power in the party Central Committee, the extremely important task of gradually reducing the average age of cadres has not been fulfilled, although the conditions for solving this problem have long existed.

Everyone knows that among our country's 20 million cadres, more than 60 percent are of middle age or younger. Cadres who are professionally competent in various technological fields and were trained after nationwide liberation total 4-5 million. The country has rich manpower resources. Cadres of from 40 to 50 years old are, in Comrade Hu Yaobang's words, our nation's valuable assets; if they are promoted to leading posts at various levels they will benefit the country and the people even more. This is because, first they are in the prime of life and can work 15-16 hours daily without tiring; second, generally speaking, they were educated before the great cultural revolution began and possess scientific and technological knowledge; and third, they have been tempered in prolonged struggle and have accumulated rich political experience. Sharing weal and woe with the people, they have gone through the most difficult period in the history of our country and witnessed the tremendous damage done to the nation and the people by personal arbitrariness, evil practices and mistaken leadership methods. They will not repeat past mistakes.

In other words, only those cadres who are around 40 or 50 years of age can lead our country out of the impasse and lead us onto the correct road of building our motherland. But, only a tiny number of them have been promoted to leading posts, due to the various obstacles preventing their promotion. According to statistics released by the State Council, only an average of one cadre of middle age or younger has been put into the leading body of each of the enterprises directly under the State Council in the past few years. The number of middle-aged and younger cadres who have been promoted to leading bodies at the central and national or provincial and municipal levels has on the average been below one person for each leading body. No cadres of this age bracket have been put into the leading bodies of the party Central Committee's Political Bureau or its military commission.

The overwhelming majority of members of the party Central Committee's Political Bureau and its military commission are of advanced age. Ye Jianying, for instance, is 83 years old, Comrade Deng Xiaoping 77 and comrades Li Xiannian and Chen Yun 76 while Peng Zhen, Nie Rongzhen and Huang Kecheng are over 80. Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang are, in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words, cadres in the prime of life. But, as a matter of fact, these two are more than 60 years old. Most other leading cadres at the central level are around 70.

Those on the party Central Committee should have set personal examples in honoring the Sixth Plenary Session's call to gradually reduce the average age of cadres. They should have promoted cadres of 40 to 50 years old to leading posts at the central level. But, this has not happened. On the contrary, the 77-year-old Yang Shangkun was appointed secretary general of the party Central Committee's military commission by order of Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

The task of gradually reducing the average age of leading cadres cannot be fulfilled if we fail to promote cadres who are in the prime of life to leading posts. Failure to do so makes it also impossible to readjust the leading bodies at the central and local levels. In a nutshell, the more older cadres of 70 to 80 years of age retire and the faster cadres of 40 to 50 years of age are promoted, the more beneficial it will be for the country and the people.

CSO: 4005/881

PARTY AND STATE

BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY INFLUENCE BLAMED FOR GROWTH OF SOCIAL ILLS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Jiang Yuanming [5592 0337 2494]: "Resist the 'Wind Coming in Through the South Window'"]

[Text] A few years ago, our newspapers published reports on swindlers who successfully plied their trade disguised as sons of certain leading cadres or their relatives and associates and/or with titles of other dignitaries. They played this trick long ago until they were exposed. Today, these swindlers are plying the same trade with new tactics and are boasting of their "overseas connections," and disguising themselves as wealthy people capable of whipping up the "wind through the south window." A typical example can be found in a newsletter recently carried by RENMIN RIBAO under the title: "An Alarming Swindling Case."

I heard of this new term "wind coming in through the south window" during my recent trips to Guangzhou and Shenquan. It generally refers to such variants as "overseas connections" and "imported merchandise." Since its upsurge, it appareantly has had an intoxicating effect on some people. This unhealthy wind coming from the dark side of society carries a stinking odor offensive to astute people. But there are still others who have given in to this wind.

"That alarming swindling case" is indeed alarming. A mediocre but loquacious swindler who boasted of his "overseas connections" and ability to import color televisions and videotape sets has misled some 23 state cadres including leading cadres into making a big mistake. This shocking phenomenon tells us that although our active efforts to expand foreign trade and cultural exchanges will benefit the development of the four modernizations, the representatives of the bourgeois ideology may take advantage of such activities to influence some of our weak-willed comrades. This development should deserve our serious attention. If we slacken our guard, we may be deluded into doing something foolish. Some people including cadres have proved unable to resist the lures of money and other material benefits. Isn't it true that they have given up what they stand for and have even gone so far as to disgrace their personal and national dignity in the face of such lures? In the face of this "wind coming in through the south window," some of our Communist Party members have been defeated just as they were defeated in the face of the fragrant wind coming from Nanjing Road.

The "wind coming in through the south window" is nothing new and essentially comparable to the fragrant wind coming from Nanjing Road, Shanghai, during the early days of liberation. They are all sugar-coated bullets. If a distinction must be drawn between them, one may smack of more foreign tastes in the former than in the latter. However, no one should minimize the packing power of the "wind coming in through the south window." When one is hit by it, one may tend to forget the people's interests, the dignity of one's motherland and the tradition of hard struggle, until one is bogged down in the quagmire of sins.

The art of swindling practiced with new tactics resembles a mirror before which many people in society cannot hide their faces. Usually, the swindlers are more able than common people to size up the minds of others and what they need. These are tactics they use to lure their targets into doing something foolish. The fact that the swindlers have changed their tactics indicates that some people in our revolutionary ranks have been really hit by the sugar-coated bullets without notice. Once a stack of "foreign" merchandise is laid in front of someone, he can throw away what he stands for--principle and personal dignity. Therefore, it seems unavoidable that someone may be deluded into doing something foolish by such mediocre swindlers as Yu Tianzhang [0060 1131 4545]. For this reason, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang admonished the entire part membership with the following statement: "Class struggle continues to exist to a certain extent in our society and the ideological influences of the exploiting and other nonproletarian classes still survive. These facts, combined as they are with the complexities of contemporary international relations, put us in daily contact with the undesirable phenomena of capitalism, feudalism and small production." Although the time has come for those who have done something foolish to correct their misdeeds, other comrades must continue to carry forward the party's excellent tradition and consciously resist the unhealthy wind so that they can keep themselves politically pure and healthy.

9574
CSO: 4005/863

PARTY AND STATE

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION COMMENDS MODEL CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 3

[Article: "Observing the 'Guiding Principles' Adds Honor to the Title of Party Member--PARTY STYLE AND PARTY DISCIPLINE, Publication of the Commission for Inspection of Discipline, Creates 'Moral Guide' Column"]

[Text] To further promote the conscientious observance of "a Number of Guiding Principles on Intra-Party Political Life" by the broad party member cadres, especially the leading cadres of the various levels, and rectify the party style, the Commission for Inspection of Discipline of the Chinese Communist Party created the "Moral Guide" column in the most recent issue of its publication, PARTY STYLE AND PARTY DISCIPLINE (No 12, 1981), reporting the model deeds of several party member cadres who conscientiously followed the "Guiding Principles," developed the party's superior style and strictly observed law and discipline.

The "Moral Guide" column introduced the following: The deeds of Comrade Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478], chairman of the State Economic Commission, who penetrated reality to investigate and study, followed a democratic style, felt a concern for the masses and made strict requirements of his family members, and of Comrade Yin Fatang [7113 3127 0781], first secretary of the Xizang autonomous regional party committee, who set an example in opposing special privileges and bureaucraticism, and preserved and developed the party's superior style of arduous struggle; the deeds of Comrade Wang Enmao [3769 1869 5399], first secretary of the Jilin provincial party committee, who, during his observation trip to Japan, and Comrade Hou Zhenbing [0186 6966 0393] and three others, responsible persons of the Bureau of Technology, Eighth Ministry of Machine Building, who, during their attendance at an academic exchange meeting in the United States, followed foreign affairs discipline, made careful calculations and saved foreign exchange for the state; the deeds of Su Haizheng [5685 3189 2973], secretary of the committee for inspection of discipline of the Jilin Municipal Engineering Company, who correctly employed his authority as a cadre of the committee, selflessly and indomitably withstood censures and pressure, and firmly struggled against conduct detrimental to the party's interest. The column also reported the deeds of Hao Tingzao [6786 1694 5679], secretary of Helan county party committee, Ningxia Hui autonomous region, who brought closer the links between the party and the masses and widely made friends with the peasants, and of Zang Yuwang [5258 3768 2489], party committee secretary of a certain regiment of the Qinghai-Xizang Highway Command Post, who waged a firm struggle against such unhealthy practices as bribery and gifts and "study of relationships," adding honor to the title of party member.

This issue of the periodical also published a comment entitled "Rectify Party Style; Strengthen Party Leadership." It pointed out that, since the party's Third Plenary Session, as a result of the struggles, under the firm leadership of the Party Central Committee, against all kinds of nonproletarian ideas in the party and of the care and supervision of the broad party members and masses, our party style has made a considerable improvement, and many good persons and good deeds among the broad party members have emerged. However, the party style, as a whole, has not fundamentally improved. In some areas and units, the unhealthy practices of some party member cadres remain fairly serious. For this reason, we must have a high degree of awareness, without the least bit of neglect. We must continue to take effective measures and earnestly rectify the situation.

To rectify the unhealthy practices, we must, at present, perform several items of work. The entire party must give serious attention to the situation, the leaders must set the examples, and the party committees must place the work of rectifying the party style on their daily agenda. We must perform vigorous ideological-political work, strengthen intra-party ideological education, and launch the necessary criticisms and self-criticisms. We must tighten party discipline, and distinguish clearly the right and wrong, the merits and mistakes, and the awards and punishments when enforcing the "Guiding Principles," so that those who neglect their duties and abuse their power will take warning and obey discipline. We must develop the supervisory effect of the masses and the party members, protect the activists who have the courage to struggle against the unhealthy practices, and firmly punish the undisciplined conduct of attacking and retaliating by means of the powers of office.

6080
CSO: 4005/862

BRIEFS

ANHUI ELECTION MEETING--A provincial election work conference was held recently in Hefei. The meeting called on the localities to complete local elections before the end of this year. According to targets set by central authorities, direct elections at the county level in the province must be completed in the second half of this year, and elections at the commune and township levels must also be basically completed before the end of the year. Gu Zhuoxin, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and chairman of the provincial election commission, attended the meeting and made a speech. [OW091601 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 81 OW]

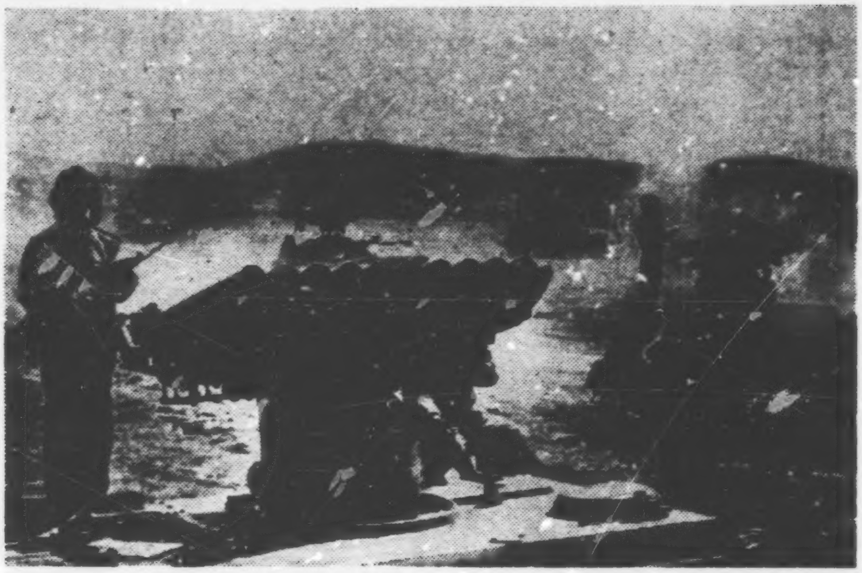
ON ZHAO ZIYANG--People unanimously praised Comrade Zhao Ziyang when they read about his return from Germany on a civil aviation flight. In the early fifties, to clarify how the Beijing residents traveled around, Premier Zhou was praised far and wide for buying a ticket to ride in the bus and chatting cordially with the passengers. In July 1958, Comrade Liu Shaoqi rode in an ordinary passenger train from Tianjin to Jinan and held heart-to-heart talks with the passengers. Regrettably, such instances subsequently became rare. The excessively strict security system blocked the association between the leaders and the masses. After the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee raised the association between the cadres and the masses to an important position. We often read about the central leading comrades visiting various areas to clarify the conditions. The leading comrades forbid being sent off and met, ride the bread train alongside the ordinary work personnel, and penetrate the masses to investigate and study. It indicates that our party is determined to reform the irrational system and associate closer with the masses. The broad masses express their approval unanimously. [By Zhang Zenan [1728 3419 0589]] [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 1] 6080

CSO: 4005/862

PHOTOS SHOW SOLDIERS TRAINING WITH ROCKET LAUNCHERS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 81 p 4

[Photo captions]



Undergoing rigorous training.

Waiting for an opportunity to destroy the enemy.

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 2

[Photo caption]

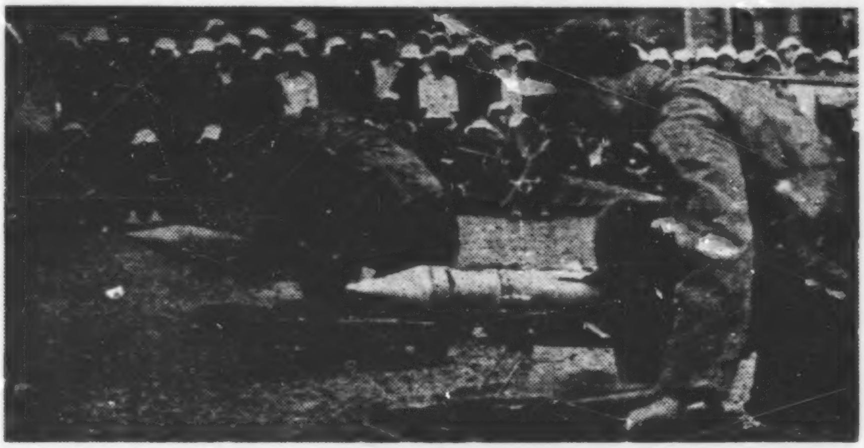
The command is sounded.

CSO: 4005/869

PHOTO SHOWS SOLDIERS DEMONSTRATING SKILLS WITH ANTITANK MISSILES

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 2

[Text]



[Photo Caption] Students of the Sanhao student summer camp, Xinjiang institutions of higher learning, are watching a demonstration of military skills. [with antitank missiles].

CSO: 4005/873-P

HEILONGJIANG HOLDS MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR OFFICER

SK290414 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Comrade Su Min, deputy political commissar of the Heilongjiang Provincial Military District, died of cerebral hemorrhage on 23 May 1979 at age 63. On the morning of 25 August, the provincial military district sponsored a memorial service for him. The service was presided over by Zhao Xingyuan, political commissar of the provincial military district, and Zhao Xianshun, commander of the provincial military district, delivered a memorial speech.

His speech notes: Comrade Su Min's hometown is Gejiu Municipality of Honghe Hani--Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province and he is of Yi minority nationality. In 1935, he came to Beiping from Yunnan Province to join the "9 December" student movement. He went to Yanan in 1937 and was recruited by the CCP that December. He worked as clerk in the organizational department of the Shaanbei Middle School; director of the social relations section of the affiliated school of the Shaanbei Middle School; director of the organizational section of Yanan Lu Xun Artistic Institute; director of the organizational department under the (? Qufu) County CCP Committee of the eastern Shandong region; secretary of the eastern Shandong Regional CCP Committee; political commissar of the Yunan detachment under the Jidong military region; commander of the regiment in charge of training liberated KMT army officers, which was under the Shanxi, Chahaer, Rehe and Liaoning military region; director of the organizational department under the eastern armed force units' political department; chief, political commissar and deputy political commissar of the western armed force units' political department; director and deputy director of the political department of the engineering corps under the Shenyang PLA units; deputy political commissar of the Heilongjiang provincial military district; permanent member of the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee; and vice chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Presenting wreaths to the service were the CCP committee of the Shenyang PLA units, the Heilongjiang provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee and people's government. Attending the service were cadres and fighters from the organs of locally stationed PLA units and friends of Comrade Su Min--over 1,000 persons in all.

CSO: 4005/882

JIANGXI CRIMINALS SENTENCED TO DEATH, JAIL

OW030450 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 81

[Text] (Liu Junhu), a chief culprit in the counterrevolutionary case of burglarizing guns and ammunition from the Nancheng County people's armed force department, was executed this morning at the illuminated stadium of the prefectural committee of physical education and sports immediately after he was condemned to death according to law by the Fuzhou Prefectural People's Intermediate Court. (Jia Jianzhong), another chief culprit in the same case, was also condemned to death with a suspended sentence of 2 years, during which he will be subjected to reform through labor to see how he behaves. Five other culprits--(Wang Xiaoquan), (Luo Jianguo), (Wang Xianzhang), (Gan Shaomin) and (Wan Jianping)--were sentenced to imprisonment for life or for specific terms. When the judgment was announced, it was cheered by the 5,000 or so spectators present on the occasion.

The counterrevolutionary burglary case plotted by (Liu Junhu) and six other felons was an extraordinary pernicious criminal case which had nationwide influence. Principal counterrevolutionary felon (Liu Junhu) was a worker at Nancheng County's (Hongmen) power plant; principal counterrevolutionary felon (Jia Jianzhong) was a fighter in the garrison company of a PLA unit before he was discharged from the military because of the case; counterrevolutionary felon (Wang Xiaoquan) was a worker at the grain station of (Xujia) commune of Nancheng County; counterrevolutionary felon (Luo Jianguo) was a worker at the county broadcasting station; counterrevolutionary felon (Wang Xianzhang) was a salesclerk at a branch of the (Xunxi) supply and marketing cooperative in (Shiheng) commune, and counterrevolutionary felons (Gan Shaomin) and (Wan Jianping) were two youths awaiting jobs in Chengkuan township of Nancheng County.

When he served at a certain air force unit last October, (Liu Junhu) mustered (Wang Xiaoquan) and eight others to organize the "China Imperial Guards" [Zhong Gui Jin Wei Jun 0022 0948 4391 5898 6511] and conspired to steal guns and ammunition from the unit's arsenal to destroy the unit's airport and oil depots, rob banks and flee to Hong Kong. When (Liu) retired from the service and returned to Nancheng County in December, he mustered (Jia Jianzhong), (Wang Xiaoquan), (Luo Jianguo), (Wang Xianzhang), (Gan Shaomin) and (Wan Jianping) to plot to steal guns and flee to Guangxi's Shiwandashan mountainous areas to be bandits and people's enemies. At about 0100 on the morning of 23 May this year, (Liu), (Jia) and their five followers climbed over a wall and entered the courtyard of the headquarters of the Nancheng County People's Armed Force Department. They broke a lock, sneaked into the arsenal and stole eight hand grenades, 17 54-type handguns, 36 cartridge clips and 2,333 7.52-mm bullets. Then they fled in a stolen vehicle to Yingtan City, where they boarded a train and set for Guangxi. Along the way, the gang tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to rob banks and pedestrians of their money. At about 0100 on the morning of 28 May, they were captured by our public security personnel in Qidong County in Hunan.

(Liu Junhu) was guilty of the most heinous crimes for masterminding the burglary of guns and attempting to become an outlaw and the people's enemy in mountains. (Jia Jianzhong's) crime was particularly serious for collaborating with (Liu) in leading (Wang Xiaoquan) and other felons to steal guns, and for resisting arrest and killing (Guan Chongsheng), a public security officer in Qidong County, Hunan. But since he was not yet 18 when he committed the crime, he was exempted from the death penalty according to law. (Wang Xiaoquan), (Luo Jianguo), (Wang Xianzhang), (Gan Shaomin) and (Wan Jianping) were guilty of having committed serious crimes of taking an active part in stealing guns.

Judgment of the case was approved by the supreme people's court after it was decided upon at the first trial at the Fuzhou prefecture intermediate people's court and ruled by the provincial higher people's court at the second trial.

Attending the verdict-pronouncing meeting this morning were leading members of the party, government and military organizations and leading members of trade unions, CYL committees and women's federations in Fuzhou Prefecture and municipality and Nancheng County.

(Peng Ronghua), member of the Standing Committee of the Fuzhou Prefectural Party Committee and vice commissioner of the Fuzhou prefectural administrative office addressed the meeting.

CSO: 4005/882

BRIEFS

LANZHOU PLA PROMOTIONS--Lanzhou, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Since early this year, the Lanzhou PLA units have promoted more than 200 middle-aged and young cadres to army, divisional and regimental levels. The majority of these cadres have received training in army schools and academies. They have acquired a higher professional and technical level and are more competent. As a result of the promotions, the average age of cadres at army and divisional levels has been lowered by 2 or 3 years. Also, above 90 percent of the cadres at the regimental level fall within the appropriate age bracket which accords with the requirements of the Central Military Commission in building a revolutionary, young, knowledgeable and professional army. The political departments of the various PLA units under the Lanzhou PLA units have organized over 270 cadre-investigation groups to do good training and promotion work among middle-aged and young cadres. [OW270537 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0036 GMT 27 Aug 81 OW]

PUNISHMENT OF HUBEI ROBBERS--The Jiayu county people's procuratorate and the county people's court have enforced the law impartially. (Zhang Ming) and (fang Xiang), sons of cadres, were recently prosecuted and tried by the county people's procuratorate and the county people's court on the charge of conspiracy to robbery. (Zhang Ming) is a son of a commune secretary and (Fang Xiang) is a son of a county people's armed forces department political commissar. At the end of March this year, (Zhang Ming), (Fang Xiang) and (Xiong Shiguo) conspired to rob people on four occasions. On the evening of 30 March, they robbed a woman commune member of 25.30 yuan in cash and a coupon of 10 jin of grain at the Chengguan road bridge and were arrested by the masses after they robbed her. In accordance with the law, the county people's court sentenced (Zhang Ming) to 3 years' imprisonment, (Fang Xiang) to 2 years' imprisonment and (Xiong Shiguo) to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment. The cadres and masses have praised the political and legal organs for not practicing favoritism. [HK040455 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Aug 81 HK]

ZHEJIANG RED ARMY ASSOCIATION--The Zhejiang chapter of the new Fourth Army and the Central China Anti-Japanese Base Area Research Association was established at a meeting in Hangzhou on 7-8 September. Nearly 300 veteran new Fourth Army fighters and party history researchers attended the meeting. Li Fengping, governor of Zhejiang who is a veteran of the new Fourth Army, was elected honorary president of the provincial chapter of the association. (Zhu Renxun), director of the provincial Social Science Research Institute and also a veteran of the new Fourth Army, was elected president. The meeting also elected 9 vice presidents and 18 council members. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1040 GMT 8 Sep 81 OW]

GUANGXI TRAINING CLASSES--On 1 September, opening ceremonies of training classes for armymen and policemen transferred to political and legal departments were held in Nanning, Liuzhou, Guilin, Yulin, Qinzhou and Baise. Liu Chonggui, Zhang Xudeng, Shi Qingsheng, and Yu Sifu and other responsible cadres of the Guangxi regional CCP committee, the regional people's government, the Guangxi military district, the PLA units stationed at Guangxi and cadres responsible for training armymen and policemen transferred to political and legal departments attended the opening ceremony in Nanning. At the ceremony, Liu Chonggui and Shi Qingsheng called for greater contributions in safeguarding social order and the four modernizations. Attending the political and legal professional training classes were veteran fighters and cadres who had participated in various battles. The political and legal departments have attached importance to these training classes and outstanding cadres have been appointed to take charge of the training. [HK090921 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 81 HK]

GUANGXI PLA WORK CONFERENCE--The PLA units stationed in Guangxi recently held a political work conference to discuss problems in the political work in the PLA units. The participants unanimously held: we must proceed from the reality of the PLA units when conducting political work. We must attach importance to solving the practical problems in the PLA units and give prompt and appropriate guidance. At the conference the participants studied the documents of the higher levels on the importance of conducting political work during the new historical period. They were determined to make contributions to political work in the PLA units and to building a modern revolutionary army. [HK100919 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Aug 81 HK]

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'DOUBLE HUNDRED POLICY,' FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES PROMOTED

Changsha WENYI SHENGHUO [LITERATURE LIFE] in Chinese No 5, May 81 pp 9-10

[Article by Sun Yuan [1327 8673]: "Carry Out 'Double Hundred' Policy; Persevere in Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially in the recent 2 years, unity in the field of literature in our province has strengthened, interest in creative work has grown, and many good works have emerged. These works are popular with the people, and some of them have won state awards. Creating a favorable social influence, they produce a positive effect in raising people's ideological awareness, stimulating their enthusiasm in toiling for the "four modernizations," cultivating new socialist persons and enlivening the mass cultural life. It is the tremendous achievement resulting from our adherence to the four basic principles and implementation of the "double hundred" policy. Lacking a full understanding of the relationship between the "double hundred" policy and the four basic principles, some people often fail to unify them, while others even feel that they are mutually exclusive, either one or the other. Therefore, when implementation of the "double hundred" policy is emphasized, they erroneously think that everything can be "loosened;" when adherence to the four basic principles is stressed, they erroneously think that there is excessive "loosening" and "tightening" is required.

Summarizing our experiences in implementing the "double hundred" policy in the past, we find that one important point is to prevent and overcome such ideological one-sidedness.

In the past, there was a one-sided and narrow interpretation of the slogan that literature must serve politics; therefore, we simplistically asked literature to evolve around the various political movements, mechanically demanded that it follow the central task of the time and the place, and even proposed such wrong slogans as "write about the center; paint the center" and "perform only the center; sing only about the center." By so doing, we not only did not correctly understand and handle the relationship between literature and politics and blocked the implementation of the "double hundred" policy, but failed to truly uphold the four basic principles in literary creation and literary work. After the fourth literary delegates' meeting, the slogan that literature is subservient to politics and serves it is no longer proposed, and the direction that literature serves people and socialism has been clarified, thereby opening a wide path for the development and prosperity of the socialist literature.

By not proposing the slogan that literature serves politics, does it mean that we no longer have to uphold the four basic principles? No. Upholding the socialist path, upholding the proletarian dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought have been our party's consistent policy for a long time. Since the historically significant 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the series of policies implemented by the Party Central Committee constitutes the model in upholding the 4 basic principles. Obviously, implementing the "double hundred" policy in literary work naturally implies upholding the four basic principles; if not, our literature will go dangerously astray. Therefore, it is perfectly comprehensible that, by not voicing the slogan that literature must serve politics, we are asked to act according to the artistic laws, uphold more successfully the party's four basic principles, and correctly implement the "double hundred" policy. We must also point out that, when we say that literature is not subservient to politics, it absolutely does not mean that there is no relationship between literature and politics and that literature may sever itself from politics. On the contrary, it is for the purpose of correctly understanding and handling the relationship between the two. In any era, literature cannot be severed from politics, and politics and literature are always closely linked and interacting.

Only by correctly implementing the "double hundred" policy and upholding the four basic principles will literature produce an even broader social influence. Literature has an educational effect as well as aethestic and recreational effects. Our socialist literature must satisfy the people's spiritual life in many ways and shoulder important responsibilities in training new socialist persons and improving the ideological, cultural and moral levels of the masses. It must produce an effect in building a high degree of China's socialist material and spiritual civilization and in realizing the "four modernizations." Thus, our literature must properly serve the people and socialism. Generally speaking, a good literary work should be of relatively high ideological and artistic qualities, which are fused into one, and the political and literary criteria should be unified, without neglecting either. Of course, no individual is perfect and no gold is pure. We should not ask for perfection in literary works. As long as the contents of a work are sound, we should not be stringent on its artistic flaws. In forms and styles, we should encourage competition and free development, without arbitrary interference. Only thus will we guarantee the free development of literary creations and academic discussions. The issues of right and wrong in literature need not only the test of time and practice, but also the comments and discrimination of the masses. Therefore, such issues should be solved by means of free discussions and practice, not by administrative orders. The standpoints of following the "double hundred" policy and upholding the four basic principles should be identical. The core of the four basic principles is party leadership. When implementing the "double hundred" policy in the past, we, due to the lack of thorough understanding, encountered this or that kind of problems, which were all solved by means of artistic practice and mass discussions under the party's leadership. For the socialist literature to let a hundred flowers bloom, the writers should have their free choice of what to write and how to write, and there is no need for interference. However, we must uphold the party's leadership in regard to the policies and directions of literature. On the issues of principle and tendency in literary creation and literary work, nor should we take a laissez-faire attitude and, particularly at present, we must give attention to checking the liberal tendencies. In short, only by upholding the four basic principles will we guarantee the correct implementation of the "double hundred" policy and assure the sound development of our literature along the socialist course.

The socialist literature must profoundly reflect the essence of the socialist life and the spirit of our great era. Our country is now in the new era of the socialist construction. It is an era of great changes, discarding the old and bringing forth the new. To realize the "four modernizations," all nationalities in the country, under the party's leadership, are high-spirited and vigorous, toiling assiduously, building a socialist mansion on the vast land of the father country and demonstrating extraordinary wisdom and intelligence and creative spirit. Fearing neither danger nor sacrifice, and stepping into the breach when another falls, they manifest the high aspirations and noble qualities of the children of China. Moving heroic figures and their pioneering spirit incessantly excite, encourage and spur us on. Our writers should extol the pioneers of the "four modernizations" and the generation of socialist new persons; they should extol the great Chinese Communist Party, which is the key force in leading the "four modernizations," the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the People's Liberation Army which serves as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship and the great defender of the "four modernizations!"

The socialist society emerged from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society of the old China. Therefore, inevitably it bears certain flaws and scars of the old society, and even such serious turmoils as during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" came to pass. However, precisely because we relied on the party's leadership and the socialist system, we successfully overcame, by our own strengths, the calamity created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and enabled the socialist construction of our country to take the path of stability and unity and sound development. Hereafter, on our march toward the "four modernizations," we will still have to struggle against the anti-socialist elements and all kinds of criminals, the bourgeois ideological style, bureaucraticism and phenomena detrimental to the interests of the state and the collective. Even though such reactionary and backward things constitute but a very small part in our socialist society, their energy is great, and the conditions are also intricate and complex. Obviously, our literature should, by means of the truthful portrayal of all kinds of social life, criticize the old things, extol the new things, boost the people's aspirations and dampen the spirit of the wicked and the evil. As the dark side of the socialist society and that of the capitalist society are fundamentally different in character and two entirely different things, if literature concentrates on exposing the dark side of the socialist society, it will not be able to honestly portray the true features of our life. We do not object to exposing the dark side of social life in literature, because we feel that exposing the dark side is also for the purpose of criticizing the old and rotten things. Revealing the light will overcome the dark and encourage people to advance. When exposing the dark side, we should not sever ourselves from life and reality and arbitrarily create sensational and thrilling things. Even less should we spread vulgar and mediocre interests and sound pessimistic and depressing notes. We should extol the moving heroic achievements of the people in the "four modernization" construction, express their great confidence and joyous hopes in overcoming all kinds of difficulties and carkness, and strive to reflect the noble and brave spirit of the era.

The people of our country, under the party's leadership, are pursuing an unprecedented great cause in the nation of China. Demanded by the era, large numbers of great works reflecting the era and great writers, wielding the pen for the people and attaining excellence, will emerge. Upholding the four basic principles will not only not fetter the creative talent of the writers, but, on the contrary, add a brilliance dazzling with the epochal spirit to the colorful pens of the writers reflecting the "four modernizations," and open an endless broad new world for literary creation.

6080
CSO: 4005/854

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FORMER MINISTER OF POWER INDUSTRY STRESSES NEED TO TRAIN SUCCESSORS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by XINHUA Correspondent Li Shangzhi [2621 1424 1807]: "New Mission for Senior Cadres--An Interview with State Council Consultant Liu Bolan [0491 3134 3482] on the Training and Selection of Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres"]

[Text] Before retiring to the second line of duty as a State Council consultant early this year, Liu Bolan, former minister of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry, voluntarily recommended an outstanding middle-aged cadre for approval as his replacement to the Central Committee. He is now joining other senior comrades at the Ministry of Electric Power Industry in passing on his experiences to new cadres and in helping and guiding them through a trial period in addition to assisting the new minister in carrying out his work. The leading comrades on the Central Committee have praised him as a far-sighted and open-minded comrade in the ranks of the party. This correspondent interviewed him recently for this reason.

Liu Bolan is a senior comrade who has devoted the past half century to the revolutionary cause and struggle. In the years of white terror imposed by the enemy, he spent a long time engaging in the underground work on behalf of the party. He was former secretary of the underground work committee of the CCP Northeast Army. During the "Sian incident," he did a lot of work for the party when he was nearly 30 years old. His interview with this correspondent began with the "Sian incident." After reminding me that many outstanding revolutionaries at that time were very young and many comrades were only in their teens and twenties at the time of the founding of the party, comrade Liu Bolan said thoughtfully: "In the past, we relied on youth to transform the world. Today, they are still indispensable to the cause of the revolution and construction." He has demonstrated a loving care for them. His interest in training younger cadres did not begin today. He has provided them with opportunities to acquire professional knowledge and get acquainted with the work of the party. During the interview, I also asked him to discuss problems along this line.

"On such problems, much has been said by several leading comrades on the Central Committee. Since the smashing of the 'gang of four,' and especially since the party's Third Plenum, old fellows like me have demonstrated a common desire to serve the party and the people for another 10 or 20 years. However, time waits for no one. Some 32 years have passed since the founding of the PRC. We are now old men in our sixties and seventies. Many comrades who have fortunately survived the wars and the cruel oppression at the hands of the 'gang of four' during the 10 years of turmoil are now in poor and failing health. Since they can no longer do what they wish, they should now consider turning over their tasks to somebody else. To do so is to meet the needs of the revolution and the development of the society. These are also the laws of nature which no one can resist."

"However," he said emotionally, "old fellows like me also have a common desire to turn over our cause to the reliable middle-aged and younger cadres instead of the remnant followers of the 'gang of four.' Nor can we turn it over to those who resist and oppose the line, principles and policies adopted by the party since the Third Plenum. This is a matter of principle."

Contending that the senior comrades should bear the brunt of training and selecting the middle-aged and younger cadres and should play a key role in this field, he said: "The leading comrades on the Central Committee have emphasized that although the old comrades may be pardoned for other mistakes, they would be committing an unforgivable historical error if they did not redouble their efforts to train younger successors. I understand that the old cadres can neither abandon their responsibility voluntarily and actively to train and select younger successors nor pick up wrong targets for training."

Comrade Liu Bolan thoughtfully paused for a moment and said: "In a broad sense, the training of younger successors is a concern of all trades and professions. But what is particularly significant to us today is the training and selection of the middle-aged and younger cadres to assume the leading posts of the party and state at all levels, a task to which we must pay special attention."

Discussing the best ways to train and select the middle-aged and younger cadres, Liu Bolan put the stress on the development of good standards and proper methods and measures. He said: The party Central Committee has proposed to gradually build up a contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres. This will be our only correct criterion for training and selecting the middle-aged and younger cadres. I understand that we need cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime years. The most basic requirement and prerequisite is their noble revolutionary virtue. In other words, they must uphold the four basic principles, be determined to take the socialist road and actively implement the line of the party's Third Plenum; they must be decent and match their words with their deeds.

Commenting on the training and selection measures, Liu Bolan said: We must select as many cadres as possible for training. We must test them at the various basic level leading posts so that they can be provided opportunities to acquire more comprehensive experiences in leading others and to increase their ability to provide leadership for work in all fields. He said: "An example is Li Peng [2621 7720], presently minister of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry. As the son of a martyr, he was tempered under the most difficult conditions. He received special training at a foreign college and has to his credit outstanding academic achievements. However, when he left school, we still felt that he was out of touch with rustic people, and lacked practical experiences in work. In view of this, the party organization of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry decided to send him to the grassroots units. During the past 20 or 30 years, he has served as engineer, factory director, party committee secretary, and utility bureau chief, as well as manager of the hydroelectric and thermoelectric power plants and operator of power generating and transmission units. He has built up his professional skills in handling work between the party and the masses, and in management. In view of this, his foundation seems more solid than others. Of course, he is not perfect. When observing a cadre, we must focus attention on his basic quality and achievements."

Then, Comrade Liu Bolan told me a story of "horses, male and female and black and yellow" as follows: When Bo Luo [0130 2867] grew old, he recommended Jiufang Gao [0046 2455 4108] to Duke Mu of the State of Qin as his replacement. Duke Mu of the State of Qin then ordered Jiufang Gao to look for a horse capable of galloping at a speed of 1,000 li a day. Some 3 days later, Jiufang Gao returned and said that he found a yellow female horse in Shaqiu. However, the horse seen by the man sent by Duke Mu of the State of Qin in Shaqiu was a black male. Duke Mu of the State of Qin later told Bo Luo fretfully that the man you recommended could not even tell male from female nor black from yellow and how could he select a horse capable of galloping at a speed of 1,000 li a day? Bo Luo sighed and said that in selecting horses, Jiufang Gao emphasized their quality instead of appearance; this was why I called him a man with a quality thousand times superior to me! Bo Luo's word was verified when that good horse made its appearance in Duke Mu's presence.

"This story deserves our great attention." He followed this story with another as follows: More than 40 years ago, there was a capable social activist closely associated with the upper stratum of the Kuomintang and people from all walks of life in society He was a man with extremely complicated social connections. For his active participation in the war of resistance against Japan, and for his genuine support of the revolution, the party finally recruited him as its member. After that, he capitalized on his special connections to get a lot of work done and was even able to obtain for the party an important piece of intelligence on Hitler's plans to start a war of aggression. Comrade Liu Bolan said emotionally: "As far as our employment of talented people is concerned, we must help them display their merits and overcome their shortcomings."

Liu Bolan considers the present moment to be the best opportunity for training and selecting younger successors. His reasons are as follows: 1) The party Central Committee has made up its mind on this matter and has set correct criteria for this purpose; 2) many old comrades are still alive; 3) the complexities of events that have taken place during the past decade or more resemble an x-ray under which no one can cover up his true nature. This is really a very favorable condition for selecting younger cadres. He said: "Everything is ready for a voyage that needs the east wind. We have talked too much. At present, action still needs to be taken."

According to Comrade Li Peng, before Comrade Liu Bolan was relieved of his posts as the minister of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry and secretary of its party organization early last March, he provided the party organization with 10 proposals on how to achieve success in work on the basis of the many years of his experiences. After becoming a State Council consultant, he has continued to pay great attention to the work of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry. When I asked him to comment on his own ideas on this matter, he said: "Senior cadres should never think that they have no more to do after someone has taken over their job. As long as their health permits, they should continue to help and guide the new cadres through a trial period. They should continue to give these new cadres active assistance and support with sincere hearts. Many other senior comrades at the Ministry of Electric Power Industry have followed this approach and have demonstrated a high political consciousness in this connection." He added: "If there are contradictions between new and old cadres, senior comrades must adopt a judicious and unbiased attitude. They should consider this a very significant step in preserving the unity of leading bodies and in helping younger cadres grow into maturity." He emphasized that "Every senior comrade should distinguish himself by helping the newly promoted cadres 'surmount difficulties! and by guiding them through 'a trial period.'"

When this correspondent bade him farewell, this senior comrade said jokingly while standing by the door to his home: "As soon as we complete the process of training and selecting younger successors and cadres, we old fellows will have nothing to worry about and will be happy to join the list of ghosts headed by Marx!"

9574
CSO: 4005/844A

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTIC DIGEST--Beijing, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--WEN ZHAI BAO [2429 2298 1032] published by the All-China Association of Journalistic Workers will formally be off the press in October. WEN ZHAI BAO is a newspaper which will publish, in digest form, articles of various newspapers and periodicals from throughout the country. Since there are several thousand newspapers and periodicals in China, the periodical will make it easier for readers the main features of these newspapers and periodicals. WEN ZHAI BAO will tentatively be published once a week. It will have eight pages of [words indistinct] [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0147 GMT 2 Sep 81 OW]

JILIN BUDDHIST MEETING--The first Jilin provincial buddhist representatives meeting concluded 29 August after a 5-day session. Twenty-five representatives from various localities attended the meeting. The meeting participants studies the documents of the sixth plenum, adopted a report on preparatory work and future tasks by the preparatory group of the provincial buddhist association, approved the general regulations of the provincial buddhist association and elected the leading body of the association. (Shu Pei) was elected director and (Wang Youshan), (Zhong Quan), (Xin De) and (Yu Pu) elected deputy directors of the provincial buddhist association. (Ma Zhanfeng), deputy director of the united front department of the provincial CCP committee, received all representatives. [SK302327 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 81 SK]

CSO: 4005/883

CARTER VISIT TO PRC, PRC-U.S. RELATIONS DISCUSSED

HK270729 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 27 Aug 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Carter's Visit to China and Sino-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has arrived in China on invitation for a visit. He will have talks with Deng Xiaoping and other principal Chinese leaders.

China never forgets its old friends. In the course of establishing Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations, Richard Nixon established the basis for new Sino-U.S. relations, Gerald Ford actively promoted them and Carter finally completed the establishment of diplomatic relations. The sustained efforts of the three presidents represent a new chapter in Sino-U.S. relations.

Ronald Reagan, who succeeded Carter as president, has pursued a China policy somewhat different from that of his predecessors and has brought about a certain unpleasantness between China and the United States. Will Carter's current visit to China help to eliminate the unpleasantness between the two countries and promote Sino-U.S. relations?

Shortly before Carter's current visit, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger and former Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Holbrooke came to China at the same time and discussed Sino-U.S. relations with Li Xiannian. The guests indicated that it was necessary for both China and the United States to look upon Sino-U.S. relations from the global point of view and establish a long-term strategic relation. This aspiration and opinion were without a doubt a subtle criticism of Reagan's China policy. On the eve of his visit to China, Holbrooke wrote an article in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, concluding that China's dissatisfaction with Reagan's way of doing things was by no means bluff and bluster and suggesting that the Reagan administration cherish "the huge strategic and political benefit derived from a whole decade of continuous improvement in the (Sino-U.S.) relations." These opinions of Holbrooke obviously came down in one continuous line from Carter's stand on China. It should be said that the visits to China by former U.S. leaders have been conducive to the improvement of Sino-U.S. relations which have an undercurrent.

The undercurrent in Sino-U.S. relations finds concentrated expression in the Reagan administration's Taiwan policy. The ever-declining international standing of the United States has been unable to resist Soviet expansion single-handedly and has thus determined that the United States should adopt a friendly policy toward Beijing in a common effort to check Soviet influence in the East. However, out of their vested interests in Taiwan and their apprehension over the unification of China, a few people in the United States are attempting in all respects to create a split situation of "one China, one Taiwan" deliberating on the sales of weaponry to Taiwan, taking minor actions to gradually upgrade Taiwan-American relations and continuously luring China into making a promise of renowning force in the liberation of Taiwan. This self-contradictory dual policy has been established on the basis of an illusion about China; that is, China will be conciliatory and accommodating in order to uphold Sino-U.S. relations. When this illusion has been punctured by reality, they have no alternative but to hesitate and wait. Sino-U.S. relations since Reagan came to office have thus been slowed down and even reversed, sometimes advancing and sometimes retreating.

In order to dispel the illusion of some people in the United States about China and allow China to understand Reagan's Taiwan policy more clearly, it is necessary for both parties to get into contact. The visits to China by Schlesinger, Holbrooke and Carter in succession can be regarded as playing a linking role. However, the more direct contacts will still be the meetings between the incumbent high-ranking leaders of both countries. Mark Hatfield has shown sound judgment when he said in Beijing that a visit by Reagan to China would be "better sooner than later."

There will be a North-South summit 22-23 October and Zhao Ziyang's and Reagan's attendance at the summit will help to bring about a meeting between the heads of both governments. If the atmosphere proves to be harmonious, it is possible that the planned Reagan visit to China and Zhao Ziyang's visit to the United States will be arranged sooner than expected in order to clarify the stand and policy of both parties.

On the question of the unification of the motherland, China cannot be expected to indicate its renouncement of force because this matter is China's internal affair and China does not need to make any promises to foreign countries. The atmosphere on both sides of the Taiwan Strait shows signs of relaxation and calm. Should Reagan sell weapons to Taiwan, this would result in destroying the relaxing of tensions in the atmosphere and in aggravating the split of China, which would be beneficial neither to China nor to the United States.

CSO: 4005/884

DISCUSSION OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

HK070956 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 4

[Dispatch: "Sino-American Relations Have Not Made Much Headway and There Is the Danger of a Stalemate or Retrogression"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Sep--Recently, American political VIPs have visited China in succession and held talks with China's leaders. Thus, Sino-American relations have become noteworthy.

Since the new administration took office in the United States, Sino-American relations have made some progress, but the steps have not been big. The danger of a stalemate and even a retrogression has not yet been removed. The reasons are: 1. The Taiwan problem. The United States wants to sell weapons to Taiwan. This hurts the feeling of the 1 billion Chinese people and the dignity of the Chinese Government. 2. The United States has not yet formulated a clear-cut policy toward China and it lacks sincerity in strengthening Sino-American relations.

Specialists on Sino-American relations here pointed out: After establishing official Sino-American diplomatic relations, the Taiwan problem should have been solved. It is the United States that has made it complicated. They said, there are quite a number of people inside and outside the U.S. Government who are shortsighted and are eager for quick success and instant benefits. These people try to ignore the 1 billion Chinese people and they wholeheartedly hope that "Taiwan could be restored to an important position."

Whether or not the Sino-American relations can be strengthened and developed lies mainly in whether or not both sides treasure and correctly look upon these relations. As friends, support comes from both sides and relations between them are for mutual benefits. Neither side is begging for a favor from the other and much less for charity. Strengthening Sino-American relations is the international strategic need of both sides and it is also the need of international security. Even if the Strait of Malacca is blockaded, China will still be able to stand on its own feet. But to the United States, it will be something to worry about.

Here a person who is familiar with the Sino-American relations said: The U.S. attitude toward strengthening the Sino-American relations has all along been one of saying much but doing little, making many postures but taking very few actions.

While it is clamoring that it is ready to sell advanced weapons to China, it is reluctant to export even a relatively advanced computer to China. It is also very dangerously trying to play with the Sino-American relations in order to achieve certain international goals. A U.S. specialist on China problems stated: It is dangerous to look upon China as a "card." "Playing the China card is not only an affront to China's dignity but also is not in line with the international political struggle." There is much ground for what he said and some Americans should take heed to this.

CSO: 4005/884

HONG KONG MAGAZINE PRINTS HU YAOBANG COMMENTS ON LITERARY CRITICISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 46, 1 Aug 81 p 16

[From a Speech by Hu Yaobang at a symposium on 17 May; place not specified]

> [Text] Editors note: On May 17 Hu Yaobang gave a speech at a symposium. The following are excerpts concerning the literary issue.

In the last few years there have been great achievements in literature. After the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, a new situation began to develop. Now it has arrived. In the literary field many good things have been created in these few years. ... Every battle line is formed in this way. What is correct and what is mistaken proceed together. Where does one find absolutely no flaws at all? You must confirm your accomplishments and overcome whatever unhealthy and mistaken things appear in the course of progress. We have learned some lessons in the past about overcoming that which is mistaken. And one of the important elements of these lessons of the past is that we have suffered because of not being certain of major currents. Therefore you do not dispose of a great many good things in order to remove a few undesirable things.

In overcoming flaws and mistakes we must adopt reliable methods. Due to historical circumstances everyone is especially sensitive about such things. The literary world has been particularly shaken and therefore pays an extraordinary amount of attention to such matters. Recently, the reaction to the criticism, or let us say appraisal, of "Bitter Love" was intense. Some criticism was certainly permissible, but if more appropriate methods of criticizing had been adopted then the effect would have been somewhat better. Here let me speak briefly of our Jiangsu comrade, Gu Ertan. Based on materials concerning the reactions of others I wrote a commentary. It now appears that my commentary was a bit harsh. According to Jiangsu comrades, Comrade Gu Ertan is not a bad fellow! Today I telephoned Jiangsu to explain things. It is permissible to print some criticisms in the newspapers, but one should go no further than necessary in his remarks. I asked them to take a message and tell Comrade Gu to "summarize his experience, raise his spirits, and work hard."

The author of "Bitter Love" has written some good things, but this particular one is not good. It is harmful. Concerning criticism, as I have said before, it may be somewhat better to call it appraisal. Everyone is used to calling the procedure literary criticism and that is okay. Criticism is a sanitation effort, a washing of the face as it were. It it is not done well, then everyone will feel that everyone is being criticized. In summary, in regard to those things that are not good, 1) criticism can and should be made; 2) leading the author into self-criticism is best, but counter-criticism must be allowed; 3) articles must be issued under an individual's name and not in the name of a party organization or an editorial department; 4) criticism of the work and criticism of the author must be separated and not confused; 5) you must fully explain your reasons and, of course, the reasons you give must be good; and 6) it is not necessary for all newspapers and periodicals throughout the country to print the criticism, but rather some may while others may not and no pressure should be brought to bear to get others to print it. As for the criticism of "Bitter Love," at present the reaction both inside and outside the country remains intense. The debate within our country has yet to quiet down, but it must be brought to an end soon. If anyone asks you, you tell them that when there are shortcomings and mistakes, then some constructive criticism should be offered. But if one or two words are sufficient to settle a matter, then don't criticize. In some cases we needn't be overanxious. We can let matters stand for a while, and then discuss them at a later date.

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CSO: 4005/816

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'TA KUNG PAO' DISCUSSES NEW BEIJING NEWSPAPER

HK020811 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Tien Ming [3944 2494]: "Beijing WENZHAI BAO [LITERARY DIGEST] To Appear in October"]

[Text] Beijing is to have another new newspaper, WENZHAI BAO, due to appear in October. This is another small national weekly newspaper published by RENMIN RIBAO following its publication of the national SHICHANG BAO. It will be published under the name of RENMIN RIBAO Publishing House. It seems that this publishing house is full of vigor and constantly starts new newspapers; it also shows that RENMIN RIBAO has a very large potential. Judging from its material basis and the strength of its staff, it has more than sufficient capability to run several more newspapers; otherwise it would be a real waste. It now seems that a big organization such as RENMIN RIBAO is also effecting reforms in enterprise management, discarding the convention of the "iron rice bowl," tapping potential and trying to make money in various ways.

WENZHAI BAO, as the terms suggest, is a digest of extracts from brilliant articles in newspapers and periodicals throughout the country. It is said that its aim is to take the various newspapers and periodicals across the country as its sources and, in accordance with the demands of the readers, extract the essence of these publications and make every effort to be "up-to-date, essential, broad and quick" and thus play the role of transmitting information, broadening one's views, improving one's knowledge and enlivening one's ideology. It is said that the trial publications of this newspaper have received very favorable comments.

In recent years, newspapers in the provinces and municipalities throughout the country have added the publication of a "literary digest edition" and this seems to have become a common practice. For example, NANFANG RIBAO in Guangzhou has a BANYUl WENCUI which, similar to WENHUI of WEN HUI BAO, adopts the layout of small square pages; moreover, JIEFANG RIBAO in Shanghai also has a WENZHAI BAN which is published once a week.

The "literary digest edition" of these local newspapers is very rich and varied in contents. They not only raise new issues, viewpoints and arguments in the fields of politics, economics, literature and the arts as well as philosophy but also contain a number of knowledgeable columns, such as "Books of the World," "Knowledge of History of Foreign Countries" and "Stories of Ancient and Modern Figures." They are well-embracing in content and terse and forceful in use of words so that the readers are very much interested in them.

The literary digests get their material from a wide variety of sources, such as articles in the local newspapers and periodicals in the provinces and municipalities throughout the country, such as HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, HEILONGJIANG QINGNIAN, NEIMENGGO QINGNIAN, SHUISHANG YOULE in Beijing and MEIYU in Hunan, which are unavailable in other places. In recent years, in addition to the digests at the provincial and municipal levels, there are 51 such newspapers at the county level published or resuming publication in 15 provinces, municipalities and regions throughout the country. There are eight such newspapers in Shandong Province, such as TAIAN XIAN BAO and YANZHOU XIAN BAO; there are seven of them in Jiangsu Province, such as HUAIAN BAO and WUXI XIAN BAO; but there is only one, FANYUXIAN, in Guangdong Province. These grassroots newspapers are not short of good articles. Therefore, the "literary digest edition" published by many newspapers plays a role of exchange.

It seems absolutely necessary for the WENZHAI BAO, run by RENMIN RIBAO, to have its own special features which, in addition to being "up-to-date," "essential" and "broad," must also be "quick"; otherwise it will be difficult to compete with the "literary digest edition" of other newspapers. Moreover, the newspaper will be put on sale throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, WENZHAI BAO is not the first newspaper of its kind throughout the country, because a year ago JIEFANG RIBAO in Shanghai started the first EXCERPTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, a small newspaper put on sale more or less openly. It also publishes excerpts of some articles from Hong Kong newspapers and periodicals, and since its contents are rich, it has been well received in Shanghai. It is said that it sells very well but the only problem is the insufficient supply of paper.

In October, when the Beijing WENZHAI BAO appears, XINMIN WANBAO in Shanghai will also resume official publication. The publication of this WANBAO has been very slow in coming but it is expected that it will be published this time after repeated requests.

CSO: 4005/884

YE JIANYING'S DAUGHTER DISCUSSES PRC CINEMA

HK310759 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 4

[Feature article by reporters Chieh Ling and Lu Hao: "Literature and Art Criticism and the Chinese Cinema--an Interview With Lingzi, daughter of Marshal Ye and Director of 'Open Country'"]

[Text] The First Privately-Operated Film Company

"Literary and art criticism has always existed. Literary and art creation and literary and art criticism are in fact like two sisters walking side by side. They are just like the two rails of a railway track." This was the view on Chinese literary and art criticism expressed yesterday evening to these reporters by Lingzi, film director of China's first privately-operated film company--the Nanhai Film Corporation.

The Nanhai Film Corporation was organized by graduates of the Beijing and Shanghai film academies. It can be said that they are the "academicians" of the Chinese film circles. Lingzi is NPC Standing Committee chairman Ye Jianying's daughter. The first feature film "Open Country" directed by her was selected as China's entry in Italy's Venice Film Festival, and it is actually the first film China has entered in the film festival. The film will be shown in Hong Kong around September or October. Lingzi arrived in Hong Kong some time ago and will board a plane for Italy this evening. She was interviewed by our reporters yesterday evening.

Literary and art works should allow for and require criticism. This is in fact something very natural. However, during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," this kind of criticism was by no means related to literature and art. The criticism at that time was not aimed at the works themselves. It made no distinction between the "work" and the "person" and many people suffered.

Criticism Should Be Aimed at the Work and Not at the Person

Lingzi next talked about her impressions of Bai Hua: "Bai Hua is a person of literary and artistic talent and he is, relatively speaking, a writer of burning zeal. He has displayed his great talent in the art of creation. He has the character of a modern youth." She disclosed that after Bai Hua's "Unrequited Love," there was Zhang Hie's [1728 3381] novel "Heavy Wings." The content of

"Heavy Wings" is even more intense than "Unrequited Love." It is about criticism of the bureaucratic work style. She noted: "Whether or not the state adopts an open policy toward literature and art can only be judged by the final result. It was true that 'Unrequited Love' was criticized, but Bai Hua's poem later received an award. Now, there is 'Heavy Wings.' This shows that this kind of criticism and countercriticism is quite normal and permitted. We should not feel too nervous about it." As for the articles of criticism published by the Chinese Government sources, Lingzi held that they could only represent the writers themselves. They were not anything like the articles published in the "two newspapers and one magazine" during the period of the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, she held that it is necessary to make criticism and countercriticism a normal thing. It was only that people in the past did not adopt a serious attitude toward the question and thereby failed to convince other people. If criticism is pertinent and serious and is aimed at the "work" and not the person, there should be no problem no matter how intense it it. It will only bring even greater benefits to the writer.

Marshal Ye Is Only Concerned About How She Conducts Herself

Cao Yu's novel "Open Country" has always been one of the focuses of controversy in the literary and art circles. Although Lingzi is Marshal Ye's daughter, she did not discuss the film with her father when she made it.

"He is never concerned about my work; he is only concerned about how I conduct myself. He named me Ye Xiangzhen [0673 0686 4176] and he meant that I should face the truth. He often exhorted me: 'Do not just consume the people's rice for nothing!'"

According to Lingzi, the greatest influence her father has had on her is in classical literature. He often talks to her about the works of Li Bai and other writers.

Why She Made the Film 'Open Country'

Being the first feature film of the first nongovernmental film company of new China, "Open Country" certainly draws the attention of the film circles at home and abroad. However, why would Lingzi choose the story of "Open Country?"

She said: "'Open Country' may be said to be one that could best express actively the writer's own ardor for the works of Cao Yu. It is bold and uninhibited and full of vitality. It reflects man's natural instincts and can best move the readers' hearts." So Lingzi has long loved literary work. She also mentioned that renowned poet Wen Yiduo was also very keen on this drama during the war against Japanese aggression. He also asked Cao Yu to rehearse and perform the drama together with him. Now she hoped that she could arouse once again the young people's understanding of this heritage of literature through this film.

Nevertheless, "Open Country" has been a subject of controversy since the 1940s. Some people have said that it is an immature and incomplete work of Cao Yu in terms of both ideology and art. However, it is undeniable that it played a definite part in opposing feudalism in the history of literature. Lingzi noted:

that Jinzi in the story dares to pursue freedom and true love in the old society must be regarded as progressive whether at that time or at present. In other words, it still has current significance. She pointed out: Although new China has guaranteed in law the equality between men and women, there are still many remnants of feudalist thinking among the ordinary people. For example, some women who have become famous would often easily attract many rumors and slander. Why would not the men attract any? This was another major reason why she chose "Open Country."

The Cost Was About HK$1.5 Million

What happened when it was decided that the film would be made? Lingzi said very frankly: "There was no obstruction whatsoever but indeed plenty of advice!" Many people in fact advised them not to make the film. One of the reasons was that it was very difficult to revise the play to make a film. Second, if the content was not properly handled, it would produce side effects. Lingzi explained that this was because certain people in the mainland got very scared whenever they heard about divorce, and this film intensely brought to light this practical problem.

Of course, the process of making the film was by no means completely smooth. A nongovernmental film company was nevertheless a new thing in mainland China, and problems in manpower, materials and even capital surely had to be solved. However, they finally solved them one by one. The actors, actresses, other staff and workers and studios were all on loan from other state-operated film companies. As for capital, they received financial support from the ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE. When the film was shot, the cost was estimated to be around HK$1.5 million.

Filmmaking Should Move Toward a National Style

When referring to recent developments in films in China, Lingzi noted: After the period of seclusion during the Cultural Revolution, we unscrupulously adopted foreign techniques for a time. But now we have made some improvements. She emphasized: Films should move toward an expression of people's lives and should explore people's inner worlds. Only in this way is it possible to make Chinese and foreign films move closer toward each other. On the other hand, the development of films in China should move in the direction of establishing a national style. However, this is still at an exploratory stage and can hardly be achieved by a single generation.

Lingzi said in conclusion: "The film workers in mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong are all 'heirs of the dragon.' They should carry out mutual exchanges and mutually inspire each other in different places and from different angles and explore with concerted efforts the direction for the development of films in China."

CSO: 4005/884

REPORT ON DEATH OF CHEN WEN-CHENG

'WASHINGTON POST' Cited

OW141844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Washington, September 14 (XINHUA)--The WASHINGTON POST today revealed a few of the loopholes which proved the Kuomintang version about Chen Wen-cheng's death was merely a foul play to cover their crimes.

"There is no longer any doubt about it. Chen Wen-cheng was viciously tortured on a recent visit to his native Taiwan. The episode ended in his violent death," the paper said.

The Kuomintang version of Chen's death was that it was either suicide or an accident, in which Chen fell from the top of a fire escape. But the WASHINGTON POST reported that some experts who examined Chen's body found "many injuries, obvious even to laymen, which are not explained by a fall." These experts "believe that Chen was tortured by a variety of means, including needles inserted in sensitive areas. They noted such suspicious injuries as small lesions under the fingernails and on the left wrist, and four puncture wounds in the kidneys--none of which, they believe, would be caused by a fall from a building, accidental or otherwise."

Before Chen's death, he was interrupted [as received] by the Kuomintang military and secret servicemen for 13 hours. "Chen's interrogators claimed to have shared meals with him during his prolonged questioning. The authorities also say Chen had dinner with a friend after the interrogation. Yet the official autopsy showed Chen's stomach was empty," said the report.

Widow on Death

OW121640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1615 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, September 12 (XINHUA)--The widow of a deceased U.S. Carnegie-Mellon University (CMU) professor said yesterday that her husband was murdered in his native Taiwan, and did not commit suicide or die of an accident as claimed by the Taiwan authorities, according to reports from the United States.

The widow, Chen Su-jen, challenged Taiwan's suicide claim following a memorial at the CMU in Pittsburgh, Penn., for her husband Chen Wen-cheng.

Chen Wen-cheng, an assistant mathematics professor at CMU, went to Taiwan with his wife last May to visit their relatives. He was found dead at the National Taiwan University on July 3 after being interrogated by Taiwan police.

Mrs. Chen disputed the Taiwan authorities' contention that her husband killed himself or fell from a roof. "Suicide was not his way. He had a future full of potential...and had everything in the world to live for," she said.

She explained that suspicious cuts and bruises went unexplained in an autopsy report by the Taiwan authorities. "From the minute that I saw his body...I knew it was not an accident. There were just too many unexplainable external wounds."

Mrs. Chen said Chen Wen-cheng was interrogated twice by the Taiwan Garrison Command about political activities in the United States. He was taken from an apartment for a second interrogation by three men the day before he died.

"I hope worldwide response to Wen-cheng's death will help prevent such tyrannical acts in the future. I feel I have the right and obligation to learn the true cause of his death," she declared.

Commenting on Mrs. Chen's statement, CMU president Dr. Richard Cyert said, "That was a tremendous act of courage," adding, "she was concerned about what this means to her family in Taiwan."

The president stressed, "We're determined to get to the bottom of his death. I believe firmly it was not suicide and was not an accident." The university, he said, is prepared to deal with "spying activities" on the campus.

CSO: 4020/245

PRC, TAIWAN TEAMS MEET IN BRIDGE TOURNAMENT

PRC, Taiwan Teams Meet

OW290318 Beijing XINHUA in English 0258 GMT 29 Aug 81

[Text] Hong Kong, August 28 (XINHUA)--The Shanghai team met Taipei team "A" in a preliminary round group match of the inter-city contract bridge tournament here tonight.

This was the first encounter between the players from either side of the Taiwan Strait, which drew hundreds of enthusiasts to the silver ballroom of Sheraton Hotel where the match took place.

The Shanghai team came from behind to beat Taipei team "A" 5.68 to 2.32. The latter is an experienced team which had excellent scores in many world and Far-East tournaments.

Twelve teams from nine cities entered the preliminary round matches which started yesterday. They are divided into two groups with Bangkok "B," Manila, Tokyo "A," Singapore, Shanghai and Taipei "A" in group "A" and Macao, Tokyo "B," New York, Bangkok "A," Taipei "B" and Hong Kong in group "B." The top two teams will advance into the final round matches.

In group "A," the Shanghai team led so far the score with three wins to one loss, totalling 21.74 points, while Taipei team "A" had 9.72 points. The Shanghai team will take on Bangkok team "B" tomorrow in the last group match.

In group "B," the defending champion Hong Kong team topped the score list and is sure of a berth in the final round competition. The tournament is scheduled to end on August 31.

PRC, Taiwan Compete

OW011252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] Hong Kong, August 31 (XINHUA)--Hong Kong won the international inter-city bridge tournament which closed here today.

The Hong Kong team came first with a better point average.

The Shanghai team of China came second even though it scored three straight wins in the final-stage contest.

The Taipei teams "A" and "B" finished third and fourth.

At the prize-awarding ceremony held after the contest, the Shanghai team and the New York team presented all participating teams with banners and souvenirs.

CSO: 4020/245

BRIEFS

LEGISLATIVE YUAN POLL--Taipei, 7 Sep (CNA)--Premier Sun Yun-hsuan was given the highest mark among 11 cabinet officials in a recent poll taken at the legislative yuan by the newly launched monthly. Dr James Soong, director general of the government information office, and Dr Li Yuan-tzu, minister of justice, placed second and third, respectively, in the same opinion survey. The rating was based on the performance of these officials at the last session of the legislative yuan. Some cabinet officials were not included in the survey on the ground that the legislators did not know them well enough to pass any judgment. Ten items were included in the rating, each assigned a top score of 10 points. They are political integrity, knowledge, sense of responsibility, ability in fielding questions at the legislative yuan, administrative ability, leadership, job performance, coordination, courage and initiative. [Text] [OW071031 Taipei CNA in English 0932 GMT 7 Sep 81]

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 220

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DAZHAI CANDIDATE LOSES ELECTION TO 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 1, 20 Apr 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Tian Peizhi [3944 1014 2784]: "The Failure of a Well-Known Figure to Win Election"]

[Text] The famous person who is the subject of this article is none other than the leading cadre of Dazhai. His is a case everyone is familiar with.

"The Dazhai representative figure failed to be elected to the 12th Party Congress." This has been a topic discussed by many of the cadres and people of Shanxi.

Last year, from 9 December to the 13th, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee convened a party delegate conference in Taiyuan to elect delegates to attend the 12th Party Congress. The result was that the Dazhai representative figure who was nominated as a candidate failed to be elected.

Before reporting on these events, I cannot help but recall an event that occurred 6 years ago. In that session there was also a leading cadre who failed to be elected to the National Party Congress. However, that legitimate election was nonetheless described as an "anti-party affair" in which "the CCP did not elect the CCP." Quite a few comrades who cast opposing ballots were subsequently criticized, to the point of becoming targets of attack. Even this reporter, narrowly escaped disaster as a result of having publicized the circumstances of this election.

Although there are certain similarities in the course of history--the same way in which two leading cadres lost the election--nevertheless the atmosphere on this occasion was decidedly different. Given that the party's practice of democracy 6 years ago was not yet sound, the fact is that this time I witnessed genuine democracy within the party which further strengthened my revolutionary sense of duty as a reporter.

As early as August of last year, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee convened the enlarged session of the standing committee. When they considered the preliminary list of candidates from Shanxi to attend the 12th Party Congress, the vast majority of comrades did not endorse the Dazhai representative figure. When the enlarged sessions of the standing committees in each locality, municipality and county and the party members of the organs under direct control of the province discussed the preliminary list of candidates for the 12th Party Contress, the vast majority of party members of the enlarged sessions of the lcoal, municipal and county standing committees in Jinzhong Prefecture who discussed the preliminary list of candidates for the 12th Party Congress, only 10 percent ratified his nomination.

In my opinion, the main reason this situation occurred is that after the smashing of the "gang of four," the democratic traditions of the party were just in the process of being restored. The eighth item in guiding principles for Inner-Party Political Life clearly states: "Elections must foster the democratic spirit to the utmost and accurately reflect the will of the voters" and "It is necessary to revolutely oppose and guard against infringement upon the right of party members to vote, making elections become mere formality and to discourage voters from expressing their will." In Shanxi Province, that so-called unusual situation in which "opposing the Dazhai representative figure" was seen as tantamount to "opposing Dazhai" has already become a thing of the past. Furthermore, not electing him to the 12th Party Congress was really not equivalent to denying his past accomplishments and correct actions. Is it possible that the correct opinions of the majority of party members should not be reflected? The masses, cadres and most party members had the courage to speak the truth, they dared to exercise their own democratic rights. This is the new exhilarating and uplifting atmosphere.

The democratic spirit of the party members during the delegate conference of the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee has rarely been seen before. Most party delegates both affirmed the Dazhai representative figure past achievements and contributions and exposed his errors and problems.

In summary, his major errors consist of the following: Since the "Great Cultural Revolution" he has pursued the "left" deviationist line politically and economically, he has engaged in organizational rationalism, he has attached large numbers of cadres and people, he has wreaked havoc, and he has impeded and disrupted the development of productive forces. At the same time, he has engaged in trickery, made false reports of output and sought honor through fraud and deception. More seriously, following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, he continued to oppose the directives of the party central committee thereby bringing great harm to the party's cause. This clearly demonstrates that he lacked the qualifications to be a delegate.

During this session the leadership repeatedly explained that to nominate him as a delegate candidate would embody the party spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones. They further pointed out that he recently examined himself and acknowledged his own errors. Nevertheless he still lost the election. In the final analysis he brought this on himself. This incident makes it clear that even if a person has acted correctly, once he divorces himself from the masses and deviates from the correct party line it is inevitable that he will lose the confidence of the people.

Quite a few delegates said to me: "When we have strayed from our units, many party members have urged us: 'You should truthfully represent the views of party members, you must not elect him delegate.' Under these circumstances if we were to vote in his favor, how could we justify this to party members on our return?"

This was an election that truly reflected the will of the voters. The period when the "gang of four" ran amuck and trampled on democracy has already passed, never to return.

9864
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NEW CCP BRANCH IS BORN AT DAZHAI

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 1, 20 Apr 81 pp 21-22

[Article by Zhang Jinxing [1728 6651 5281] and Jin Jiasheng [6855 0857 5716]: "The Birth of a New Party Branch at Dazhai"]

[Text] Upon hearing that a new party branch has come into being at Dazhai, we were very eager to pay a visit. In the past we have frequently visited Dazhai, however, on this occasion we sensed a new atmosphere.

One thing made a strong impression: even though the superficial "Red fire" of the past was no longer seen, the fervor remaining in the hearts of the people of Dazhai was very striking. The most conspicuous expression of this was their courage in talking about their intimate feelings.

In earlier days Dazhai used to be a dynamic and vital place but the deathly silence created by the feudalistic patriarchal rule hidden by external appearances has made the people feel stifled. When we came here with numerous colleagues during that period it was difficult to even conduct a normal interview. As soon as the acting host of Dazhai caught sight of reporters he would invariably hold his tongue and say nothing concerning the "political affairs" of Dazhai. At best he would only exchange pleasantries and that is all. Several colleagues who had stayed here for many years dared to cry out only as they were leaving: "We haven't yet made it past the gatepost to Dazhai!"

At the present time all this has become a thing of the past. This time as I arrived in Dazhai, not long after the celebration of Spring Festival, a play was in progress in the village. It differed from the past in that it was no longer a "special honorary performance" presented by a professional theater company but rather a play put on by a hired amateur theater troupe. During the next several days relatives and friends milled around throughout the village. Streets and lanes had a cheerful and relaxed atmosphere. When many commune members and cadres met us, they were able to openly and freely. Although this was quite common in other mountain villages, in Dazhai it was a novelty. For this was, after all, the first time that the representative figure of Dazhai had broken with the conventions of that period.

When we talked with the new branch secretary Jia Changsuo [6328 7022 6956] we quite naturally recalled a favorite phrase of his: "We could never talk like that."

Jia Changsuo, a 35 year old man of few words, was very sincere and straightforward. He has always lead the commune members along the forefront of positive action. He has never been one to put himself in the limelight or to take part in thoughtless chatter. He is incapable of that.

Jia Changsuo briefed us on the experience of re-electing the party branch. In addition to the re-election and re-appointment of the incumbent deputy secretary Liang Bianliang [2733 0189 5328] and the incumbent branch committee members Song Liying [1345 4539 5391] and Jia Laiheng [6328 0171 1854], four new members were elected: Jia Chang suo, branch secretary; Li Youming [2621 2589 0730], deputy branch secretary and brigade chief; the 29-year old bright and capable bookkeeper Zhao Cuntang [6392 1317 2768], branch committee member; Guo Ailian [6753 1947 5571] who for many years held the post of Chairman of the Women Delegates Conference, branch committee member. Party members and commune members praised the new body as being "quite well put together." Jia Chengrang [6328 2110 6245], deputy secretary in the Dazhai Commune Party Committee of the former party branch committee laughingly said: "The incumbents are still competent and the newly elected make promising successors."

The reason everyone felt so satisfied was because this election truly embodied the democratic spirit. How were all the preceding party branches formed? To get an idea of what went on, listen to what Song Liying of the old party branch committee had to say: "It used to be that he (referring to the representative personage of Dazhai) would say that today we need a deputy secretary and with this one sentence you would become a deputy secretary. The next day he would say that we have too many deputy secretaries, followed by your dismissal. At that time, with the circumstances changing day to day, even I could not say for sure what my own position was."

This election certainly set a precedent for Dazhai. First of all, the opinions of the people were solicited from far and wide, then a list of candidates was proposed by party members. After having given it thorough consideration, party members voted to determine the nine candidates. Jia Changsuo had held the post of deputy brigade chief in the branch committee for many years and had much popular support. However, merely because the Dazhai representative personage felt dissatisfied with him, he brought criminal charges against him and dismissed him from all his duties. As a result of this, Jia's prestige grew even greater. Last year the party branch announced his rehabilitation. In this election he was the only one to be included on the list of candidates with full backing.

At the formal election, the voting method adopted was that of majority vote and secret balloting. This, too, was unprecedented in Dazhai. As for that once mighty representative personage, the "patriarch" of Dazhai, not one person nominated him.

After the new body was formed, the first thing they did was to sum up the moral lesson of this experience. Jia Changsuo discussed five articles at the conference of all commune members. Everyone felt very pleased with this and said that they had never heard of Dazhai having such honest and realistic self-criticism before.

For many years the people had no choice but to praise the Dazhai representative personage and that set of leftist things that he preached. Even the higher authorities often had to take their cue from the expression in his eyes, otherwise they would be labeled at every turn as "anti-Dazhai" or as having questionable "points of view" etc. Consequently, he caused great unrest throughout Dazhai and incurred widespread resentment. In view of this situation, as soon as the new party branch was established it focused on reviving the party's good traditions and good style of work as well as improving relations between the party nad the people and among close neighbors. During this year's Spring Festival they supplied the teachers dining hall at the Dazhai school with 60 jin of pork and sold each teacher 10 jin of wheat. In addition, they presented 3 jin of Dazhai's locally produced white wine to the reception center. The comrades said: "Even though there may not be much of this wine, its effect is great." These past few years there have been some cadres at Dazhai who have had relatively spacious living quarters. Commune members have been reluctant to speak up about this. The new party branch investigated the demands of the people and promptly adjusted the living quarters for over 40 households who had inferior housing. In recent years, some veteran party branch committee members have not been putting sufficient time into labor participation yet their recorded work points and payments received, in actual fact, have been quite substantial. The people have complained about this. The new party branch considered the views of the commune members to be reasonable. The former party branch used to shout high sounding words in vain telling the cadres not to add on extra work points. In practice, however, it was very difficult to carry out. The recording of the old cadres compensation for labor was indeed beset with problems. Lately, taking into account these old comrades' earlier contributions and their fragile and sickly condition, the new party branch clearly stipulated that besides participating in as much labor as they are able, they may still receive a share of subsidiary work points. This democratic style of work and the attitude of seeking truth from facts of the new party branch has won the full admiration and acceptance of the people. In present day Dazhai that oppressive atmosphere caused by an individual or a small minority making arbitrary decisions has already been eliminated. The new party branch constantly heeds the voice and criticism of the masses. This is truly an excellent beginning.

At present the new party branch of Dazhai is in the process of leading the commune members in further implementing the party's rural economic policies. When it came time to depart, Jia Changsuo enthusiastically urged us to return. We certainly will come back, for it is the arduous struggle and the self-reliance of the people of Dazhai that draws us to this place.

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REGULAR PARTY ACTIVITIES RESUMED IN SHANXI

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 81 p 1

[Article by Zhu Jichu [4281 1015 5969]: "Leading Party Members Take Part in Regular Party Activities"]

[Text] The party organizations in Shanxi have resumed and strengthened the system of party activities in accordance with the "code of internal party political activities." Leading members of party organizations at various levels take the lead in joining the activities and set an example to the rank-and-file of the party, playing an important role in regular party activities and increasing the fighting strength of the party.

For approximately the past year, standing committee members of the provincial party committee, in their capacity as ordinary party members, have gone to the branches and groups of their units and, in accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, persisted in regular activities of the organization and restored the system of holding a meeting of standing committee members for regular party activities once every 6 months. Inspired by members of the standing committee, a number of leading party cadres at the county level and above in Shanxi are able to take part in regular party activities conscientiously. Twelve of the 13 standing committee members of the Yanbei Prefecture party committee take part in their branch party activities. Of the 118 standing committee members in 9 counties and wards, 102 conscientiously take part in party activities of their groups. Party organizations at the basic level in the province have resumed and strengthened the system of "three meetings and one course." To place party activities on a regular and institutionalized basis, the vast majority of party organizations have arranged for meeting records on activities to be kept and, after each meeting, a special report on meeting records should be sent to the party organizations at the higher level. At the same time, the provincial, prefecture and county organizations have irregularly sent for meeting records of their subordinate party organizations for perusal and they have sent inspectors to check on these organizations' persistence in party activities. Those units upholding the system effectively, whose leaders take part in party activities, will be cited; those units upholding the system with poor results, whose leaders seldom take part in party activities, will be criticized and helped.

Having studied the "code" and the draft revision of the party constitution, particularly the documents of the Central Work Conference, party organizations at various levels have decided to accept as important features of party activities the way party organizations have implemented the guiding principles of the party. The standing committee of the Yuncheng Prefecture committee once held two meetings for party activities. In these meetings, they recalled and summed up the grave error committed by Zhang Huaying [1728 2037 5391], former main responsible person of the prefecture committee, who had resisted the line and policies of the Third Plenum. In doing so, they examined their own thought and work, thereby distinguishing right and wrong, finding their bearings and strengthening their unity. Under the ideological influence of the "leftist" deviation, the provincial department of the textile industry blindly chose sites for building plants without regard to objective conditions which resulted in heavy economic losses. Leading party cadres of the party organization for this department and the government office conscientiously studied the Central Committee documents No 1 and 2, looked back on and summed up their own experiences and lessons, got rid of the "leftist" influence and enthusiastically implemented the readjustment policy. At a meeting for activities of party organizations, members of the party branch for the Jingming Brigade in Quwo County studied the documents of the Central Committee and discussed the question--"Is the production responsibility system progress or retrogression?"--in light of actual conditions, straigthened out their five fears--"deviation from principle and line," constant change of policies, demoralization of commune members, lack of authority, and overturn of the organizational structure--and heightened their awareness of the need to enforce the responsibility system in agricultural production.

Many responsible comrades of our party organizations in Shanxi have realized from their experiences and the lessons of party activities that struggle which goes too far is an important factor in undermining the unity of the party and sapping its fighting strength and that criticism and self-criticism is an important condition for strengthening the unity of the party and increasing its fighting strength. With this realization they are able to take the lead in conducting criticism and self-criticism according to the policy of unity-criticism-unity. A standing committee member of the party committee for the Jingwei Textile Mill in Yuci sought personal privileges, this was very disruptive among the masses. The party committee for this textile mill held a standing committee meeting for party activities, during which his error was solemnly criticized and proper arrangements were made for dealing with the case, thereby rectifying the party style and strengthening relations with the masses.

For the past year or more, leading members of party organizations have persisted in taking part in party activities, strengthened party building, and strengthened and improved party leadership with great results. But, compared with the Yenan experience and the initial post-liberation period, activities of party organizations are still far behind. At the same time, meetings for party activities are not held regularly and seriously and, in some cases, they are held with poor results. Some leading party cadres are not able to take part as ordinary party members in meetings for party activities. This being the case, further efforts have to be exerted in order to uphold a system of meetings for party activities. The organization department of the Shanxi Prefecture Central Committee studied and worked out several measures for pushing party organizations to uphold the system. On the basis of recalling and summing up their bitter lessons of patriarchal

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PARTY AND STATE

AGRARIAN SOCIALISM, OTHER THEORETICAL TRENDS OF 1956-1976 PERIOD CRITICIZED

Nanjing NANJING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE) [NANJING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES)] in Chinese No 4, 11 Nov 80 pp 98-104

[Article by Ying Xueli [2019 1331 3680] and Sun Hui [1327 8748]: "Some Theoretical Questions Regarding the Later Period of the Socialist Transformation in Our Country"]

[Excerpts] In the later stage of the socialist transformation, our party carried on a movement opposing "right-wing socialism." It appears that the ideology guiding this movement was that of agrarian socialism, which is in opposition to scientific socialism. Experience has already shown that the ideology of agrarian socialism seriously hindered the development of the socialist cause in our country and is completely incapable of bringing China onto the path of flourishing, strong socialism. A summarization of the experience of several decades shows us that it is impossible to accelerate our country's economic and political reform without thoroughly eliminating the ideology of agrarian socialism.

In order to eliminate this ideology under our country's conditions, we must clarify several theoretical questions.

1. The Dual Nature of the Peasant Class

This is predominantly a country of peasants, and it was through the peasants that our party came to power. During the democratic revolution, when such people as Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming held the peasant forces in low regard, the revolution was led toward failure; but the correct line, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, relied on the peasants, armed them and liberated them, with the result that the Chinese revolution was victorious. Who can deny the peasants' role in the democratic revolution?

However, the reason that the peasants participated actively in the democratic revolution led by the proletariat was not that the class awareness of this country's peasants was exceptionally high, but rather that in this revolution the proletariat and the broad mass of peasants had common revolutionary objectives and common interests. In the revolutionary process our party devotes especial attention to the vital interests of the peasant class. The target of the democratic revolution was the "three mountains" which weighed upon the people, and especially upon the peasants, while for the peasants the essence of the revolution was the land question and the revolution consisted of the implementation of "equal distribution of land," the ideal for which the peasants had been struggling for thousands of years.

behavior, the Standing Committee of Xiyang County Central Committee worked out a resolution launching criticism and self-criticism, opposing the practice of keeping on good terms, encouraging the practice of observing discipline, and opposing liberalism. They are determined to make the party democratic activity meetings a success.

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EFFECTIVE WAYS TO STUDY 'RESOLUTION' DISCUSSED IN SHAANXI

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by our reporter Dai Guoxian [2071 0948 6343]: "Shaanxi Party Standing Committee Discusses How To Study 'Resolution' Well"]

[Text] "The 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China' adopted by the Sixth Plenum is our sharp ideological weapon for unifying our understanding, achieving unity and forging ahead, but we have to go through a process of study before we can achieve the desired objective. The central task in the second half of this year is to grasp study of the 'Resolution' conscientiously." This was a question specially emphasized by Comrade Zhang Ze [4545 3419], secretary of the provincial party committee at an enlarged symposium for studying the "Resolution" on the afternoon of July 1.

At the symposium, responsible comrades from the standing committee of the provincial party committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial CCP Central Committee, and various departments and committees of the provincial party committee conscientiously discussed the question of how to study the "Resolution" well.

They took the view that the "Resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenum was a historical document and that a grasp of the "Resolution" will have a far-reaching effect on the economic readjustment and various kinds of work and will be of momentous significance in unifying the whole party and implementing the correct line and policies of the party formulated since the Third Plenum. They said: The greatest characteristic of the "Resolution" is that it seeks truth in facts, affirms achievements as they are, admits mistakes as they are, conceals no facts, refrains from raising everything to the plane of principle, and makes a clear-cut and appropriate estimate of merits and demerits. To study the "Resolution," it will be necessary to promote the Marxist style of study and method of thinking, to make a historical analysis of the historical problems from the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and to distinguish achievements from errors, the mainstream from the tributaries, and the substance from the phenomenon. Furthermore, they took the view that in studying the "Resolution," emphasis should be placed on this study by leading cadres, particularly those at the county level and above. After the decision of the Sixth Plenum is transmitted to all levels, leading cadres at the county level and above may be organized in separate groups to study the resolution in study courses or in other appropriate forms. They should be allowed to open their hearts and speak everything on their minds. They should grasp the main issues instead of quibbling over side issues and words. Based on extensively listening to different opinions, they should be purposefully guided to deepen their studies step by step so as to bring their understanding gradually into line with the "Resolution."

Those present at the symposium pointed out: In the course of studying the resolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position, the scientific and guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought as well as the great achievements over the past 32 years since the founding of the Republic should be affirmed in the first place; the correct road to building a modern and powerful socialist country in light of the conditions in our country as formulated since the Third Plenum should also be affirmed. It should be clearly understood that the aim of summing up historical experience is to unite and look forward, to bring the thinking of everybody into line with the basic conclusion drawn in the "Resolution" and to strive for a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

Prior to the symposium, the participants had listened and watched the proceedings of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Hu Yaobang's [5170 5069 6721] important speech in Beijing.

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PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM NEEDED TO SOLVE PARTY PROBLEMS

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Deng Yixin [6772 0110 2450]: "Insist on Using the Method of Criticism and Self-Criticism To Solve Intraparty Contradictions"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is the core force leading our cause. A very important reason why our party is powerful is that it is able to defeat the sabotage of all alien forces through the conquest of its own defects and mistakes. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China": "We must be good at cleansing the dust from ourselves regularly in order to retain forever our revolutionary youth as the party in power." How can we achieve this? Viewed from the historical experience summed up by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" [passed by] the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in order to strengthen our party's ideological construction and organizational construction in the new historical period, we must correctly recognize the contradictions existing within the party and persist in using the method of criticism and self-criticism to solve such intraparty contradictions scientifically.

The 60 years of our party's experience have repeatedly proved that intraparty contradictions always exist; this is a reflection within the party of the class contradictions and contradictions between new and old things in society. In the activities of the party the scientific method for handling superior-subordinate relations, left-right relations, and mutual relations is to let everybody speak sincerely and frankly and to seek truth from facts in carrying out both self-criticism and mutual criticism. Using this method can make intraparty life normal, make party construction more scientific and ideologically relevant, and create only a good effect and not side effects; furthermore, those with unwholesome intentions would be unable to take advantage of it. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We have this Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism with which we can eliminate bad workstyles and preserve good workstyles." Today we are faced with many new situations and new problems; in addition, ours is a large party of 39 million members in power; this situation is likely to cause some comrades to develop differing degrees of feelings of pride and complacency and to become infected with bureaucratic habits. Hence, in the matter of party building, we should pay full attention to this successful experience by giving scope to the fine workstyle of criticism and self-criticism. Insofar as every communist is concerned, consciously developing self-criticism is a manifestation of pure party character and heightened consciousness; correctly carrying out criticism is a demonstration of normal intraparty relations. Insofar as the whole party is concerned, regular application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism is a conspicuous indicator of the difference between our party and any other political party, and is a conspicuous indicator of our party's prosperity and development.

To solve intraparty contradictions, we must use the method of criticism and self-criticism. This is first of all determined by the nature and content of intraparty contradictions. Intraparty contradictions are numerous. In our society, after the exploitive classes are eliminated as classes, class struggle still exists in certain realms because of domestic factors and international influence; the ideological influence of the exploitive classes and other nonproletarian classes still exists. Thus, the dust of capitalism, feudalism, and disposition of small-scale production all rush at us, making it inevitable for contradictions between proletarian thinking and nonproletarian thinking and contradictions between correct thinking and erroneuos thinking to be reflected within the party. But these contradictions are basically a kind of ideological contradiction. That is to say, they are basically contradictions in workstyle, thinking style, and lifestyle, contradictions between materialism and idealism, contradictions between dialectics and metaphysics. The nature of those kinds of contradictions is different from that of class contradictions, and still moreso from contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. They are contradictions among the people and, generally speaking, internal contradictions among revolutionary comrades struggling for the communist cause. This being the case, we can only use democratic methods, the methods of persuasion and education, and the method of criticism and self-criticism to bring about solutions to these contradictions. As for those metamorphic, qualitatively changed elements who have sneaked into the party, elements who violate the law and discipline, alien class elements, and hidden counterrevolutionaries: our struggle with them, on the one hand, goes beyond the realm of intraparty contradictions; on the other hand, once such contradictions appear within the party, we must first expose them within the party and then adopt appropriate legal forms to solve them. But we must see that the appearance of such situations is generally limited to individual cases.

Correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism to solve intraparty contradictions means "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades" (Mao Zedong, "Our Study and the Current Situation").

Clarity in ideology means that on important questions--that is, on questions of right and wrong relating to the party and the interests of the people--every communist should adhere to truth, adhere to the party's principles in a clear-cut manner, and clearly demonstrate one's own attitude by indicating what one supports and what one opposes; [a communist] can never abandon such principles and tolerate the unhindered spreading of errors. Refraining from criticizing errors can only damage the proletarian character of our party. We know that nonproletarian ideas and erroneous ideas, reflected in various ways, are erosive to the party's organic body. Thus, through criticism we must enable the comrades who commit mistakes and the comrades who have not yet committed mistakes to perceive why certain mistakes are mistakes, where these mistakes are, and how they are going to find the detailed methods to correct them. We all have this kind of experience: people often must go through zigzags and repetitions in perceiving problems and accepting truths. Therefore we cannot just think of simplicity and pleasure in trying to solve intraparty contradictions. Enable people to speak boldly, and make it possible for everybody to reason; try to reason clearly, and make it possible for reason to be heard in everything: only thus will the situation be of benefit to the clarification of ideology, the elucidation of right and wrong, and the elevation of the party's ideological level and fighting stamina.

Unity among comrades may be said to be the point of departure as well as the destination for us to launch criticism and self-criticism. Since intraparty contradictions are a kind of ideological contradiction, then criticism of mistakes is intended precisely to have the ideology of comrades who commit mistakes corrected so that all can be united in the march forward. This can be done only by the method of calmly laying out the facts in the manner of a gentle breeze and a mild rain and reasoning, by developing criticism and self-criticism. Toward comrades who have made mistakes, or who have even made serious mistakes and become incorrigible, we should try to persuade and educate them with a loving, sympathetic attitude, and must not resort to excessive struggle. We must create an atmosphere so that the majority of people within the party, including those who have made mistakes, will not become fearful once they hear about criticism. When we criticize mistakes, we must not resort to subjective judgment, suppression with preponderant power, or forced analogy and farfetched comparison; instead, we must proceed from reality in everything, specify mistakes as they are without any coverup or exaggeration, and enlighten the comrades who have made mistakes to consciously examine their mistakes and raise their own consciousness. Meanwhile, in the case of comrades who accept criticism willingly, once they have correctly understood their mistakes and have begun to change their behavior, we must not continue to haggle over their mistakes but must create more propitious conditions for them to correct them. We must not discriminate against them, but must support them to correct their mistakes in their work.

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RELEVANT CRITICISM SAID NOT A RETURN TO 'BIG STICK'

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Ming [2799 2494] and Qi Sheng [7871 0524]: "Criticism and 'the Stick'"]

[Text] A stick is ordinarily an instrument cut from a branch of a tree or a bamboo tree, or made of metal. People come into contact with it regularly in their daily life and can hardly do without it in handling their basic necessities of life. Yet, if the use of this "stick" is borrowed in the social realm and ideological realm, it somehow becomes a very bad thing and has a very bad reputation; people loathe it and resent it.

During the 10-year period of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the power they wielded to cause "labels" to fly everywhere and "the stick" to strike everywhere. Seizing upon a word or a phrase uttered by certain people, they raised everything to the plane of a principle, exaggerated at random, and even fabricated facts from whole cloth, thereby trumping up criminal charges against them; as a result, not a few cadres and the masses innocently suffered under their attacks and persecutions. Under such circumstances, "the stick" also became the equivalent to persecution or attack against others.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has devoted a great deal of energy to reversing the condition under which inner-party political life remained abnormal. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" reiterated the "three not's" principle for us to firmly carry out: "Do not seize on another's shortcomings and blow them up; do not put labels on people; and do not use the big stick." This has created good conditions for us to relieve ourselves of ideological concerns, to speak as we wish when discussing problems, to speak the truth, and to address ourselves to realities. We are pleased to see that a political situation with both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness is now taking shape.

But for a period of time we have also heard about a certain kind of reaction. For example, the socialist path, people's democratic dictatorship, leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought are political principles to which everybody must adhere. Yet some people somehow feel rather repulsed and [mistakenly] feel these four basic principles are four "sticks." Once they hear others talk about the four basic principles, they think their own hands and feet are being tied and their freedoms are being restricted, and they thereby openly trumpet about wanting to "break through." In reality, adhering to the four basic principles is meant precisely to protect the greatest freedom of the greatest majority. It is not permissible to swing the stick at random against things which do not run counter to the four basic principles. We definitely cannot practice "absolute democracy" or "pure freedom" apart from the four basic principles. We all know that "absolute democracy" and "pure freedom" simply do not exist in this world. In the modern capitalist countries where "freedoms" are flaunted, the citizens' freedom of speech cannot go beyond legally prescribed limits. To those who wish to do whatever they please, the four basic principles surely constitute a kind of constraint, but such constraint is something that we cannot do without. This is because these [principles] represent the fundamental interests of the people and have to do with the future and destiny of the party and state. If we were to abandon them, we would have no hope for the construction of the four modernizations, our nation would be subjected to unprecedented disasters, and the people of the whole country would be subjected to the hefty flail of the foreign stick of imperialism and the indigenous stick of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Such a miserable and painful scene, which one can hardly bear to look back on, is profoundly understood by those who have lived in old China.

Some people even take criticism against wrong things as "swinging the stick." When they see newspapers and journals putting forth critical opinions on some articles and works, they are prone to say that now "the stick is being swung" again and to express thereby their concern that what little democracy already exists is liable to be "swept really clean like a vast expanse of whiteness," or they even take such criticism as "trampling, devastation, and chopping." Such a view is also incorrect. We should see very clearly that our country at present is at a historical turning point; the people's thinking is very lively, but there also appears in it some confusion, and there are both "leftist" and rightist things. With respect to these erroneous things, we cannot, on the one hand, grab one point without paying attention to the others, begin to swing our stick, and thereby subject people to destruction; nor can we, on the other hand, pretend to listen but hear nothing, look but see nothing, fail to distinguish between right and wrong, and let everything spread. Timely, correct criticism of various erroneous ideas is indispensable for us to march triumphantly forward along the correct, scientific path. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In our society, revolutionary, combative criticism and counter-criticism are a good way to expose contradictions, solve contradictions, develop science and art, and do various kinds of work well." Some people write articles or literary works with an erroneous viewpoint of even grave errors, and others put forward critical opinions: this is entirely normal. If, once others start to criticize, one immediately says that "the stick is being swung," would this not be swinging "the stick" of "no criticism" against others in reverse? If others criticize incorrectly, one can countercriticize, but one cannot take all criticism as "swinging the stick." The purpose of criticism is to "cure the disease to save the patient." This requires that the critic must have the intention to save others; and one being criticized must not resent the treatment by hiding his disease. The knife of a surgical operation may kill a person, but it may also save a person; so one should not be afraid or start to curse as soon as one sees such a knife. Correct criticism is a good thing and should be welcomed. Whether in criticism or in countercriticism, we must lay out the facts and use reason in order to persuade people; we must not threaten or beat people with "the stick." Only through correct criticism and countercriticism can mistakes be corrected, truths be developed, and the people's enterprises become more prosperous.

As for isolated individuals who take our crackdown on reactionary forces and reactionary elements as "swinging the stick," that [view is even more erroneuos. While class struggle is no longer our principal contradiction today, it has still not ended. Just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" points out, it "still exists in certain realms continually." Society still has antiparty, antisocialist, hostile forces and a handful of newly emergent counterrevolutionaries. With respect to these people, we cannot be kindhearted and soft and treat them lightly. We must carry out a resolute struggle against them and legally crack down on them with fortitude. This is absolutely very different from the way the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques slandered and entrapped good people, swung their stick at random, and practiced feudal fascist dictatorship. If we failed to [carry out this struggle, the people's democratic dictatorship would not be consolidated, the political situation of stability and unity would suffer sabotage, and the construction of the socialist four modernizations would not be realized. Everyone can understand this.

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DARE TO CRITICIZE MISTAKES, EXPOSE CONTRADICTIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Ma Guozheng [7456 0948 1767]: "Arrogance, Criticism, and Other Things"]

[Text] Differences in beliefs and in world outlook will often lead people to come up with different conclusions on matters concerning the value of other people and events.

A large percentage of cadres and intellectuals have displayed a daring spirit to think and speak out on issues, and to do others justice. They have displayed the courage to criticize erroneous ideas and to suggest effective solutions for problems in work. They have also been able to point out categorically imperfections in the plans and operational regulations drafted by their leadership and to recommend reasonable solutions. Such behavior, manifesting a decent style of work and a high sense of responsibility, has been described by some people as a demonstration of "arrogance." Actually, they should be praised for displaying a spirit of daring to think independently and for following a scientific approach to work. Such initiative should be encouraged, while efforts must be made to carry forward this good tradition. Only thus can we bring their professional skills and creative spirit into full play and pool the wisdom of the masses for the benefit of our constructive undertakings.

By saying this, I do not mean encouraging people to "be arrogant because of their talent" and to look down on everyone. In effect, the spirit of daring to do justice to others and of arrogance are two entirely different matters. Needless to say, the demarcation between these two different terms is very clear. True, there are people who are so arrogant and self-conceited that they have refused to acknowledge their shortcomings and mistakes and have rejected correct opinions and criticism. This being the case, a leader must consider it his responsibility to launch criticism against them and display a daring spirit to expose such contradictions and resolve them carefully and properly. In this connection, we must prevent the development of another extreme trend. Under its influence, some people are afraid to denounce those who refuse to thoroughly implement the "double-hundred policy" for "wielding the big stick" and for "meddlesome actions"; they have become so cautious, timid, and chickenhearted that they have failed to speak out and to stand firm on matters of what they believe right. This attitude contrasts starkly with another attitude adopted by others who are unwilling to accept correct opinions and who often accuse their critics of being arrogant. These two attitudes are entirely wrong and will have a detrimental effect on the cause of the party and the people. Today, there are people who have scored some success in work but have made some mistakes. When their success is praised to the point that they seemingly do not deserve [such praise], they never think that it is overdone. But if their leadership criticizes their shortcomings and mistakes, they accuse it of "wielding the big stick again through another political movement against the rightsts." This is indeed a misunderstanding. A long-tested truth verified by practice tells us that without criticism, no progress can be made. We must overcome unhealthy trends affecting our party and society and advance our socialist cause. To this end, we cannot give up criticism as a weapon, and we must frequently mount criticism and self-criticism. Like the fresh air and sunlight, criticism and self-criticism are indispensable to our life. We must do so despite the fact that criticism and self-criticism were once misused by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng to "attain their own aims." In the course of criticism and self-criticism, they deliberately exaggerated the mistakes of others to the maximum, so as to serve their counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Their attempts to wield the big stick through their punitive "mass criticism" should be viewed as another matter and as an action to distort and trample underfoot our party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism. Undoubtedly, we must make efforts to bring order our of this mess. However, we should warn that no one can use this as a pretext to reject criticism of his mistakes and deny his shortcomings. If this is permitted, it will harm not only himself but others as well. Any party organization and any comrades will fail in their duty to cure our social ills if they fail to display a daring spirit to criticize those erring comrades. Acting this way is not a demonstration of true love for these comrades but an irresponsible and laissez-faire attitude toward the people's cause. Such an attitude is unworthy of emulation by anyone.

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USE DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM TO GUIDE WORK STUDIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Wang Shu [3769 2880], Secretary of the CCP Committee of Haixi Zang Nationality Autonomous Zhou: "Persist in Using Dialectical Materialism To Guide Work"; originally published in the 12 August issue of QINGHAI RIBAO]

[Text] Recently we have had the happy occasion to study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," which shines with the light of dialectical materialism and historical materialism throughout.

The "Resolution" points out: Comrade Mao Zedong applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism in the entire work of the proletarian party and thereby shaped the stand, viewpoint, and methods marked by the special characteristics of the Chinese Communists during the long hard struggle of the Chinese revolution. Seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in everything, and uniting theory with actual fact are the specific reflections of this Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods; they are also the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong took this point as the necessary scientific attitude to be followed by our party in its style of work, style of study, and style of ordinary pursuit, and also by us as communists in our work and activities. Looking back at the events of the past as we study the "Resolution," our experiences have indeed been rich and our lessons very profound, as regards our adherence to, or our violation of, the ideological principles of dialectical materialism. We have both abundant experience with success in our persisting in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality, and operating according to objective laws, and also profound lessons in violating objective laws and hence disturbing and messing things up, running things badly, irrespective of our good motives.

Dialectical materialism tells us: In order for our policies to tally with the ideological principles of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in everything, we must carry out concrete analyses of specific things. But we can see from the numerous facts concerning our rectification and correction of unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation in the past few years that, under the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, whether within the party or among the masses of the people, one of the lessons in the treatment of people is that there were frequent violations of objective reality and a lack of concrete analysis of specific persons and things, a confusion of the two kinds of contradictions of different nature, and an effort to raise matters to the question of principles without any limitation and to carry out excessive struggles by taking numerous different complex and complicated situations reflected in the contradictions among the peoples as though they were all manifestations of class struggle, without seriously and strictly making a distinction as to whether questions of a political nature, questions of an ideological nature, questions pertaining to habitual forces, or questions of prior or subsequent perception were involved; the result was that simple political conclusions were habitually made. In the handling of these contradictions, simple methods such as "cutting everything the same way," "all jumping upon the same victims," "rushing headlong into mass action," and "throwing everything into the common pot" prevailed; the result was that unity within the party and between the party and the masses were seriously affected, and the party's fighting stamina was weakened. It is of significance to our adherence to the party's ideological line on seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in everything to correctly sum up and absorb this historical lesson.

In the past few years, we have profoundly recognized in the implementation of the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee that, along with the shift of the focus of work of the whole party and the whole country, the main energy of leading organs at various levels has become increasingly concentrated on the construction of socialist modernization. In the face of such a new historical period, there are bound to be numerous new situations, new problems, and new things surging forth before us, and people's perceptions at the time when new things first appear are often inconsistent with one another, so that [different] opinions often abound. This makes it necessary for us to penetrate realities in order to solve problems through investigation and study and repeated practice. For instance, from the latter half of last year to early this year, the perceptions among those of our leading group of the party committee of our autonomous zhou as to the form of production responsibility system for agricultural and pastoral enterprises proved precisely to be not entirely consistent. In the face of such a situation, we refrained from adopting any simple, centralized method to achieve forcible consistency but followed the principles of emancipating our thinking and seeking truth from facts, as put forward by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and, on the basis of penetratingly studying the spirit of the Central Work Conference of December 1980 and carefully sorting out the influence of left deviationist ideology, thereby organized members of the standing committee of the party committee of the autonomous zhou to go to various counties, communes, and factory, and mining entrepreneurial units to carry our investigation and study respectively and listen to the opinions and appeals of basic-level cadres and the masses in general. After a month and a half of actual investigation, ideas and perceptions were ultimately unified and a production responsibility system was adopted for agricultural and pastoral enterprises befitting the situation in the autonomous zhou, responding to popular expectations, stressing practical results, stabilizing the developing measures of industrial readjustment, and facilitating the mobilization of the enthusiasm of the masses. This matter has enlightened and educated us to the fact that, in the face of new situations, new problems, and new things, there must be a process of practice, perception, practice, practice again, perception again in order that our subjectivity will correspond to objective reality. In such a process, it is entirely in accord with the laws of perception if some differences or repetitions should appear in people's perceptions; this is a normal phenomenon, especially if people develop certain different views in the beginning when a problem is being explored. Testing whether a perception is correct and whether it corresponds to objective reality can ultimately be solved only through practice. This fundamental epistemological principle of dialectical materialism should become a basic principle in guiding us to carry out all work and unify our ideological perception and action.

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We may put it this way: The peasants brought to the democratic revolution an agrarian socialist ideology whose primary feature was egalitarianism, and our party's line for the democratic revolution was in essential agreement with this ideology in its main objectives; as a result, the peasants participated vigorously in the revolution, made the Communist Party, which led them in their demands for liberation and a new life, their savior, and fought as the party directed. The broad masses of peasants understood from their own personal experience that only by constantly obeying the party and unswervingly following it could they become liberated, achieve a new life and become propserous. Accordingly, after the democratic revolution, when our party called on them to "organize and take the road to common prosperity," the peasantry, and particularly its poorest strata, naturally arose in a body to do its bidding.

The crux of the problem is this: Was this unanimous activism purely socialist awareness, or did it also include some innate spontaneity on the part of the peasants?

Lenin pointed out that the peasantry is a class with a dual nature. As private owners, the peasants spontaneously produce capital, while as workers, they are inclined to socialism; but while inclined to socialism, they are not innately socialist. This is not to belittle the peasants' consciousness: it results from the fact that the peasantry is a class which has been nurtured by thousands of years of the patriarchal system. In his book "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx scientifically analyzed the characteristics of this class on the basis of its mode of production. The limited scale of production, the hindrances to circulation, and its cultural backwardness limited its horizons so that it opposed superstition to science and opposed autocracy or abolutism to the socialism nurtured by the scientific spirit. With the exception of a very small minority of rich peasants who hoped to asecnd to the mansions of capitalism, the vast majority of this class were opposed in their subjective wishes to capitalist exploitation, but did not oppose capitalism in terms of scientific socialism, opposing it instead out of their psychology of fear of capitalism and out of their real and imminent danger of bankruptcy. Accordingly the peasants world view determined that their struggle against capitalism would be dual in nature: first, the poorer peasants opposed capitalism and for this reason could follow the party on the path to socialism; second, the peasants themselves did not trust socialism, but were born agrarian socialists, and what they wished to establish was an absolutely equalitarian ideal kingdom maintained by the absolute power of an enlightened ruler rather than socialism based on scientific socialist principles. As a result, the activism which they manifested was inevitably fanatical and utopian and contained a great deal of destructiveness. Particularly in the high tide of revolution, the question of whether or not one admitted that the activism of the peasant revolution had an innate spontaneity and that this spontaneity led to blind action was the key to whether one admitted the dual nature of the peasantry. As a clear-eyed proletarian revolutionary thinker, Lenin's achievement consisted not only in correctly analyzing the duality of the peasantry in general terms, but also in carrying this duality out to its conclusions and pointing out that "because it constantly suffered oppression under the capitalist system and its experience was generally of sudden declines in its conditions of life or even bankruptcy, it easily turned to extreme revolutionarism." This "extreme revolutionarism" is an expression of the peasantry's spontaneity during the high tide of revolution, and although it is different from open espousal of the capitalist road, it is emphatically not a scientific socialist awareness.

For a long period we had difficulty with the question of how to understand the dual nature of the peasantry. Starting with the later period of the socialist transformation, we always considered the individual economy to be capitalism, while at the same time we made the question of whether or not one sought to "transform" its production relationships the basis for distinguishing capitalist ideology from socialist awareness; we believed that provided someone advocated revolution, regardless of whether conditions were ripe for it and whether it was to proceed on the basis of scientific socialist principles, he was a socialist activist, while anyone who did otherwise was a rightist conservative element. This analysis of the duality of the peasantry, when applied to its different strata, held that spontaneity existed only among the rich peasants, while the poor peasants had only revolutionary activism. When, on the supposition that "great revolutionary activism is latent among the peasants, and the activism is greatest among the most aware elements," group after group of cadres, intellectuals and city dwellers were sent to the countryside to "receive reeducation from the poor and lower middle peasants," this amounted to an assertion that the peasants had spontaneous socialist consciousness and that this consciousness was even greater than that of the vanguard of the proletariat. Because of this worship of the spontaneity of the peasant classes, some comrades equated the poor peasants in the countryside with the modern proletariat, and believed that a proletariat and semiproletariat existed in the countryside. This was at variance with Marxism's scientific analysis of the peasantry. To be sure, in terms of their station in life the poor peasants and farm laborers were the propertyless and semipropertyless people in the countryside--Lenin too described them in this way. But Lenin's use of this turn of phrase was similar to Marx's and Engels' description of the slave class in ancient society as the proletariat of antiquity: it referred only to their condition of life and was by no means an attempt to equate them with the modern proletariat, the material bearers of modern large-scale production. On the basis of the historical materialist principle that there is such a thing as determinate consciousness and that states of consciousness are independent of each other, the classical Marxist writers not only distinguished the propertyless who were connected to different economic structures or means of production and treated only the modern proletariat, the working class engaged in large-scale socialized production, the exemplication of this concept, but in addition they believed that if the modern proletariat could not spontaneously produce scientific socialist thought, scientific socialist thought could only be instilled from without. Lenin believed that if the proletariat engaged in large-scale socialized production were able after a long period to escape from the material means of production, it would escape from the orbit of the working class and would tend toward destructive lumpen-proletarian activity. Thus the idea that there is a modern proletariat with a high level of socialist consciousness in the countryside is at odds with reality.

2. The Relationship Between Utilizing and Transforming Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce and Transforming Individual Peasants

On the eve of the large-scale implementation of socialist transformation, there were five economic elements in our country, which can be grouped in three large categories: the socialist state-run economy, the private capitalist commercial and industrial economy, and the small-producer economy of the individual peasants and individual artisans. In essence, small-scale production is the economic basis on which feudalism relied.

These various economic structures are largely in agreement with the economic state of affairs in Russia which Lenin analyzed after the October revolution. The three main economic components not only indicated that there were three levels of productive forces in this country's society, but also determined that there would be three roads in this country: socialism, capitalism and semifeudalism. To establish true developed socialism, it was naturally necessary to rely on and develop the socialist economy, and reform or thoroughly eliminate all nonsocialist economic elements, or, as Comrade Mao Zedong hoped, "to wipe out imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and small-scale production."

However, this does not at all mean that we adopt a policy of blindly eliminating the nonsocialist economies. As a Marxist, Lenin made a comprehensive analysis of the relationships of several nonsocialist economic components, concluding that since the capitalist production relationships were maintained by exploiting the workers' surplus labor, they were unquestionably cruel and backward, but that for 100 or 200 years capitalism had been progressive by virtue of the productive forces which it created. Is this not so? It was precisely the highly developed productive forces of capitalism which broke through the various limitations of small-scale production and smashed the restrictions of the patriarchal clans, brought the world together as a single unit, not only greatly enriching people's social relationships but also expanding their horizons; it was also the highly developed productive forces of capitalism which taught scientific and cultural accomplishments to the working classes and enabled them to increasingly escape from their ignorant and backward condition and become an educated class. Without these conditions, not only could socialism not have been established, but even feudalism could not have been completely buried. Accordingly, believing along with Engles that to implement socialism, "We need not only the proletariat capable of effecting this change, but also the bourgeoisie which has developed the productive forces to the point where they are capable of thoroughly eliminating classes," Lenin drew the following conclusion with respect to the specific conditions in our country, which was suffering because of the underdevelopment of capitalism here: "Compared with socialism, capitalism is harmful, but compared with the medieval system, small-scale production, and the bureaucracy associated with the indiscipline of the small-scale producers, capitalism is a blessing. Since we cannot bring about the transition from small-scale production to socialism, and since capitalism, the spontaneous product of small-scale production and exchange, is to some degree inevitable, we should use capitalism (particularly by drawing it into the orbit of state capitalism) as the link between small-scale production and socialism, and as a measure, path, method and form of upgrading the productive forces." As for state capitalism, Lenin explains that it is an economic alliance which the proletarian state contracts with the capitalists and a necessary measure "to strengthen large-scale production against small-scale production and to strengthen advanced production against backward production."

Making an economic alliance with the capitalists to oppose small-scale production is an important strategic concept of Lenin's. In the overall course of history, self-sufficient small-scale production is destroyed by the thorough development of capitalism. But after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the small-scale producers still surrounded the newly-victorious Soviet power like an immense sea and could not then be destroyed. This class, which could not be driven out, was continuously corrupting the militant working class and was a constant rival of Soviet power; after the end of the imperialist military intervention and the various revolts of the nobility, the hidden forces of small-scale production began to run wild, directly threatening the existence of Soviet power and bureaucratizing Soviet power from within. Many Communist Party members failed to see this great threat. Lenin pointedly criticized this apathetic behavior. He frequently stated the necessity of realizing that the small producers were the main enemy. Of course, the term "enemy" was not used in a political sense, but in an economic sense. In order to consolidate the newly created Soviet power, it was necessary to wage a protracted, arduous struggle against the small-scale producers, and in order to wage an effective struggle against them at a time when the socialist economy was extremely weak, it was necessary to accept the help of the law-abiding capitalist economic elements. This was the important strategic concept which Lenin proposed for economically backward Russia.

Unfortunately, we did not accord the proper importance to or understand this idea of Lenin's. We confused these two types of alliance, the economic alliance and the political alliance, and thus were unable to understand Lenin's brilliant idea of using the assistance of progressive large-scale capitalist production against backward small-scale production. True, we too talked about two alliances, "one with the peasants and the other with the national bourgeoisie." But during the socialist transformation, our alliance with the national bourgeoisie was an alliance in name only, not in reality. Back in June 1952, we laid down the guiding idea that "after the landlord class and bureaucratic capitalists are overthrown, the main contradiction within China will be that between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, and accordingly we should no longer call the national bourgeoisie one of the central classes," with the result that at the very time we were talking about an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, we were bringing up the question of allying with the peasants on a socialist basis to destroy capitalism. Since we had already made the bourgeoisie our revolutionary target, how could we enter an alliance with the capitalists, especially when we had to deal with the problem on a socialist basis? This metaphysical view, which fails to distinguish politics from economics and advanced production from backward production, and this premature call for a revolution to "wipe out capitalism," did grave damage to our economic and political work.

First, we actually eliminated the state capitalism stage, and this led to the gradual bureaucratization of industrial and commercial management. It is incorrect to say that we had no idea of carrying out state capitalism. But when we were carrying out the property reform on a large scale, we did not distinguish ownership of the means of production from the right of enterprise management. We took away the capitalists' ownership rights and management rights at one stroke. But socialism is not an abstract form; it has a living content. Since socialism is an economic form one step above capitalism, it naturally should have a more scientific and rigorous organizational structure than capitalism and should use more scientific measures to manage the economy, but after we proclaimed that the capitalists must step aside, we rejected all of their experience and management science as rubbish. This led to many strange circumstances: in organizations of an obvious production or commercial character, large number of nonproduction political cadres would be placed above technical and management personnel, with the result that the organizations became bloated and overstaffed, and many persons were paid for nothing; units that were obviously economic in nature were able to ignore economic results; and people who clearly were the leadership of an enterprise could not be hired or fired by the workers but were directly named by the higher levels and had no responsibility to the enterprise, but only to the higher levels. Condensing all of these circumstances into a single point, it was really a use of the methods of the feudalistic government-run enterprise to reform the capitalist economy. This situation developed solely because we did not understand that socialism has highly developed capitalist production as its prerequisite and is formed by eliminating capitalist management and administrative experience.

Second, we ignorantly opposed science and wasted talent. Because the small-producer world view is in essence opposed to science, it considers science, culture and intellectuals to be as great a scourge as the bourgeoisie. On the one hand we shouted slogans about learning from all experts, while on the other hand we treated large numbers of intellectuals who had been employed by the capitalists or the state in the old society, such as teachers, physicians, scientific and cultural workers and the like, as servants of the bourgeoisie and labeled them bourgeois intellectuals, subjecting them to various kinds of discrimination, or even forcing them down to the lowest strata of society. Whether as a result of the idea that only much-wronged poor peasants could be the heads of rural production teams or because of the theory that nothing counts but class status in the higher-level state organizations, all people who brought knowledge from the old society were unable to obtain important positions or even were excluded from the ranks of the cadres; and a certain number of persons without knowledge, influenced by the ideological tide that nonexperts naturally should give orders to experts, were unwilling to learn and did not strive to make progress, with the result that our cadres' ranks gradually became bureaucratized and took on an antiintellectual character. This has become not only an economic problem but a problem which affects all aspects of our national life.

Our original idea regarding the question of how to implement socialist reform was correct. On the basis of Lenin's teachings and the practice of the Soviet Union's socialist revolution, we proposed the general line of "one transformation and three reforms," and while making a major, effective effort in socialist construction, the party gradually developed the mutual assistance teams into basic-level communes in the countryside on an experimental basis, a movement which was essentially healthy. But not long after, we made an abrupt ideological change of course. In October 1953, two months after we had formally fixed the content of the General Line, we changed the way it was formulated: "The General Line can be said to be a solution of the problem of the ownership system. Only by expanding state ownership through new construction, reconstruction of expansion of state-run enterprises and by converting the two types of private ownership systems, namely ownership by the workers and ownership by the bourgeoisie, to collective ownership and state management (by joint public-private management and unification under socialism), can we upgrade the productive forces and industrialize the country." If we do not read this formulation carefully, it seems to be in accord with the "one transformation and three reforms," but in reality it stood the sequence of industrialization and alteration of the ownership system on its head, eliminated the decisive role in remaking society played by the upgrading of the productive forces, and in fact turned historical materialism into historical idealism. It contained basic faults of ideology, as a consequence of which minor theoretical deviations would unavoidably result in major failures in practice.

To ignore the level of development of the productive forces in carrying out large-scale alteration of the production relations is to depart from historical materialism. Leadership based on this approach will inevitably come to grief. The tragic thing is that nobody made an objective, scientific summarization of the practical problems which resulted from our being guided by this erroneous ideology. Instead it was always thought that capitalist-roaders among the masses and cadres were making trouble, and that the situation was one of class struggle or struggle between two lines. In order to protect the fruits of victory and advance to new victories, it was thought necessary to carry on a class struggle: one day we would claim that there were serious spontaneous capitalist leanings among the rich peasants and that political work would have to be intensified throughout the cooperativization movement, because the least slackness would supposedly allow capitalism to spread unchecked, and in the next day we would be criticizing the cadres on the grounds that some of them came from landlord, rich peasant or well-off middle peasant families and had already espoused the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants or the prosperous middle peasants with spontaneous capitalist leanings and supported the interests of a relative minority. Accordingly, it was inevitable felt necessary to carry on artificial "class struggles" in order to intensify and advance the change of production relations.

In reality the use of "class struggle" to remake the small peasants was inevitable for those who believed in the theory that the superstructure is decisive. In March 1955, in discussing several problems of Marxism at the party congress, we actually equated Marxian socialism with the theory of class struggle; this deceptive formulation was unquestionably incompatible with scientific socialism. As stated in the Lenin quotation [not reproduced] which we cited at the beginning of this section, socialism of course destroys classes, but the destruction of classes does not mean blindly carrying on large-scale class struggle. Engels, one of the founders of scientific socialism, pointed out: "The change which socialism is currently striving to bring about is, in simple terms, a victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a new social organization through destruction of all classes differences." But in addition, "Only after the social productive forces have developed to a certain stage, to a stage which is quite advanced even compared to our present condition, will it be possible to raise production to this level and make true progress in abolishing class distinctions, to make their abolition solid and lasting, and to avoid bringing about stagnation or even decline in the form of social production." This statement by Engels is extremely profound; but it was neither understood by contemporary Russian exiles, nor accepted by those among us with the small-producer outlook. When we used the method of "large-scale mass debate," we carried out cooperativization in a very short time, and when we then carried out the "socialist revolution in the ideological and political line," we set up the people's communes everywhere based on cooperativization. When they were initially being set up their characteristics were as follows. First, they were large, generally using one, two or three districts as a unit, and encompassing thousands or even tens of thousands of households in a unit--almost equivalent to small duchies. Second, they were publically owned: naturally the main fields were, but all the private plots, house property, family sideline industries and the like were also publically owned, and on the basis of this large-scale public ownership, food, clothing, housing, medical care, and even burials and weddings were provided for: and everyone ate from the big communist pot. Third, there was large-scale unification, and workers, soldiers, peasants, students, merchants, the party and the government were all integrated into a single unit: the government ran the enterprises, the party ran the government, the party and government were indivisible, and they were assisted by the army. The commune members not only had to eat at the communal mess halls, but also had to take military training and lived a militarized life.

People often say that by 1956 our socialist transformation was basically victorious. But if we consider the situation conscientiously, our socialist transformation could only be considered to be victorious after the people of both city and countryside were communalized, an organizational form in which there was a communist factor had been found, and the seven functions (worker, peasant, soldier, student, merchant, party and government) were unified. "Communism is paradise and the people's communes are the bridge to it." If we had not succeeded in finding the bridge to paradise, how could the transformation be "basically victorious"? However, when we analyze the economic content of this bridge which had just been built, it is not difficult to see that the economic form was entirely incompatible with scientific socialism. Socialism requires strict record-keeping and oversight of each individual's work for the purpose of implementing the principle of distribution according to labor; but many localities lacked any adequate accounting, no one had any choice but to "eat out of the big pot of communism," what was originally a scientific principle was subjected to theoretical criticism as a piece of revisionism, and people were called upon to treasure egalitarian rubbish. Socialism requires the most extensive possible democracy so that the masses can directly run their enterprises and the "state," but in reality the cultural level of the broad masses is low and they are unable to exercise their democratic rights, so that their only recourse is to have a minority run things; as their property increases and the leaders become more powerful, there is a danger of eventually nurturing large and small bureaucrats or even "local emperors." Socialism requires that we gradually convert society into an economic unity, but the political organization which we set up by means of administrative measures inevitably relies on the power of the government for its existence, and accordingly we were actually increasingly politicizing and militarizing the enterprises. These few points are sufficient to indicate the nature of the socialist society which we would have established. Of course, the opposition of some old comrades in the party, and particularly the fact that the communal dining halls very rapidly ate up the communal property, forced people to return to reality; but they did so unwillingly, and as soon as the situation improved a "revolution" would be inevitably set in motion.

4. A Clear Line of Demarcation Must be Drawn Between Us and the Small-Producer World View, and the Specters of Agricultural Socialism Must Be Exorcised

A single, complete ideological thread runs through the progression from worship of the spontaneity of small-scale production to overthrowing the "one transformation and three reforms," from rejecting advanced capitalist productive forces to a resort to "class struggle" and changing the production relations without regard for the level of the productive forces; it is completely at odds with historical materialism, starting out from narrow empiricism and slipping toward historical idealism.

But was it only when we arrived at the later stage of the socialist transformation that we became imbued with narrow empiricism and historical idealism? Quite the contrary.

As everyone knows, our socialist revolution was based on the democratic revolution. People often say that the democratic revolution was bourgeois in character, but this only means that the revolution had to destroy the power of feudalism, bureaucratism and imperialism in China. Because the natural economy which lasted for more than 2,000 years in old China was still in control and the people who were oppressed in the lowest stratum of society were the poor peasants who numbered more than

80 percent of the nation's population, this sort of revolution could not be anything but a modern peasant war led by the Communist Party. And for this reason, in the process of nationalizing Marxism, we often pinned a narrow pragmatist or historical idealist tail on Marxist theory. Therefore it is not particularly difficult to find the source of the theoretical errors which we made in the late period of socialist transformation.

A. The Narrow Empiricist Tendency

Our party, and especially Comrade Mao Zedong, opposed narrow empiricism. But it should be pointed out that at the very time when we are opposing narrow empiricism, we are also covertly promoting it. For example, when discussing the way in which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin made their contributions, do we conclude that other than their genius, the main thing was their practice, and that all scientific and cultural knowledge left by their predecessors had no effect in the formation and development of their thought? Again, the dialectical materialist idea of "the leap from perceptual to rational knowledge," which we have accepted as gospel, makes no mention of the effects of scientific knowledge and scientific logic accumulated over many centuries; but is it possible to ascend in this way to correct rational knowledge? So too in the case of our summarization of the laws of development of consciousness as "practice, understanding, further practice, further understanding" and so on: if we reject the results of our predecessors' investigations and struggle up our own ascending spiral of practice, understanding, further practice, further understanding, will we be able to arrive at scientific conclusions about complex social, natural and thought phenomena? These examples make it clear that we have not escaped from the circle of epistemology based on narrow individual experience.

B. The Historical Idealist Tendency

Of course, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong opposed historical idealism, but unquestionably at the very time that we were opposing historical idealism, we were also making historical idealist errors. Our superstitious belief in class struggle and exaggeration of the reactive effect of the superstructure were among our party's key theories during the later period of the socialist transformation; the bases of these theories had been developed somewhat earlier, but it was only later that it became possible to perfect and develop them. For example, the idea that under certain conditions production relations and the superstructure play a decisive role and the practice of defining historical materialism and historical idealism only in terms of class struggle, which we accepted as orthodoxy, are in fact at odds with Marxist historical materialism.

It should be pointed out that historical materialism combined with narrow empiricism constitutes the small-producer world view represented by the peasants. This world view is generally satisfied with limited perceptions and achievements, holds science in low regard and is opposed to democracy, and accordingly it is in essence opposed to Marxism. It is grounds for rejoicing that this small-producer world view did not become the main current during the democratic revolutionary stage and that under the guidance of Marxism our democratic revolution won a great victory. However, it was the great victory won in this revolution that made us arrogant and even rendered us incapable of discovering the problems which would unavoidably arise during the pressures and alarms of the struggle. The volume of "Selected Works of

Zedong" which we published in August 1951 was conscientiously compiled by Comrade Mao Zedong and the Selected Works of Mao Zedong Publishing Committee. The views described above did not reflect the views of a certain leader in 1937, but instead reflected the joint views of our party after the state was founded. Accordingly, the theoretical errors which burst forth in the later period of socialist transformation were entirely natural. Accordingly, either our China would inevitably undergo a struggle waged by the ideology of agrarian socialism against the theory of scientific socialism, or, ruled by the theory of agrarian socialism in the form of a small-peasant utopian illusion, would follow Liu Bang, Zhu Yuanchang and Hong Xiuquan down the road to feudalism, or, under the guidance of scientific socialism, would eliminate the effect of small-producer concepts and continue to progress in the direction pointed out by Marx and Lenin. In the 20 year period between the Eighth Party Congress in 1956 and the sway of the "gang of four" in 1976, the struggle between these two socialisms was actually waged on Chinese soil. Although at the point when the democratic revolution changed into the socialist revolution, the great sea of small producers inevitably brought forth in our party an anti-science, anti-democracy, anti-progress faction which styled itself Marxist, was centered on agrarian socialism, and had feudalism as its destination, modern China's large industry inevitably will be able to forge revolutionary fighters capable of waging an extremely arduous struggle against this faction, and through prolonged Marxist education and investigation of the objective situation they will inevitably be able to use scientific socialism to overcome agrarian socialism.

8480
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EDUCATION MINISTRY ADOPTS NEW SYSTEMS ON TRIAL BASIS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] The Ministry of Education recently made public the "Draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 6-year education system for key middle schools and "Revised views on the draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 5-year middle school education system." It also sent out a circular and an explanation.

In 1978 the Ministry of Education issued "A draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 10-year primary and middle school education system." The 3-year trial period indicates that while the draft proposal has helped to restore the normal educational order in the schools and to upgrade the quality of education, certain problems remained to be solved. The chief problem is that the overly heavy workload in the middle schools has had a deleterious effect on the physical and mental development of the students. One of the reasons is that the 5-year educational system is too short. In order to implement the policy for the overall moral, intellectual and physical development of the students and to upgrade the quality of education as well as to reduce the students' workload, the Ministry of Education has decided that the middle school system should gradually be extended from 5 to 6 years. The various localities should, on the basis of their actual circumstances, introduce changes in the system step by step and locality by locality according to a set plan and procedure.

One of the reasons which led the Ministry of Education to adopt the two educational programs is the need to reform the middle school education system. These two educational programs are meant to serve as guidelines, and suitable modifications may be made by the localities to suit their actual conditions. The two newly promulgated educational programs are best suited to key middle schools and middle schools that are operating under relatively favorable conditions. As for ordinary middle schools, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may formulate their own educational programs.

As guidelines in theory and in practice, the "Draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 6-year educational system for key middle schools" stresses the following points:

1. Aside from ensuring the intellectual development of the students, the middle schools should make greater effort to upgrade their moral, ideological and physical education as well as their health and physical well-being. While it is necessary to upgrade their education qualitatively, it is also necessary to avoid and to overcome the tendency to subject them to too heavy a workload. The number of classes per week and the amount of homework must be within reasonable limits. There should be only two examinations each semester, mid-term and final. The amount of work covered by each examination should not be too great so that the students may have sufficient time to study on their own and to engage in extracurricular activities and that they may have sufficient sleep and rest.

2. A sound foundation should be laid, especially in writing, mathematics and foreign languages. Emphasis should be placed on the need to enable the students to master basic knowledge and basic skills. Efforts should be made to develop their learning ability and their intellectual capacity. Attention should be paid to the need to improve teaching methods, to stress the importance of experiments, and to take positive steps to increase various types of worthwhile extracurricular activities.

3. In order to satisfy the interests and to meet the needs of the students so as to enable them to develop their special talents, elective courses should be made available to second and third year students in senior middle schools. First is the single-curriculum elective [system], in which they have the option of one, two, or no electives. Second is the split-curriculum elective [system] in which, once the basic middle school course work is completed, they may choose electives predominantly in either sciences or the arts. The students may elect to take a particular course in accordance with their special interests and aptitudes. The choice of one of the two types of elective courses may be left to the discretion of the different localities. There should be a period of preparation before this system is put into practice. Overall experience should be taken into account, and the system should be established step by step. The various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may adopt the system of major elective courses in the key middle schools on a trial basis.

4. Courses in labor techniques should be offered by middle schools to promote labor technique education. The main purpose is to help the students to develop a correct attitude concerning labor and to get them accustomed to engaging in physical labor so that they may acquire certain labor skills and be able to work with their hands as well as with their heads. Labor technique education covers industrial and agricultural production, education in basic techniques and vocational techniques in service-related labor and in public service. Junior middle schools are to have two weeks and senior middle schools are to have four weeks per school year of labor technique education. The two-week and four-week periods may be broken up, or they may run uninterrupted. The various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may designate several schools for conducting in a serious manner experiments in labor technique education on the basis of their experience in their earnest attempts to develop productive labor education.

It is learned that, in order to implement the two educational programs, the parties concerned are in the process of compiling and revising teaching materials. The educational authorities in various localities are seriously studying ways and means to implement the educational programs best suited to the actual local conditions and are making the necessary preparations to acquire qualified teaching staffs and the needed equipment.

9621
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CHANGES IN TESTING COLLEGE APPLICANTS BRING BETTER RESULTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] It is learned from the concerned authorities that, on the basis of experiences gained during the past few years, the setting of examination questions for institutions of higher learning has shown further improvement this year. The better examination results this year over the last will ensure that a high standard of admission will be achieved and that both teachers and students will be better served.

The Ministry of Education recently invited some of the teachers of the Second Middle School, the Fifth Middle School, the Nineteenth Middle School, the Experimental Middle School and the Eighty-first Middle School in Beijing to participate in a discussion, to engage in an exchange of views with some of the teachers in Beijing responsible for grading examination papers, and to hear their views on the examination questions for senior schools this year. They agreed that the questions, within the confines of the syllabus and on the basis of the teaching materials which had been compiled, should emphasize the testing of basic knowledge and basic skills and on the ability of the students to apply them. The examination questions, neither too difficult nor too easy, were found to have basically met the twin goals of enabling institutions of higher learning to select outstanding talent and to facilitate teaching in the middle schools. They expressed the view that this system will serve to liberate both teachers and students from "the tactics of tackling a plethora of questions" and from a multiplicity of review materials, to enable the students to acquire basic knowledge and basic skills, to upgrade the quality and quantity of middle school education, and to ensure a more solid foundation for the students newly admitted to the universities.

The number of students who signed up for the standardized examination throughout the nation came to 2,589,000. The work of grading the papers has now been completed. An analysis of the statistical material concerning the examination results compiled by the admissions office in Beijing reveals that the grades achieved this year are higher than those of last year, that there is a significant improvement in the grades in all the subjects examined, and that the universities have found it easier to select the best qualified new students.
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION IN SHANDONG PROVINCE MAKES GREAT PROGRESS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Since the founding of the People's Republic 32 years ago, Shandong Province has made great strides in the development of higher education. Whereas there were only 7 institutions of higher learning in the province in 1952, there are now 38. While there were 6,753 students enrolled in such institutions in 1952, there are now some 51,400, or 7.6 times the 1952 figure. While there were only 1.39 college students out of every 10,000 people in the population in 1952, there are now 7.2. There are also 527 research students, the largest number ever registered. The number of rank and file teachers in institutions of higher learning has also shown a big increase. Whereas there were 1,024 such teachers in 1952, there are now 10,924, or 10.7 times the 1952 figures. Among them are 966 professors and associate professors and 4,778 lecturers. In the past 32 years, these institutions have produced 104,330 graduates for the nation.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the institutions of higher learning have done well in eradicating "leftist" influences, in rectifying school discipline, in strengthening the development of teachers, in upgrading the quality and quantity of teaching, in intensifying their political and ideology work among the students, and in promoting physical culture and public health. They have also achieved creditable results in technical and scientific research, in research in the applied sciences and in basic scientific research. In 1980 alone, out of 29 scientific research projects which had been appraised, 21 were found to have reached the advanced domestic level, while 5 others were considered to have reached the advanced international level.

Activities involving the exchange of academic learning also reached an unprecedented level. In 1980, some 330 articles written by teachers in institutions of higher learning in the province were published in national and international publications and were given favorable reviews by both Chinese and foreign experts.

The achievements in scientific research made by institutions of higher learning in the province in recent years were made possible by the strengthening of party leadership and the effective implementation of the policy toward intellectuals. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, over 340 among the highly qualified intellectuals and intermediate intellectuals have been selected to fill the two levels of leadership positions in schools and colleges and in the faculties and departments. Over 380 teachers were admitted to the Communist Party. More than 960 teachers were appointed professors and associate professors, while over 4,170 were promoted to lecturers. In addition, one-third of the teachers were given better living conditions. This has had the effect of greatly activating the positive attitude of large numbers of cadres and teachers.

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INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO ENFORCE TENURE SYSTEM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] The State Council recently appointed Professor Huang Wenhu [7806 2429 5706], Professor Li Jiabao [2621 1367 1405], Associate Professor Jiang Yihong [1203 0110 1347] and Lecturer Jing Bowen [7231 0130 2427] vice presidents of the Harbin Institute of Technology in a move to enforce the 4-year tenureship system.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic, the administrative cadres in leadership positions in institutions of higher learning have, in actual practice, held on to their jobs for life. The adoption of the tenure system in the appointment of Huang Wenhu and company as vice presidents marks the beginning of the tenureship system in our institutions of higher learning and represents the first step in the abolition of the system of virtually lifelong appointment of cadres in leadership positions in our institutions of higher learning.

It is learned that the fixed tenureship system will henceforth be enforced in the appointment of professional personnel as presidents and vice presidents of institutions of higher learning. The length of tenure is to be the same as the length of the school term. As a rule, appointees will not be reappointed for a second term. This is in keeping with the policy of the CCP Central Committee to abolish the system of lifelong tenure for those in leadership positions. It will prevent professional personnel in administrative leadership positions from neglecting their duties, provide an opportunity to a large number of professional personnel to engage in school administration, and encourage those people with aspirations to make their contributions in school administration before their tenure runs out. The appointment of Huang Wenhu and company as vice presidents is in conformity with the spirit of this policy.

The Harbin Institute of Technology is one of our well-known industrial universities offering a variety of courses. The four newly-appointed vice presidents are all red and expert professional cadres developed by the university following the establishment of the republic. They have all given active support to the line, the guidelines and the policy laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They all have considerable administrative ability and have served the Harbin Institute of Technology for a number of years. They are experienced in teaching, in scientific research, and in the actual work of school administration. They are all between 50 and 55 years of age.

The appointment of the four vice presidents was made following thorough investigation and the canvassing of a wide range of public opinion by the department concerned, according to stipulations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 81 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Implement the Guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, Strengthen and Improve Ideological-Political Education in Schools"]

[Text] Learning and implementing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" in order to strengthen and improve ideological-political education in schools at various levels and of different categories is a very important task on the educational front at present.

Ideological-political education has its own important role in school work. It is primarily determined by the fact that education in our country is of socialist nature. We must continue to implement the guiding principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor and to adhere to the socialist direction for running a school. Socialism must have not only a high-level material civilization, but a spiritual one as well. Students at schools today will become a vital new force after graduation to participate in the construction of the modernizations and to shoulder up a historical responsibility to build a socialist material civilization and a spiritual one. Whether the students cultivated at schools today will support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have deep love for the socialist motherland, or imbued with the awareness and ability to serve the people is an important matter which hinges the future and destiny of our state.

At present, the main ideological trend of students are good. They ardently love their motherland, look forward to the "four modernizations," support the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the conclusion of the 3rd Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, value the overall situation of stability and unity, concern themselves with affairs of state, work vigorously for the good, and study diligently. As a result, large numbers of students who are equipped with the three virtues and advanced collectives appear before us. In recent years, schools at various levels and of different categories have strengthened education in the four basic principles, devoted major efforts to building a socialist spiritual civilization, and carried out such activities as "five teachings and four virtues" and "learning from Lei Feng [7191 6912] to revolutionize the general mood," and thereby went a step further bringing about a great deal of gratifying atmosphere. However, we must also see that various trends of thoughts in society, especially the bourgeois ideological trend of liberalization which intends to keep away from the leadership of the party has been reflected in schools time and again. Some of the students have only a vague idea about or even an erroneous understanding of the four basic principles. Some other students lack a revolutionary ideal and thus give rise to the thought of individualism and anarchism. Situation as such has pointed out the fact that it is altogether necessary to further strengthen ideological-political education in schools.

The key of doing a good job in ideological-political work in schools lies in strengthening and improving leadership of the party. After experiencing the 10 year period of calamity and in view that we are presently at the time of a historical turning point, it is neither surprising nor frightful to witness various problems among the students. The question is whether school party organizations and leading departments at various levels can conscientiously pay close attention to ideological-political education. By facing up to problems which objectively exist, many schools have strengthened ideological-political education with a clear cut stand and in a convincing way. They have achieved successes and accumulated experience. Achievements must be fully affirmed. At the same time, we must also see that some problems still exist in ideological-political work in schools. We must not overlook or deny certain trends of oversimplicity and cruelty that exist in our work. However, the problem which is presently more in need of our attention is the existing state of laxation and softness. People dare not and cannot criticize erroneous trends because once they do so they would be criticized as coming down with a big stick on somebody. If this situation is not altered, it will jeopardise the healthy growth of the young students, hamper the development of socialist democracy and be detrimental to the overall situation of stability and unity. School is the place to cultivate the new socialist generation and it is the cradle of social spiritual civilization. A very important task of school party organizations is to use the Marxist world outlook and the communist morality to educate the broad masses of students, to resist the influence of the decadent capitalist ideology and the remnants of feudal ideology, to overcome the petty bourgeois ideology and to enhance the spirit of building an enterprise through arduous effort by dedicating oneself heart and soul to the cause of modernization. Should school party organizations fail to use Marxism-Leninism to occupy the ideological front in schools and let various non-proletarian ideologies run rampant, it would mean that they have given up their responsibility of exercising leadership.

In order to alter the situation of laxation and softness in the ideological-political work, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism must be properly applied. Carrying out criticism and self-criticism is a fine tradition of our party and a correct method for solving contradictions among the people. Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have had a successful experience of properly applying criticism and self-criticism. We also have had leftist errors due to the fact that the two kinds of contradictions that are different in nature were incorrectly distinguished and handled, and oversimplified, rude, compulsory and oppressive measures were taken to treat ideological problems among the people. Under the new historical situation, we must correctly sum up historical experience and lessons. While we are not allowed to repeat the leftist mistakes of the past, we also are not permitted to confust carrying out criticism with coming down with a big stick on somebody, nor to throw away the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, to give up ideological work, or to let the bourgeois ideological trend of liberalization and other erroneous ideologies spread unchecked.

At present, in order to strengthen ideological-political education, it is necessary to organize the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers in schools to spend a certain period of time together to study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." It is necessary to maintain close links with reality in order to have a definite object in view for solving major problems regarding ideological understanding and to carry out in depth an education pertinent to adhering the four basic principles. Schools at various levels and of different categories must also carry out for students in the light of different age groups education in patriotism, in Marxist-Leninist theory, in communist morality and quality, and in encouraging deep love for arduous work and struggle.

Ideological-political education needs constantly to accumulate and sum up experience, and to probe objective laws. For this reason, it is necessary to establish a crack and stable political work contingent. This is the organizational guarantee for strengthening ideological-political education in schools. Both school teachers and political cadres aloke are educators as well as teachers of students. A teacher teaching a special course should be encouraged and esteemed for doing a good job. Likewise, a political cadre should equally be encouraged and esteemed for enhancing the ideological awareness of students. People think that a teacher is similar to a gardener. To compare with a specialized course teacher, a political cadre as a gardener must be more capable of finding out what the students are thinking or be more skillful in dealing with people. He is also more in need of better training in politics, ideology and in knowledge. Therefore, he should be even more respected. At present, contingents of school political cadres face problems of shortage of manpower, lack of sense of stability and lack of successors which are incompatible with the requirements for strengthening ideological-political education. Propaganda and educational departments as well as school party organizations as all levels should help cadres constantly enhance their ideological level and working ability. At the same time, practical measures should be adopted to solve their real difficulties and to encourage them setting their minds at rest in order to do a good job.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his article "On the Question of Correctly Handling the Contradictions Among the People": "With regard to ideological-political work, each individual department has its responsibility. The Communist Party has to take care of it, so do the Communist Youth League and governmental departments. However, school masters and teachers should do the most." In order to strengthen ideological-political education in schools, school party organizations should, first and foremost, be bold enough to shoulder and be adept in the responsibility of leadership. All teachers and cadres in schools should be mobilized to do ideological-political work. At the same time, we must bring the role of the Communist Youth League into full play so that members of the League can be educated to influence young students by their own exemplary actions. Student associations and unions of educational workers also should try hard to do ideological-political work well. Teachers in a socialist country must both carry out classroom teaching and instruct students on how to conduct themselves in society. Since liberation, our contingents of teachers, after tempering themselves and receiving party education for years have become qualified to do a good job in ideological-political work for students. Some old teachers who are more experienced and academically more learned are often more convincing in applying their own experience to enlighten and educate students. They should be encouraged to do more ideological work. School party organizations should continue to conscientiously implement our party policy toward intellectures and to bring the initiative of teachers into full play in order to give them a more important role in carrying out ideological-political work for students.

Cultivating a new socialist generation is a common cause of the entire party and the whole society. Only by coordinating school education closely with family and social education can we achieve better results. Especially people of theoretic, literary and art, press and publication circles are closely linked with ideological-political education in schools. Good movies, dramas, songs and theoretical articles can arouse the youth' enthusiasm for revolution and point out to them the future path and therefore play an important role to help them shape their revolutionary outlook on life. Unhealthy or seriously erroneous works usually exercise corrosive influence on souls of the youth and add difficulties to school education. It is hoped that comrades working on the ideological front can be fully aware of the glorious responsibilities on their shoulders, attach importance to social effects of their works, and make a positive contribution to the cause of cultivating the next generation. The resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has provided a powerful ideological weapon for strengthening and improving ideological-political education in schools. The CCP Central Committee has given a series of important instructions pointing out the direction for strengthening ideological-political work.

All of these are very encouraging conditions. It is an objective reality that some difficulties exist in the ideological-political work in schools. However, we the educational workers should fully understand the responsibilities on our own shoulders, overcome our negative and overcautious attitude, pluck up our spirits, work hard, constantly study new situation and create new experience so that we may strive to bring up a new socialist generation not only developed morally, intellectually and physically in an allround way, but both politically conscious and progressionally competent as well.

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CONFUCIUS' HUMANITARIANISM REASSESSED, DEFENDED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yan Beiming [0917 0554 3298]: "A Discussion of Confusian Humanitarianism"]

[Text] Humanitarianism as well as the question of human nature used to be forbidden zones, considered crimes, not to speak of the humanitarianism of Confucius!

In the spring of 1962, in response to an invitation, I sent the Shandong Conference on Confucius an article, "On Benevolence--the Central Concept of Confucian Philosophy and Its Emanation," which mainly expounded the idea that the Confucian doctrine of benevolence was manifesting a kind of ancient humanitarianism and was in its nature historically progressive. What a disaster this brought upon me! Not only did I get a mad tongue-lashing at that time already in the so-called "summing up speech" by that bully Guan Feng [7070 6912], but later, in the winter of 1966, I was sent under escort like a criminal to Qufu to be subjected to a "struggle-criticism" at an anti-Confucius rally of 10,000 people. In my heart I absolutely refused to give in; imagine, human beings rejecting humaneness, could one possibly profess the way of wild beasts? Later, the facts proved day by day that there was indeed in this world a handful of such people who rejected humaneness and only professed the way of beasts, such scoundrels as the "gang of four," whose actions were inhumane, who strangled all human nature and gave free rein to bestiality. They distorted history, wrote long articles on the Confucian question, fabricated a great historical injustice merely for the purpose of framing and persecuting millions of cadres, common people and intellectuals.

I still maintain to this day that grasping the humanitarian spirit in the Confucian doctrine is the core question in a reassessment of Confucius. This great historical personality, Confucius, influenced the cultural and mental fabric of our fatherland for 2,000 years. His outstanding contribution consisted in this very aspect, a point which is also the subject of intensive study by foreigners.

I recall that when I participated in a symposium with several American scholars who were on a visit to Shanghai last summer, there was among them the president of an Association for the Study of Chinese Culture. I asked him: "What is the overall impression that you gained in your studies of Chinese culture?" In the first sentence of his reply he mentioned Confucius with an expression of heartfelt reverence. He saw much sense in such sayings as: "Do not do unto others what you would not like others do unto you;" "In carrying out the rules of pripriety, a peaceable manner is to be prized;" "Within the four seas, all men are brothers;" and he believed that this high esteem of peacefulness and brotherhood of manking embodies a spirit that is worthwhile advocating even in our days. I was greatly amazed to hear this American scholar recite by memory and with great facility these sayings of Confucius and to furthermore give them a practical applicability. I was particularly struck by another word from the same person: "Cultivating the humanitarian spirit inherent in Chinese culture and represented by Confucius should guide the American and the Chinese people in their joint efforts to safeguard world peace!" This will of course evoke much shaking of heads among those who regard humanitarianism as a reactionary crime. However, I was thinking at that time that it would be inappropriate to engage in voluble talk on Marxism with these scholars to an extent of involving their governments, but found that talking with them on humanitarianism, we still speak a common language. At the same time it gives us much food for thought that to our surprise it is a foreigner who places Confucius in such a high position, while some "Chinese" clamor noisily to cut down Confucius.

The culture that Confucius represents is, needless to say, mainly a feudal culture, but feudal culture also contains elements of a democratic character. There is first of all its inseparable connection with the humanitarian tradition pioneered by Confucian respect for man and concern for man. Humanitarianism is of class character and also changes in its substance with the changing times. There is the humanitarianism of the feudal landlord class (which for the first time did not regard slaves and peasant-serfs as cattle), there is the bourgeois humanitarianism (which raised such slogans as freedom, equality and universal fraternity), and there is also socialist humanitarianism (which by way of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship will thoroughly abolish all classes and eliminate exploitation). In view of their different characters, they must not be confused among each other. However, there still remains the question of a critical acceptance of our cultural inheritance. Since we are determined at present to build up a socialist spiritual culture, we must not write off at one stroke the national cultural tradition represented by the Confucian humanitarian spirit. Past neglect of the study of "national conditions," past rejection of our cultural inheritance and the past "great cutting down of cultural life" [a pun on "Great Cultural Revolution"] must have taught us a profound lesson.

Confucius was the first thinker, politician, educator and moralist in our history to set forth a systematic doctrine which has as its central concept "benevolence,' that is, humanitarianism. The progressive nature of this kind of humanitarianism, considering the conditions of the time, manifests itself in the following aspects:

Firstly, it acknowledged that slaves were also human beings. The slave-holders in ancient China were most inhumane. Slaves were not treated as human beings, even regarded as beings lower than cattle. Killing of slaves or burying them alive with their decreased masters was normal custom, with no laws or public opinion to stop or punish such practices. Confucius valiantly stepped forward in opposition. He even loudly condemned the use of tomb figures when he said: "Was he not without posterity who first made figures for burying with the dead!" Because the figures were used as "effigies of men (slaves)," Confucius exposed and condemned the cruel inhumanity of the slaveholders for killing and burying humans in a variant form. In general, the attitude toward the productive workers is always an important indicator for the different class standpoints, either progressive or backward. Confucius opposed killing or sacrificing humans in any form and advocated as the most important ethical norm to show compassion and concern for others. He also set forth such famous propositions as: "The benevolent man is kindhearted toward others;" "If you wish to establish yourself, seek to establish others; if you wish to achieve, help others to achieve." No matter how narrow the class character or even how hypocritical these propositions were, the fact that there appears "man," that "man" is stressed so emphatically as the center of all thinking, and that "man" does not exclude slaves, including peasant-serfs, shows up the progressive trend toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period, brought about by a large number of slaves running away and fighting a continuous struggle of resistance. It shows, refracted in Confucius' mind, the tottering of spirit power and the rise of the position of man (including slaves). Some have voiced the opinion that the "man" in the Confucian Analects is limited to the nobility and does not include common men or slaves. This viewpoint is without the slightest foundation.

Furthermore, it is not only that Confucius demanded from the rulers that they regard slaves and peasant-serfs as human beings, starting out from his position of humanitarianism, he, one step further, put forward an entire set of political proposals for benevolent government and rule of virtue, to lighten the oppressive criminal laws, combat harsh government and heavy taxation and alleviate hostile class conflict. He strongly advocated "employment of people at the proper seasons" and "to make more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit." He attached importance to the development of production and the interests of the people, and in addition admonished the rulers: "If the people have plenty, will their prince be left to want alone? If the people are in want, could their prince enjoy plenty alone?" The common people's interests are to be taken as one's own interests. Undoubtedly, these proposals were put forward out of consideration for the long-range interests of the ruling class. At that time the declining reactionary class was unable to recognize their own long-range interests and thus could not accept the political proposals put forward by Confucius. Although this was the case, these proposals in themselves were of a certain benefit as they expressed the historical development and the oppression of the people, and were possibly welcomed by the subsequent newly arriving landlord class. The early Han Dynasty and its "Cautioning Against the Failures of the Qin Dynasty" also summed up the doctrines of various schools of the past. After decades of probing and searching, it was only Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty who finally adopted a policy of "sole reverence for the ways of the Confucian scholars." This was conforming to the need of the upper structure to adapt to the objective laws of fundamental economic nature and must not be regarded as an accidental historical mistake. Historical edperience clearly demonstrates that whenever in any historical era a ruler displayed even only a little humanitarianism, followed the Confucian propositions of benevolent government and rule by virtue, diligently attended to government affairs, showed solicitude for the people and set a good example himself, there was social stability, production developed and history continued to move forward. In the opposite case, it was hardly possible to avoid the dire fate of the Qin Dynasty. Moreover, the political thoughts of Confucius, their emphasis on reality and their active and optimistic outlook, especially also their humanitarian spirit as further developed in the criticism of subsequent progressive thinkers, created under certain historical conditions a "canonical" foundation for resistance against wilfulness and cruelty of the ruling class and for exposure of their political abuses. It also became the idological weapon, the firm maintenance of the people's standpoint, in the struggle against those in power.

Furthermore, how are we to interprete the saying: "Restraining oneself and restoring the rites, that is benevolence"? In my opinion this must also be considered in the spirit of humanitarianism. "Benevolence" lies within the scope of morality in human relations. The "rites" comprise the whole sphere of institutions, regulations and social norms, in actual fact that political sphere. In Confucianism, the "benevolence" and the "rites" stand in the relationships of morality and politics. The two are closely integrated according to the principles of humanitarianism and form one unified inseparable entity of politicized morality and moralized politics. The overall demand is to have such benevolence and such virtues as "honesty and consideration of others," "filial and brotherly attitudes" and the correct conduct of those in highest positions become the political objective and to exercise "restraint of oneself" and "persistence in one's endeavors" to manifest the unselfish spirit and the active and optimistic outlook of humanitarianism and achieve a most profuse flowering of morality. Throughout his life, Confucius was anxious and always on the go as if to exemplify the humanitarian spirit of the saying "benevolence is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain." To stubbornly insist that "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" meant to restore slavery, can be nothing but ignorance and senseless barking. The feudal morality, undoubtedly, had the Confucian doctrines as its core. The "cardinal guides and virtues" of the Confucianist ethical code, whether added by later Confucianists or already germinating in Confucius' times, must be thoroughly rejected. However, the humanitarianism of Confucius is something of a quintessence of affinity to the people and democratic characteristics, which played an effective role throughout history in raising moral integrity, encouraging a rousing, optimistic and abundant national spiritual culture. Why not carefully and critically adopt it, rather than vainly trying to deny it totally in an attitude of historical nihilism?

Finally, it deserves to be emphasized that the Confucian humanitarianism is the product of a movement against the belief in spirits and ghosts. "The Master never discussed magic powers and unnatural demons." "The Master's discourses on nature and a divine order of things cannot be heard." "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve spirits?" These sayings may appear to be a few simple ideas succinctly expressed, they were not merely casual remarks made in those days. "To serve men" and "know life" are actual problems of life in society which Confucius considered important. "To serve spirits" and "to know death" as well as "nature and the divine order of things" are concepts that belong into the sphere of mysticism remote from reality, or even of absurd fantasy, and Confucius refused any discourse on these subjects. This attitude shows an instability of the Yin and Zhou Dynasty religious beliefs that set in toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period. The progressive trend of changing around the former positions of man and the spirits was basically and in particular a movement against religious beliefs and belief in spirits and ghosts. In Europe, humanitarianism or humanism was born in the Renaissance as an ideological weapon against feudalism and the Church. It advocated a world view of respect and concern for man, and made man the center of everything. The same world view was already expressed in the humanitarian doctrines of Confucius almost 2,000 years before the Renaissance, and it became later the fine tradition of Confucianism. In all fairness it must be pointed out that China was spared a dark age of Church rule as prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages. There are of course many reasons for that, but it must be admitted that one of the important reasons is the ideological tradition that has come down in one continuous line from this sage of the feudal era, a tradition that stressed the position of man and his present life on earth, that brushed aside spirits and ghosts and a future life in the great beyond, in other words, a tradition that strove for humanitarianism and scorned the belief in spirits and ghosts. As to the fact that Confucius also spoke of "the decrees of Heaven," his concept of the decrees of Heaven was quite different from that of Yin and Zhou times, because he summed up the trend of the late Western Zhou period which changed around the former position of man and spirits, that is, he concentrated all his attention on the problem of "man" and thus of course adopted an attitude of doubt and denial toward the religious view with regard to the decrees of Heaven. For this reason, I fully agree with the opinion expressed by Comrade Guo Moro that one must not interpret the decree of Heaven, as used by Confucius, as "a fatalistic belief in divine predetermination, but rather as a natural inevitability in the world of nature." ("Shi pi pan shu" [Ten Books of Criticism]), or one may say, as the objective laws which are independent of man's will. It is completely preposterous to label Confucius as one quilty of believing in "divine predetermination."

As to the ideological principles of Confucian education, many comrades have already expressed themselves positvely. We need not say anything more on this subject. Undoubtedly, the main content of this ideology was a full measure of humanitarian spirit. "To be content living without education is resembling an animal." In our present education we are just now stressing culture, good conduct and a new life style in educating and nurturing the new generation, things that are related to the humanitarian spirit. We are determined to build up not only a high degree of material culture, but also a high degree of spiritual culture. Once we start out from these considerations in our assessment of the Confucian viewpoint of humanitarianism, is it then not a matter of "being able to comprehend the rest of it"?

At the end of last year, I took part in a symposium on Confucianism at Qufu. Visiting again the place after the disasters of the past, all sorts of feelings welled up in my mind, and I wrote eight 4-line poems "In Memory of My Visit to Qufu," of which I shall reproduce the first poem as a conclusion to my short article:

> The waters of the Si River [where Confucius taught] role on,
>   never to return.
> I lingered for a while at the old site of the
>   Apricot Grove [where Confucius had taught].
> Who is to judge the meritorious deeds and crimes of history?
> The spirit of humanitarianism is being promoted by all the world.

8453
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OUTSTANDING POST-CULTURAL REVOLUTION NOVELS PRAISED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Bai Chengyi [4101 1504 5030]: "A Talk About 'Long' and 'Short' Stories"]

[Text] During his lifetime, Lu Xun seemingly never devoted his time to writing relatively lengthy stories or medium- and full-length novels. As far as I understand, at the turn of the summer and autumn of 1932, following a meeting with Comrade Chen Geng [7115 6342], he planned to write a medium-length novel similar to the work "Iron Current." This plan was abandoned after he found that he did not have at his fingertips the necessary information on the life of the Red Army of workers and peasants. At the turn of August and September 1936, Lu Xun again devoted his thoughts to producing a full-length novel dealing with Chinese intellectuals covering four generations. Unfortunately, he died before he could pick up his pen and get this writing plan started. The invaluable legacy that Lu Xun left to us includes short novels, each covering only a few thousand words. Among them are "A Madman's Diary," "Geng Yiyi," "Medicine," and "Native Place." His most celebrated work, "The True Story of Ah Q," covers no more than 25,000 words. Another work, "Blessing," has only some 10,000 words. His work "A Small Thing" covers no more than 1,500 words. None of these novels is very long. However, they provide us with a full picture of the life of semifeudal and semicolonial society in China and a dramatization of various characters--namely, Ah Q, Madman, Aunt Xianglin, Geng Yiyi, Runtu, Juansheng, and Aigu, in addition to workers and capitalists. Today, more than half a century later, these characters remain as lively in the people's minds as they were in Lu Xun's time.

By contrast, our novels today appear too lengthy and too prelix. More often than not, a short story covers no less than 20,000 or 30,000 words, and a medium-length novel no less than 50,000 or 60,000 words or even over 100,000 words. They are really too verbose and too lengthy!

Medium-length novels are new types of literary works born in the wake of the "Great Cultural Revolution." During the past 2 or 3 years, they have become more popular than ever. According to statistics released by the National Medium-Length Novels Evaluation and Prize-Awarding Meeting held in Beijing recently, in 1980 alone a record number of more than 170 medium-length novels were published. Among them are such outstanding works as "Middle-Aged People" and "A River Without Visual Navigation Aids," widely loved and praised by readers.

The appearance of medium-length novels in large numbers presages something new to come. They can replace novels that seem too long or too short, while still retaining the tastes of the full-length novels. Such free and versatile literary styles should be encouraged and promoted.

But we must also realize that thus far, there is still no definite line between short stories and medium-length novels or between medium- and full-length novels. Some short stories as they appear today are actually medium-length novels; some medium-length novels have turned out to be full-length novels. As a result, the full-length novels in circulation have become unduly longer than ever. It seems that no one will be satisfied until he can expand his novel to 500,000 or 600,000 words. Today, such well-written short stories as "The True Story of Ah Q," and full-length novels as Lao She's "The Auspicious Camel Rider" (which has nearly 140,000 words) and Ye Shengtae's [5509 5110 7118] "Ni Huanzhi" (which has more than 170,000 words) have become nostalgic to us because similar works are rarely seen nowadays!

In order to reverse the trend in which short stories and medium-length novels tend to be too lengthy, I consider it necessary to restudy Lu Xun's experiences in writing novels. In his article "How I Go About Producing Novels," Lu Xun gave us the following instruction: Writing does not begin with what you see; quit writing when you cannot go on; you must review your finished work or words at least twice so that you can mercilessly strike out all nonessentials. Try your best to avoid being wordy in your works. Since your purpose is to get ideas across to the people, you should avoid in your works using ostentatious and decorative words that seem unnecessary. Nor should you depict the wind and the moon in novels. Conversations should be as brief as possible. When you portray a character, it seems better to mobilize the most "concise" and the "simplest" forms of language or "other dramatic methods" so as to concentrate on his eyes. "The most economical way to depict a person's special character is through the portrayal of his eyes. It is useless to depict his hair, however dramatic your depiction." These experiences from Lu Xun can help us to cut out those "nonessentials" from our works, improve their quality, and keep "our short stories and medium-length novels at a controlled length."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION FOR BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION EMPHASIZED

College President Stresses Northwestern's Role

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Li Bingde [2621 4426 1795], President, Northwestern Teachers College: "Do a Good Job in Educational Work; Build an Advanced Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of its founding, the CCP convened the Sixth Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee and passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State." Comrade Hu Yaobang also gave an important speech on 1 July. The "Resolution" sums up our experience during the past 60 years, especially the past 30 years, and points out the direction and path for us to march forward following Mao Zedong Thought. As an educational worker, I now see from this our country's future of unlimited brightness, and my spirit has been given a boost: my confidence and determination to do a good job in my work have become even more abundant.

In the old society, I used to think education was one of the ways for national salvation. But cruel facts told me: education not only was incapable of saving the China of that day, but in old China education could hardly even save itself.

On the eve of the country's liberation, I saw the motherland's new hope, which included hope for the future of education: I therefore made up my mind to return from abroad. What made me very glad was that in new China, under the leadership of the CCP, various enterprises engaged in construction were making great strides and becoming more prosperous every day, and educational enterprises also were achieving unprecedented development. Regrettably, however, because of various reasons within and outside [the return of] education, the development of educational enterprises suffered a certain limitation and failed to achieve the additional progress that could otherwise have been gained.

By the time of the "Cultural Revolution," educational departments became an area of serious disaster. Intellectuals became viewed as "the stinking ninth class," and there was fundamentally no way of broaching the development of educational enterprises and an increase in the quality of education.

The smashing of the "gang of four" brought the people new hope. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee effected a great historical turn and made the strategic decision to shift the focus of our work onto the construction of socialist modernization. Under the guidance of the line and principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the national educational and scientific planning conference that took place in 1979 brought springtime to educational work anew. The feelings of educational workers were pleasant, and their zeal for work was great. But because people failed to achieve sufficient understanding of the nature, status, and role of education, and because their perception of the external and internal laws in education fell short, progress and improvement in educational work naturally remained subject to certain limitations.

It is now clearly pointed out in the "Resolution": "Socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization. We must firmly eradicate such gross fallacies as denigration of education, science, and culture and discrimination against intellectuals--fallacies which have long existed and which found extreme expression during the 'Cultural Revolution.' We must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science, and culture in our drive for modernization. We unequivocally affirm that, together with the workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism, and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals...." I think that when the intellectuals working on the educational front read this passage, they are all bound to be greatly encouraged, while on the other hand they are also bound to feel the heavy responsibilities they now shoulder.

The "Resolution" clearly points out: "The objective of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to turn China step by step into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology, and with a high level of democracy and culture." Here, whether in terms of the requirements of the four modernizations or in terms of the requirements of the high level of democracy and especially the high level of culture, it is obviously necessary for us educational workers to make our own indispensable, important contributions. This is not only because the amount of work involved is very great but, more importantly, also because these requirements are both new and high. New situations and new problems which we must study and solve will be continuously emerging in this situation, as will new educational laws which we will have to explore and discover. Hence, educational workers must make great efforts to carry out strenuous, careful, creative labor.

The Northwestern Teachers College is one of the generative institutions in Gansu Province; the quality level of the teachers it trains directly affects the quality of secondary and elementary education in Gansu Province, and the quality level of secondary and elementary education in turn directly affects the quality of training for personnel of various grades and categories. From this, we can see how heavy are the responsibilities of those who work in this institution! If we fail to double our efforts, it will be impossible for us to accomplish the tasks the party has conferred on us. I am determined to follow the spirit of the foolish old man who removed mountains, push aside all difficulties, and do all I can in order to do a good job of overseeing our teachers' education and building a socialist advanced spiritual civilization.

Education Called Key to Spiritual Civilization

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Zhu Jiusi [2612 0046 1835], Secretary of the Party Committee of Central China Institute of Technology: "Education Must Be Emphasized in Building Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," and thereby accomplished the historical task of returning to order from disorder with respect to the party's guiding ideology. Where should we now direct our energies? The leading comrades on the Central Committee say: "We should concentrate our main energies on considering how to make a go of our national economy, and at the same time consider how to effectively build our socialist spiritual civilization."

Building a spiritual civilization includes the two aspects of establishing lofty ideals, morals and customs, and heightening cultural and scientific knowledge. Heightening the level of the people's cultural and scientific knowledge depends on education; this is self-evident. Establishing lofty ideals, morals, and customs is also closely related to the development of educational enterprises. Youth and children make up the majority of our population today. They are all the objects of education and will all receive various forms of education; there are 204 million students studying just in fulltime schools of various kinds in the country. Schools have always been the bases where spiritual civilization is propagated. When school education is conducted well and the broad ranks of youths and children are trained to become a new generation of people with ideals, morals, knowledge, and strong physical strength, this influences the trend of the whole society. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the denigration of education, science, and culture and the discrimination against intellectuals reached their peak. The "gang of four" trumpeted "blank examination paper heroes" and trumpeted illiterates-cum-scoundrels; together with their other diverse perverse acts, they caused the fine social customs long shaped since the founding of our state to suffer serious disruption. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee overthrew the reactionary "two estimates" on the educational front and restored the student recruiting system at institutions of higher learning; this measure alone has already led to a change in social trends. It shows that in our attempt to build a socialist spiritual civilization and establish socialist morals and customs, we not only need to have correct propaganda guidance, to strengthen ideological and political work, and to perfect our legal system, but even more importantly we must restore and develop our educational enterprises. Directing our education well is the groundwork for building our socialist spiritual civilization. Because of the attention paid by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our educational enterprises, which had been seriously trampled by the "gang of four," have been restored and have now gained a definite degree of development. But our education, whether in terms of quality or quantity, still has a very long way to go toward meeting the requirements for building our material civilization and our spiritual civilization. In particular, the long-standing "leftist" influence of denigration of education is still not entirely eradicated in some departments and some localities today. Therefore, in concluding that socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization, the "Resolution" emphatically points out that we must endeavor to elevate the status of education, science, and culture in our drive for modernization. This should have a great realistic significance and profound influence in the future.

Educational enterprises must set their sights on transforming society. Schools must not only train youths to acquire cultural and scientific knowledge but also enable them to entertain lofty ideals, communist morals, and noble sentiments. nin said: "We should convert all undertakings for fostering, educating, and aining modern youths into enterprises for fostering communist morals among youths" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 351). This makes it necessary for schools of various kinds and at various levels to carry out in a practical way the educational policy of overall moral, intellectual, and physical development, and to strengthen and improve ideological and political education.

In today's school education, an important problem hampering the building of spiritual civilization is the partial emphasis placed on the sciences, accompanied by a denigration of the arts. The realization of the four modernizations requires large contingents of talented scientific and technological workers; hence it is entirely necessary to stress science and engineering. But it will be very difficult to train the vast ranks of youths into a new generation of people with ideals, morals, noble sentiments, love for the motherland, and a revolutionary spirit of dedication to the four modernizations if we fail to enable them to master the necessary linguistic and literary knowledge, historical and geographical knowledge, moral knowledge, and social knowledge in other aspects, or if they lack cultural cultivation as a foundation and depend only on a general imparting of ideological education. Yet, viewed from our institutions of science and engineering, no small number of our college students today not only lack knowledge of the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism but also tend to have a low linguistic and literary level. In particular, many people never learn any world history or world geography, and their understanding of Chinese geography and Chinese history, including China's modern history, is poor. Since they do not understand history, especially China's modern history, it is very difficult for them to understand the truth that "without the Chinese Communist Party there would be no new China," and that "only socialism can save China." In the face of a lack of such understanding of the motherland's long history, splendid civilization, vast territory, and rich resources, it would be rather abstract to stress patriotism to them. Along with our opening up to the outside world and with the development of diplomatic and trade relations and cultural exchanges with capitalist countries, the ideology and corrupt way of life of the Western bourgeoisie are bound to filter in. Certain things with which they can erode and affect us are in many cases old stuff long criticized in history. But because our youths lack knowledge in this regard, they often accept them as new and novel things. In all such cases, we cannot blame the youths and students, because they have not learned many things or have learned very little about them. This is a problem in our educational work and, in the final analysis, an evil consequence brought about by the 10-year catastrophe. The question now is how to change this situation relatively quickly. This should also be an important task in effectively building our socialist spiritual civilization.

But in today's university education, there is a partial emphasis placed on science (and engineering), accompanied by a denigration of the arts; specialty offerings are too limited and there are too few students recruited in the arts, while the teaching curriculum in science and engineering, apart from a few subjects on Marxist-Leninist theory, basically includes no subjects in the humanities and social sciences. This is very bad for accomplishing such a task. This partial emphasis placed on the sciences accompanied by a denigration of the arts in university education also affects middle school education. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the middle schools basically discarded subjects like history and geography. Although these have been gradually restored in the past few years, their contents are hardly versatile enough. And because many middle schools lack qualified teachers in these areas, the contents prescribed by the [official] syllabus can hardly be turned into reality. Especially because little attention is generally paid to them, and mainly because the universities recruit too few students for their departments of the arts, most students, when they consider the question of their further study, feel reluctant to register for examination for entrance into the arts departments. As a result, they aim only at studying mathematics, physics, and chemistry and generally pay little attention to studying subjects like language and literature, history, and geography. Many middle schools consequently prescribe that the subjects of history and geography need not be examined (only investigated) during the entrance examination. This is a question worthy of our careful study in our educational work at present.

Ours is an ancient civilized country with several thousand years of splendid culture and an extremely rich historical heritage. In trying to build our advanced socialist spiritual civilization today, we must, on the basis of a critical absorption of this historical heritage, emanate even more splendid brilliance of our own era. Training and fostering a socialist generation of new people constitute the concentrated manifestation of the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. This is of course our unshirkable responsibility as educational workers. It is our belief that, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, if we conscientiously study and carry out the spirit of the "Resolution," our educational work is bound to achieve better results.

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ZHOU YANG SUGGESTS WAY TO DEVELOP OPERATIC ART

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 81 p 5

[Article: "WENYI YANJIU No 3, 1981, Publishes Comrade Zhou Yang's Article, 'Further Innovation and Development of Traditional Operatic Art'"]

[Text] WENYI YANJIU No 3, 1981, which came out on 25 July, has published Comrade Zhou Yang's article entitled "Further Innovation and Development of Traditional Operatic Art." This article is excerpted from the author's speech at the work forum on traditional operatic repertoire, which took place in July 1980. The article sums up several decades of experience and lessons in our reform work on traditional operas and also puts forward some guiding opinions on how to further innovate and develop traditional operatic art.

Zhou Yang's article is divided into four parts. In summing up in the first part the several decades of our experience in the reform of traditional opera, the article says that after the founding of new China: "We consciously endeavored to apply Marxist theory on critical inheritance of cultural legacities in order to reform traditional operatic art and unite the long cultural heritage in traditional operas in our nation and the spirit of the socialist new era as well as the cultural achievements in modern operas. This caused a sharp change in the outlook of traditional operas." Then the author makes the point of looking back at the history of ideological struggle and artistic struggle on the operatic front and the process through which the whole ranks of traditional operatic circles continued to elevate their scientific and cultural level, pointing out that, as "the history of over 30 years of operatic reform tells us, we must especially pay attention to preventing and overcoming crude practices." "Those things that are beneficial, whether they are from classical operas or from modern operas, should always be carefully preserved." "Rejecting both conservatism and crudeness: this may be said to be an important experience in over 30 years of our operatic reform." The article further states: "Continually elevating the scientific and cultural level of the entire ranks of traditional operatic circles, promoting the development of artistic creations and theoretical research in traditional operas, and enabling traditional operas to become an art with a complete system better able to reflect the new era and new life: this is the goal toward which we have consistently directed our efforts in pursuing our work in operatic reform." "We should take the elevation of the scientific and cultural level and artistic cultivation of traditional operatic workers and the training of a new generation as a strategic task. We must create conditions for their study and advancement so that their vision will be broadened and their knowledge will increase, thereby enabling them to become artists with fairly comprehensive cultural and artistic accomplishments.

In the second part, Zhou Yang places emphasis on his views on "enriching and innovating traditional operatic art." Comrade Zhou Yang says: "We must enrich and innovate the repertoire of traditional operas, and elevate the ideological and artistic level of such repertoire. Our fundamental principle is still 'Let a hundred flowers bloom; weed out the old to bring forth the new.' On this we must not have any doubt or wavering. On the matter of our repertoire, we must on the one hand do our best to achieve comprehensiveness and versatility and to aim at innovation and avoid repetition and monotony; on the other hand, we must also follow the direction of serving the people and serving socialism, impart education through recreation, and refrain from drifting toward confusion. Toward the staging of repertoire, we must relax our requirements and refrain from resorting lightly to proscriptions; so long as a program is not politically reactionary or designed to propagate obscenity and violence, it should be allowed to be staged. We must formulate policies on such repertoire that meet our needs; we must adopt relevant administrative measures; and, most important of all, we must adopt social forms to solve ideological questions in art by relying on public opinion in society and operatic reviews." On "weeding out the old to bring forth the new," the article says: "Since our culture and art are, generally speaking, socialist, then weeding out the old to bring forth the new in operatic art is mainly to bring forth the socialistically new. Socialism is in turn inseparable from democracy and patriotism; therefore it is also to bring forth the democratically and patriotically new. Whatever reflects realistic life and historical life with such a new spirit artistically, including the traditional operatic repertoire sifted and revised with this spirit, generally speaking belongs to the realm of socialist culture." Comrade Zhou Yang's article also states: "Modern operas, traditional operas, and newly written historical operas are all needed by the people, and they must all be developed and improved. It is improper to advocate any 'principal' category, since that would be easily subject to mishandling and would hardly be beneficial to the realization of the double-hundred principle." "What each kind of opera and each operatic troupe is fit to perform may be different, with selective emphasis, and may be subject to a division of labor; we must not deny a division of labor or treat every kind and every troupe the same way." "But insofar as the requirement of the overall trend of development in operatic enterprises is concerned, we should put emphasis on modern operas." "In the case of the various indigenous operas, because they are close to the local communities and because their forms are also fairly free and lively and more susceptible to the reflection of modern life, they should be allowed to give as much scope as possible to their strongpoints in this regard."

Comrade Zhou Yang's article states: "If we decide to work on modern operas, then we must do a good job in this regard; we must raise their quality, not only paying attention to their ideological character but also studying their dramatic character and their literary character. We must not simply produce run-of-the-mill products." "Our modern history of the revolution basically has as its core our party history and military history; it touches on important historical events and historical personalities. We must endeavor to follow the authentic and not resort to imagination and fabrication." "We must be especially prudent."

Zhou Yang's article also holds that "in the case of certain traditional operas which have become controversial as well as influential among the masses, while they have serious faults in terms of their ideological content, they may demonstrate certain characteristics in their stories and artistic performance and have become well known and liked by the audience. In such circumstances, we may organize the forces of operatic circles to discuss and revise them anew and carry out experimental performances. This is also one aspect of our effort to 'rescue our legacy.'" "We must encourage the operatic artists' spirit of innovation and dauntlessness in creation, so that they will not be afraid of failures; if they fail, they can start all over again. Without such a spirit, it would be impossible to reform our rich operatic heritage with its up to 1,000 years of historical tradition."

In addition, Zhou Yang's article expresses some views on the questions of innovating the stage art of traditional operas and reforming the system of operatic troupes.

The article states; "Through the long, devoted creativity of the vast ranks of artists and talented performers, our operatic art has forged very sophisticated and singularly characteristic techniques of performance and distinctive styles and schools. But because these have all been brought about under the historical condition of insufficient development of material conditions in the past, they show certain limitations. Along with the changes in the times, advances in science and technology, and changes in material conditions, the performing techniques in art are bound to undergo changes and become more and more versatile. The staging of traditional operas must undergo some reform and improvement before it can meet the demands of the current era and present-day audiences." "It is hoped that stage artists will preserve the characteristics of traditional operas in order to keep them susceptible to the inherited techniques of performance, on the one hand, and confer upon them the sense of the time and break through sterile conventions on the other hand."

The article also points out that an "operatic troups" is a trade in cultural service; it has a solemn responsibility to educate and entertain the people. It must be operated according to artistic laws as well as economic laws. But after all, it is a group engaged in ideological work, and not one with a simple, profit-making goal. It is engaged in artistic work and undertakes to educate the people and entertain the people. It must pay attention to economic laws and the value of the box office, but those are not primary. What is primary is ideological and cultural value, artistic value. It will not do if an operatic troupe does not pay attention to the value of the box office or economic accounting; but first of all it must take into consideration how it affects the people's thinking, whether it facilitates an improvement of the people's ideological consciousness and esthetic interest, and whether it facilitates an improvement of the level of our operatic culture or our culture and art as a whole. An operatic troupe and various performing groups should all consider these questions first, and not put economic targets in the position of primary importance.

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 221

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1 October 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 221

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO SPEAK OUT ON ISSUES OF RIGHT AND WRONG

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Hou Jueliang [0186 3635 5328]: "How Can Anyone 'Acquiesce' in the Face of Controversial Issues?"]

[Text] Anyone who has read Ouyang Xiu's [2962 7122 0208] "Letter to Imperial Censor Gao" will remember Gao Ruona [7559 5387 6077] as an imperial censor capable of pretending to be a "well-educated gentleman of rectitude." Although he could take an audacious stand on historical issues of right and wrong, he often declined comment on current issues of right and wrong for fear of getting himself into trouble. "This taciturn attitude made him appear just like any other person on the street." The attempt by Gao Ruona to pass himself off as a genuine "gentleman of rectitude" failed, because he could not daringly speak out on the controversial issues of the day. For this reason, Ouyang Xiu called him a man "guilty of failing to speak out."

Of course, no communist is encouraged to "keep his mouth shut" in order to protect his own interests as Gao Ruona did. Communists must be openminded and above board, do justice to others, and make clear their attitudes and views. In this connection, Comrade Hu Yaobang said it well: "Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people, and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against."

There are two categories of controversy: Minor and cardinal issues of right and wrong. Minor issues of right and wrong involve unprincipled disputes which are too insignificant to merit discussion. We can completely ignore them or refrain from embroiling ourselves in these minor issues of the day. But we must step forward to speak out on cardinal issues of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people, [and we must] uphold principle and distinguish right from wrong. Communists must demonstrate their strong party spirit and take a strong stand for principle. There are "some people who may not feel indignant at seeing someone betraying the interests of the masses, who neither dissuade him nor stop him from doing so or reason with him, and who just let him do whatever he wishes." This attitude was criticized by Mao Zedong long ago. No communist should be inclined to adopt such an attitude.

Our efforts to encourage party members to speak out daringly on the issues of right and wrong will have a significant role to play in carrying forward the party's excellent tradition, in resisting unhealthy trends, and in upholding the interests of the party and the people. An example is Communist Party member Li Haicheng [2621 3189 2052], of the Hengshui Iron Works in Hebei. When he saw someone in the iron works abusing his authority and embezzling public property, he regarded it as a cardinal issue of wrongdoing and bravely exposed and reported it to the authorities concerned on 73 different occasions. During the struggle, he regarded himself as a master of his own country fearing neither criticism nor reprisals; this enabled him to overcome one difficulty after another in upholding the party's principles and the interests of the state. This noble spirit of the highest order reflects the political consciousness of Communist Party members as well as their sense of responsibility. However, some other party members have failed to follow this approach. In the face of the cardinal issues of right and wrong, they often lose sight of party spirit and of their sense of principle. For example, some party members have failed to struggle against the unhealthy trend of violating the "Guiding Principles." They have even gone so far as to cover up [wrongdoing], to lobby on behalf of its proponents, and to harm comrades who have displayed a daring spirit to expose it. Some party members have taken an ambiguous attitude toward this matter. Regardless of who is right and who is wrong, they often punish both sides of an argument the same way, thus confusing right and wrong and encouraging the growth of the erroneous trend. Many comrades have also taken an evasive attitude toward issues of right and wrong. Although they know who is right and who is wrong, they often do not have the guts to speak out on such cases for fear of offending people. They often deliberately speak incoherently and behave awkwardly for the purpose of keeping their mouths shut so that they can bury the issues of right and wrong in their hearts. This taciturn attitude that they have adopted is entirely wrong and has nothing in common with the principles upheld by communists.

In the feudal society, being a taciturn member is also viewed as disgraceful behavior. A lack of courage to speak out on the issues of right and wrong is not in the interests of the party and the people. Meanwhile, this attitude will have a demoralizing impact on the will of party members and will relegate their status to that of common people. This is something that merits our serious attention!

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PARTY AND STATE

NECESSITY OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM EXPLAINED

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 15, 10 Aug 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Xue Zhongxin [5641 0022 2450]: "Criticism and Club Must Not Be Confused"]

[Text] The moment criticism is mentioned, some people often think of the club. When a certain leader criticizes a comrade, or when a certain newspaper criticizes a certain individual's words and deeds or work, there will be some who comment: "Here comes the club again!" It appears that criticizing is hitting with the club. Actually, correct criticism and hitting with a club are things of two different natures, and they must not be confused.

Criticism and self-criticism are our party's good tradition and serve as the weapon of self-reform of the Communist Party members. Our party uses it to cleanse the dust from itself and overcome the defects and errors in work; it also uses it to educate our cadres and masses and strengthen the unity and fighting power of the revolutionary ranks. It is an indispensable component of normal democratic life.

A produce of excessive struggling, the club is quite different; it is not criticism advocated by us. In areas where the democratic life is abnormal, some people, under the erroneous leftwing influence, often one-sidedly magnify the disputes over the different views within the people or the defects and mistakes of some comrades, criticizing in exaggeration and bullying people on the strength of their power. People are terrified by the sight of the waving club.

Our attitude is that there must be no clubbing and no repetition of the mistakes of excessive struggling and aggravated class struggles. However, normal criticism must be deployed. For the prosperity and development of our cause, criticisms and self-criticisms must be regularly launched among our comrades, in order to foster an upright spirit and eliminate the evil trends.

Currently, a prominent problem in our cadre ranks is that some leading comrades do not have a clear attitude in face of right and wrong. They have no courage to support the good and criticize the bad and, wavering and vague, they fail to manage and handle when they should. As a result, some areas and units fail to resist and combat the evil trends and promote the upright spirit.

Why are some comrades not adept at using the weapon of criticism? One should say that, for a long time in the past, especially during the 10-year internal disorder, our party's good tradition of criticism and self-criticism encountered serious disruptions. The excessive struggles left a lingering apprehension, making people hesitate to either self-criticize or criticize. There are also some comrades who cannot be criticized. If anyone should criticize them, they would say: "You are hitting with a club!" Actually, they are holding a club in their hands to resist criticisms, constantly ready to wave it at the criticizer. Permitting countercriticism is a condition to promote healthy criticisms, but facts and reasons are also required. It is obviously wrong to turn criticism into a club to suppress democracy and dissents, but it is just as wrong to call criticism a club and reject it.

We must realize that, when our party is vigorously bringing order out of chaos and rectifying the leftwing mistakes, the practice of hitting with a club has been greatly reduced, What requires attention at present is failing to criticize what should be criticized, permitting the undesirable things to develop and spread. This situation must be changed. The leading cadres of the various levels and the broad masses should, instead of being lenient, justly criticize the bad things, undesirable phenomena and evil trends. The comrades with the courage to speak out, to criticize and to do work must be given active support.

In upholding the four basic principles, the party's leadership comes first, while to uphold the party's leadership, we must use the effective weapon of criticism; we must not be weak and incompetent in face of right and wrong. In his speech at the party's 60th anniversary mass meeting, Comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly pointed out: "On the issues of principle, the Communist Party members must uphold the truth and have a clear stand. On the issues of right and wrong linked with the interests of the party and the people, each and every party member must uphold the party spirit and clearly express his own attitude and what he supports and what he opposes. The rotten and mediocre practice of 'everybody is good and harmony everywhere,' in disregard of principles, is incompatible with the proletarian essence of our party." All our party members must regularly examine themselves to determine how they are doing in this aspect.

Naturally, we must start out from the practical in criticism, seek the truth from the facts, resort to reason, aim at helping people, and stress the method and the result, giving a rich educational significance to criticism, helping the comrades raise their awareness and rallying them to advance together. This also is a valuable experience gained through many years of practice.

The club to hit people must be laid down! The club against criticisms must be thrown away! The weapon of criticism to unite and educate the people must never be lost!

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ROLE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM STRESSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Zhu Guocai [2621 0948 2088]: "Criticism and Self-Criticism Must Be Popularized"]

[Text] What should be relied upon to resolve contradictions between the proletarian and nonproletarian ideologies and between the correct and incorrect ideas within the party? Practical experiences accumulated by our party over the years tell us that such contradictions can be resolved only by means of criticism and self-criticism. In making criticism and self-criticism, we can clean the dust that dirties our faces. We still live in a society where class struggle still exists to a certain extent along with the ideological influences of the exploiting classes and other nonproletarian classes and the undesirable phenomena of capitalism, feudalism and small production which still affect our daily lives and the organization of our party. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism is still indispensable to our efforts to keep our faces clean and immune to the dust, to free our society from contamination, and to bring vitality to our ruling party at all times. Through the application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, our party has taken a correct attitude toward its achievements and errors and its merits and demerits, and has been successful in resisting the erosion of various erroneous ideas and in defeating the enemy attacks with sugar-coated bullets. In this way, it has put itself in an invincible position and won wide popular support. However, today there are some comrades in the ranks of our party who have been out of touch with, forgotten, and even hated and resisted criticism and self-criticism. Some comrades do not dare criticize anyone for fear of offending him, reprisals from him and destroying their working relationship with him. Some comrades have become reluctant to criticize others who consider themselves as perfect as a fresh flower or an angry tiger whose backside no one dares to touch. By taking this erroneous attitude, they have caused the party harm and prevented themselves from making progress. Since we are committed to serve the party, the people and comrades, we must display a daring spirit to uphold principle, to exercise criticism and self-criticism, and to struggle against the unhealthy practices and evil winds affecting our party. We must persist in seeking truth from facts, adopt a friendly attitude toward the people and pay proper attention to our method and manner in the course of criticism. As long as we can do so, we will be able to win support from the party organizations and the overwhelming majority of comrades and the broad masses. The fact that justice always prevails over the evil wind is an objective law governing the development of things.

The exercise of criticism and self-criticism by the broad masses of people as the masters of their own country will pave the way for their participation in the management of their country. The broad masses of people are entitled to criticize or to offer suggestions to party organizations at all levels. The party must accept their supervision. This is also an important step taken by the party to sharpen their professional skills in managing the country, the economy and industry through training. Only in this way can they be encouraged to demonstrate their initiative and enthusiasm for managing their country and be provided opportunities to test, improve and strengthen their creative and innovative ability. Deprived of their right to criticize and supervise, the people's desire to innovate and display enthusiasm would be suppressed and the slogan "the people are masters of their own country" would become meaningless. In this way, our party may be in danger of losing basic support from the masses and may again commit grave mistakes.

Of course, our program to launch criticism and self-criticism is aimed at improving the party leadership. For this reason, in providing criticism and self-criticism, we must adopt a serious and conscientious attitude, base criticism on facts, and exhibit a friendly manner. We must rectify existing mistakes without trying to hide and thus magnifying them. All forms of criticism should be offered in a well-reasoned way or with methods which emphasize persuasion and reasoning. Criticisms should be based on subjective speculations or aimed at intimidating others. Nor should we make far-fetched interpretations and unduly involve comrades at a higher or lower level in the course of criticism. When criticism and self-criticism are being popularized, excessive struggle should be avoided.

The party must practice democracy as a fundamental guarantee to develop criticism and self-criticism. A climate in which no critics should be punished and their admonitions should be encouraged is essential to the development of criticism and self-criticism. In this respect, our party has experienced both success and failure. During the Yanan rectification campaign, the correct application of criticism and self-criticism by our party was instrumental in leading it to sum up its experiences, to achieve unity among the comrades and to win victory in the liberation war. Since the party's Third Plenum, our party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism has been revived and carried forward, and some new and useful experiences have been gained in this respect. As long as we can constantly eliminate erroneous ideas through the correct application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we can certainly revitalize the organization of our party, overcome difficulties on the road ahead, and win new victories.

9574
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TERMS 'STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES,' 'LINE' TO BE AVOIDED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Liu Mouyin [0491 5399 6892]: "Why Are We Going To Avoid Mentioning 'Struggle Between the Two Lines' and Also Shun the Term 'Line' Hereafter?"]

[Text] The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee does not use "struggle between the two lines" and also rarely uses the term "line." When it does mention "struggle between the two lines," the latter is usually prefixed with the words "so-called," with the result that a negative designation is understood. There is a reason for this.

The reason is that the connotations of the so-called "struggle between the two lines" and "line" as concepts have not been very clear in the past. Viewed from the history of the international communist movement, Marx, Engels, and Lenin rarely used the term "line." It is not used in their principal works; nor is any serious definition given it in other works. Not until 1929 did Stalin, in his article "Rightism in the CPSU (Bolshevik)," begin to raise the question of "line" to a very serious status.

In the beginning, our party also rarely used the term "line." Documents from the Second Congress through the Sixth Congress did not use such a term. Only from the time of the "Letter From the Executive Council of the Communist International to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Li Lisan Line" of October 1930, which broached opposition to the Li Lisan line, did we begin more often to use terms like "line," "mistaken line," "two-line struggle," etc. In the "Political Resolution" passed by the first party congress of the Central Soviet District in November 1931 alone, these terms were used in more than 70 places. After Wang Ming came to control the leadership power, such usage became more and more mystical, and the more time passed, the more loosely the term "line" was used. During the "Cultural Revolution," such abuse [of the term] worsened to the point when one could simply do whatever one pleased with it. One view was that in a socialist society, class struggle became more and more acute and drastic and was bound to be reflected within the party, and in essence it became an intraparty class struggle. Hence, "struggle against some line" became a constant and omnipresent ghost as regards "bourgeois reactionary line," "Liu-Deng line," "revisionist line," "opportunist line," etc., etc. And since a "line" was in question in each case, a large contingent of people, ranging from the chairman of the People's Republic above to the common folk below, sometimes numbering hundreds of millions, thus became involved. Whether they were workers, peasants, meritorious persons, labor models, or good cadres, once they "executed" the so-called "Liu-Deng line," they became personalities of the dark line, and once they uttered any words incompatible with the so-called "revolutionary line," they immediately became connected with the "reactionary line," whereby at a minimum they would be criticized or paraded on the street with signboards hung on them, and at maximum they would be thrown into jail and put to death. This kind of "struggle against some line" subjected hundreds of millions of people to persecution, and our party and state sustained catastrophic losses as a result.

Viewed from the history of our party, we cannot reduce everything to a struggle between two lines, either. Because the party's history has been complex, every mistake has had its objective and subjective causes; as its degree has differed, its influence has varied. Therefore, we should analyze it from a dialetical-materialistic point of view and in the manner of seeking truth from facts, identifying whatever the problem really was and the degree to which it really proved erroneous, without inflaming it along the way, and recognizing the extent to which it might prove to be right, without any exaggeration or blind inflation. Only thus can we persuade others by way of reason, and only thus can our conclusions stand the test of history. But this was not the case in the past. Whoever committed a mistake within the party would have the label of "mistaken about the line" attached to him, and above him there would be many representative personalities and below him a long train of elements mistaken about the line involved. This not only resulted in injuries to many people but also created confusion about many party matters. In some cases the judgment was too severe; in others it was too lenient; and in still others it was turned upside down. It would be far from accurate to reduce the history of our party to a history of struggle between the two lines: in which event should the line be deemed mistaken, and in which event should it not? And during these struggles between the lines, who were correct and who were incorrect? When did a mistaken line begin each time, and when did it end? All this is very hard to judge clearly. What in the past has been designated a so-called "struggle against some line" is now often overturned. The more conspicuous cases in this regard include those of Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang, Peng, Huang, Zhang, and Zhou, and the so-called "Liu-Deng line." On one occasion it was Lo Zhanglong, while on another it was Zhang Guotao; both of them resorted to factional struggle in their attempts to set up a separate central authority. The designation of their cases as those of struggle between the two lines was by no means relevant, since the nature of their cases was more serious than being mistaken about the line. The Gao and Rao incident was also similar to this. Apart from these, Qu Qiubai's mistake lasted 3 months, and Li Lisan's mistake lasted less than half a year; the designation of theirs as cases of struggle between the two lines also calls for reconsideration. Also, as for the "Cultural Revolution," it was unprecedented in the history of our party in both the nature and the seriousness of its mistakes; were we to follow propositions of the past, would it have been designated as "mistaken about the line?" In foregoing the designation of "struggle between the two lines" and following the principle of seeking truth from facts, the "Resolution" has already gone beyond the past concept of the so-called "struggle between the two lines" in its analysis and appraisal of the mistaken nature of the "Cultural Revolution." Such an attitude, based on seeking truth from facts, tallies with Marxist principles and is therefore bound to be able to stand the test of history.

Naturally, this does not necessarily mean that the term "line" is not going to be used at all from now on. It may still be used on questions in such instances as "the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee established our correct ideological line, political line, and organizational line" and "formulated our correct line, principles, and policies." But we must by no means ever use it in intraparty struggle, and the usage of the so-called "struggle between the two lines" should especially be completely proscribed from now on.

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ARTICLE REVIEWS PROBLEMS, PROGRESS OF PARTY

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 13, 10 Jul 81 pp 10-26

[Second part of an article by the editorial staff of the magazine: "The Great and Glorious 60 Years. First part of article not translated by JPRS.]

[Text] The 32 Years of Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction

If we hail the victory in the revolutionary struggle for new deomcracy in China as a great event, we must concede even greater glory to the victory in our socialist revolution and the achievements in our socialist construction. In the same way our path to victory in the revolutionary struggle for new deomcracy, our path to victory in our socialist revolution and to our achievements in the socialist construction has not been perfectly straight, but a tortuous path. One may say that it has been a winding path to victory.

The Great Achievements of 32 Years Since the Founding of the PRC

Generally speaking, the history of the 32 years since the founding of the PRC by the CCP has been a history of tremendous successes brought about by the CCP, guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, leading the whole people of various nationalities in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. Among all the achievements during these 32 years, the most important ones were the elimination of the exploitative system and the establishment of the socialist system. This is the most profound social change in Chinese history and is the foundation for all future progress and development in our country.

Considered separately, the following are the 10 most important achievements brought about during these 32 years:

1. We have established and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This new type of state power, in which the people are the masters in their own house, is the fundamental guarantee for the building of a modern socialist country, prosperous and powerful, democratic and culturally advanced.

2. We have achieved and consolidated national unification of the county (apart from the fact that Taiwan and other islands have not yet been returned to the

motherland). We have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the people of all nationalities. We have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of other classes. On this foundation, we have formed and developed the broad united front of over 98 percent of the population, comprising all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism and all patriots who stand for the unification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and all overseas Chinese.

3. We have defeated one by one the aggression, armed provocation, sabotage and menancing threats of imperialism and hegemonism and safeguarded our country's security and independence. We have won a great victory in the resist-America, support-Korea war and further great victories in the self-defense counter attacks in protecting the border regions of our fatherland.

4. After taking over bureaucrat-capital enterprises and recovering enterprises run by foreign monopolistic capital, we have established and developed a socialist state-run economy in the leading position and basically completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production into public ownership and put into practice the principle of "to each according to his work," thus eliminating the system of exploitation. The exploiting class as a class does not exist anymore. The overwhelming majority of those who belonged to the exploiting class have been remolded and have become workers who live by their own labor.

5. In our well-planned industrial construction we have achieved important successes and set up an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial complex and economic system, thus laying a material foundation of considerable proportions for the realization of the four modernizations. In 1980, the fixed assets of the whole country's industry exceeded 410,000 million yuan, which is over 30 times the total accumulations of old China during the last 100 years.

6. Conditions in our country's agricultural production have experienced a remarkable change, resulting in big increases in production. The amount of land under irrigation has grown from 230 million mu to 675 million mu. Flooding by big rivers has been brought under initial control. Farm mechanization, the use of chemical fertilizers and electricity has been greatly expanded. In 1980, the total output of grain was nearly double compared to that of 1952, and cotton output was more than doubled, thus basically guaranteeing sufficient food and clothing for our population of almost 1 billion.

7. Considerable progress has been registered in our education, science, culture, public health and physical culture. In the past 32 years, we have educated nearly 9 million men with specialized knowledge or skills. We have mastered nuclear technology, man-made satellites and rocket technology, which clearly demonstrates the important and great progress achieved by our country's science and technology. Great improvements are evident in our people's cultural level, their physique and health; the pre-liberation average life expectancy of 35 years has been almost doubled.

8. Due to developments in our economic and cultural undertakings, the living conditions of the people have been remarkably improved compared with conditions before liberation. The average number of those employed in an employee or workers'

family was 1.33 persons in 1957; this figure increased to 2.35 persons in 1980. The average consumption of a person in 1980 is almost double that of 1952, with due consideration for commodity price increases.

9. The People's Liberation Army has grown from a single ground force to a composite army, including naval and air forces and other technical branches. Their training and technical equipment has been very much improved and raised to a high degree of perfection. The PLA has made tremendous contributions in supporting and protecting the socialist revolution and the socialist construction.

10. Our country's international position and role has been greatly enhanced. Our country has established diplomatic relations with 124 countries and has economic and cultural relations with many more countries. Our country has recovered its seat in the United Nations and in the Security Council. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which our country initiated and upheld, have already become the generally acknowledged norm for international relations. Great and important contributions have been made by our pepole toward international peace and the progress of mankind.

These great acheivements, brought about in the 32 years since the establishment of the PRC, are universally acknowledged and cannot be denied by anyone. However, these achievements are only initial achievements; they could have been much greater, were it not for a number of mistakes that we committed, including such grievous mistakes as the "Great Cultural Revolution" lasting 10 years, we have therefore no reason at all to be self-satisfied. As to the shortcomings and mistakes that we have committed in the course of our achievements and our work, we must adopt an attitude of "developing successes and overcoming shortcomings," emancipating the mind, making full use of our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. In this manner we shall gain even greater victories.

The Tortuous Path to Victory That We Have Trod

Since the establishment of the PRC, our path of gaining the various achievements has been a tortuous one. Similar to what happened during the stage of the democratic revolution, we have experienced two victories and two defeats during the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only after the many experiences of the 2 victories and 2 defeats were summed up by our party after it had smashed the "gang of four" and particular since the 30 Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, were we able to gain a considerably more profound knowledge of the objective laws of socialist construction and to find the correct path for the construction of socialism adapted to the special condition of our country.

The history of the 32 years since the establishment of the PRC can be divided into four periods, 7 years of basic completion of the socialist transformation, 10 years of initially building socialism in all spheres, the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the 5 years since the smashing of the "gang of four."

The first period comprises the 7 years from the establishment of the PRC in October 1949 to 1956. These were the 7 years when our party led the various nationalities of the whole people in acocmplishing the main socialist transformation, thus gaining brilliant victories.

In the first 3 years after the inception of the PRC, we cleared the mainland of the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries and of bandits. In a movement to suppress counterrevolutionaries, we eliminated the main force of the counterrevolutionary elements, established and consolidated the people's democratic regime, confiscated bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and transformed them into state-owned socialist enterprises. We carried out agrarian reform in the new liberated areas, launched the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements and guided private commerical and industrial enterprises on to the well-developing track of state capatilism. In these 3 years we restored the national economy which had suffered grievous losses during the extended period of fighting and increased agricultural and industrial production to levels far above any in all our past history. Under the guidance of the party's general line for the transitional period, based on proposals by Comrade Mao Zedong, we began in a planned manner the socialist construction and the systematic socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce.

In this period, our party creatively proceeded on a path of socialist transformation which was suited to China's special conditions. This was a method of peaceful and gradual transition which realized the social transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and which at the same time was the road toward the transformation of the economy and transformation of man. These three kinds of transformation were in the main completed by 1956. There were certain shortcomings in this work. From the summer of 1955 onward, we were too hasty in pressing agricultural cooperation, our work was done carelessly and the forms were over-simplified and overstandardized. In 1956, too many capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises and individual industrial and commercial enterprises were eliminated through merges. There were these and other cases of inappropriate actions. But on the whole, it was definitely a historic victory to have effected, and fairly smoothly and rapidly, so profound and difficult a change in the social and economic system in so vast an eastern country with a population of several hundred million and with its very complex conditions.

The main goals of our First 5-Year Plan, starting in 1953, were also fulfilled 1 year in advance in 1956 through our own efforts, assisted by the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. A number of basic industries, essential for the country's industrialization, were built up. In 4 years, the average annual increase in the total value of agriclutural output was 4.8 percent. During this period, the people's livelihood improved perceptibly.

In April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong made his sppech "On the Ten Major Relationships," in which he initially summed up our country's successful experiences in socialist construction, set forth the correct way for dealing with contradictions in the socialist society, mobilized all active elements, and as far as possible turned passive elements into active elements to undertake the basic task of building a modern, great, socialist country. In September 1956, the party's Eighth National Congress correctly declared, based on the above-mentioned guiding ideology of Comrade Mao Zedong, that the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie had already been basically solved, that the socialist system had been basically established in our country and that from now on the main task of the whole party and the whole people was to concentrate our strength on developing the social productive forces to build a modern socialist country. The congress also emphasized that strengthening the party was to be a question of properly building up the governing party, and demanded that the whole party uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, carry out the line of the masses, strengthen democracy within the party and among the people, strengthen collective leadership and oppose the personality cult and abritrary decisions by individuals. The political, ideological and organizationl policies laid down by the party's Eighth National Congress were correct.

The second period comprise the 10 years from the basic completion of the socialist transformation to just before the "Great Cultural Revolution." These were 10 years in which our country began building socialism in all spheres. In these 10 years, we continued to achieve tremendous successes, although our lack of experience made us commit mistakes and suffer setbacks, but we also corrected our mistakes. Comparing 1966 with 1956, our country's fixed industrial assets increased 3 times, the value of the total industrial output increased 1.7 times. The output of such major industrial products as cotton yarn, coal, electricity, crude oil, steel, etc. increased tremendously. Beginning in 1965, self-sufficiency was achieved in petroleum. New industries such as electronic and petrochemical industries were established. Testing an atomic bomb was successful . Outstanding results were also achieved in the fields of education, science, literature, public health and physical culture. The material and technological foundation that we rely on in today's work of modernization was to a great part built up during these 10 years. The backbone of the contingents working throughout the country in the fields of economics and culture were also trained during that period. This shows the guiding aspect of the party's work during that period. It would be a mistake to ignore or underestimate the achievements under this guiding aspect.

On the other hand, there have been serious faults in the work of the party during these 10 years with regard to the guiding policy. The work of the party proceeded in a tortuous way, namely passing through a progression of correct action, mistakes, correction of mistakes and return to a correct line.

Nineteen fifty-seven was one of the years that saw the best results in economic work since the founding of the PRC due to the conscientious implementation of the correct line formulated at the Eighth National Congress of the party. In February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong made his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," in which he propounded his doctrine, rich in original, creative ideas, on how to handle correctly the two kinds of social contradictions and in which he provided important ideological guidance for a correct way of carrying out socialist construction. In April of the same year, he launched a rectification campaign throughout the party with the theme of how to handle correctly contradictions among the people and he mobilized the masses to present criticism and suggestions to the party, and he acheived good results in these endeavors. When an extremely small group of bourgeois rightists seized the opportunity to attack the party and the socialist system, it was only correct and necessary to launch a struggle against and to criticize the extremely small group of rightists who actually existed. However, the scope of this antirightist struggle was overly extended in a serious way and a large number of intellectuals, patriotic people and cadres were unjustifiably labeled "rightists," with unfortunate consequences.

In 1958, due to our lack of experience in socialist construction and due to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades, both at the center and in the localities, had become smug about their successes, overestimated the socialist transformation in its effect on liberating productive forces, overestimated man's subjective will and the effect of subjective efforts, were impatient for quick results and launched the Great Leap Forward and the movement for rural people's communes without careful investigation and study. This resulted in such leftist errors as excessive production norms, arbitrary directives, boastful exaggerations and the stirring up of a "communist wind;" all these evils spreading unchecked in a very serious way. From the end of 1958 to the early stage of the Lushan meeting of the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee in July 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong led the whole party in effecting a rectification of the errors that had already been recognized. However, in the later part of the meeting the rectification began to take a wrong turn, mistakenly criticized Comrade Peng Dehuai and mistakenly changed course in the nationwide "antirightist" movement. This erroneous struggle gravely undermined innerparty democracy and prolonged and aggravated the above-mentioned leftist mistakes. It was mainly due to errors committed by ourselves during the 3 years, from 1958 to 1960, together with natural calamities during that time and the scraping of contracts by the Soviet Government that our economy encountered serious difficulties between 1959 and 1961, which caused serious losses to our country and our people.

From the winter of 1960 on, the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Zdeong set about rectifying the leftist errors in rural work and decided on a principle expressed in the eight characters "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, raising standards" for the economy as a whole. A number of correct policies and resolute measures were worked out and put into effect with Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping in charge. The leftist mistakes in the economic construction were basically rectified and the difficulties overcome. Between 1961 and 1966, the national economy underwent a smooth and rapid readjustment, recovered and made further progress.

However, the leftist errors were not fully eradicated in the guiding ideology that governed the economic construction and developed even in greater strength in other areas. At the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong widened and absolutized the class struggle that still exists within certain limits in socialist society. As early as 1957, after the antirightist struggle, he refuted the assessment of the party at the Eighth National Congress to the effect that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie had already been basically resolved. He expressed the opinion that after basically completing the socialist transformation, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction At that time, he believed that this contradiction will exist throughout the entire historical period of socialism, and he concluded that throughout the entire historical period of socialism there will exist the danger of a capitalist restoration. In January 1965, the mistake was made of setting forth as a key problem the rectification of "those party persons in power taking the capitalist road." From 1963 to early 1966, the "four clean-ups" movement was launched, under the guiding ideology of an exaggerated seriousness of the class struggle, in about one-third of all the villages and at the grassroots of a small number of cities, as a result of which many cadres at the grassroots level were unjustly attacked. At that time, these mistakes still remained restricted in scope, and the mistaken theoretical views referred to earlier were also not fully implemented, but the development of these deviations in actual practice and of the theoretical mistakes finally led to the eruption of the "Great Cultural Revolution." As shown, the path traversed by the party during these 10 years has been a tortuous and complex one. It would be a further mistake to ignore the lessons that can be learned from this tortuous path.

The third period is the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In these 10 years, the party and the country suffered the most severe setbacks and the heaviest losses since the inception of the PRC. The facts prove that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a one-time comprehensive and long-term leftist-deviationist mistake. In launching the "Great Cultural Revolution,"Comrade Mao Zedong was completely mistaken in his assessment of the situation and in the policies and methods that he adopted. The "Great Cultural Revolution" can in no sense be called a revolution, it was rather an internal turmoil which had our own people fighting our own people. It was a mistaken move by the leadership, which was exploited by counterrevolutionary cliques. It was an internal disturbance which brought grievous calamity to the party, the state and the people of all the various nationalities. The main responsibility for the grave leftist error of the "Great Cultural Revolution," an error comprehensive in magnitude, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong, but it was the error of a great revolutionary. His case is quite different in character from the reactionary plotting of such a band as Lin Biao's or Jiang Qing's. Comrade Mao Zedong paid constant attention to overcoming shortcomings in the life of our party and of our state, but he failed to make a correct analysis of many problems and arrived at mistaken conclusions. He confused right and wrong and confused the enemy and the people with unfortuante consequences for the party and the people. He started the "Great Cultural Revolution" due to a conceptional mistake. While persisting in the comprehensive mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," he checked and rectified some of its excesses, protected some leading cadres of the party and nonparty public figures. As soon as he discovered an unjust, false or erroneous accusation, he would take corrective measures to redress the injustice. He led the struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique. He criticized and exposed Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others, frustrating their wild ambitions to seize supreme leadership. All this was crucial to the subsequent successful overthrow of the "gang of four" and to putting an end to the upheaval of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Comrade Mao Zedong always remained alert to safeguarding the independence and security of our country, he carried out a correct foreign policy, supported the just struggle of all peoples and in his later years outlined a correct strategy to organize a broad international united front against hegemonism. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" our party was not destroyed and was able to maintain its unity. The State Council and the PLA were still able to do much effective work. The foundation of our socialist system remained intact and it was possible to continue socialist economic construction. Our country remained united and exerted a significant influence on international affairs. All these facts are inseparable from the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. It is entirely wrong to think that Comrade Mao Zedong was totally wrong in everything he did during his later years because of the grave mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Considering his whole revolutionary life, his merits by far outweigh his faults. His merits are the primary factor, his faults secondary.

The struggle waged by the party and the people against leftist errors and against the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Great Cultural Revolution" was arduous and full of twists and turns, but the struggle has never stopped. Rigorous tests have proved that the older generation of revolutionaries, the overwhelming majority of cadres and party members and the overwhelming majority of the people were loyal to the party and to the cause of socialism. It was precisely due to their joint struggle that the havoc wrought by the "Great Cultural Revolution" was mitigated to a certain degree. Despite tremendous losses, our national economy could register some progress and basic construction could also gain important achievements. In the field of science and technology, the achievements were successfully testing a hydrogen bomb and successfully launching and retrieving man-made satellites. A new situation was also created outside the party organization. On and around the Qing Ming festival of 1976, millions of people mourned the death of Premier Zhou Enlai and in a revolutionary move denounced the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp the party and state power. A great mass base was established in this way for the overthrow of the "gang of four."

The fourth period comprises the 5 years following the smashing of the "gang of four" in October 1976. The smashing of the "gang of four" and the conclusion of the upheaval of the "Great Cultural Revolution" are a great turning point in history and constitute a great victory for the party and the people. From then on our country entered the new era of socialist construction by undertaking the four modernizations. The 5 years that have already passed may again be divided into an earlier and later section, taking the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee as the dividing point.

In the 2 years preceding the Third Plenary Session, large numbers of cadres and other people most enthusiastically devoted themselves to the struggle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and to the task of construction. In these 2 years excellent results were achieved in the overwhelming majority of places throughout the country in exposing and repudiating the counterrevolutionary crimes of the Jiang Qing clique and in uncovering their counterrevolutionary factional setup. The consolidation of the party and the state organizations and the redress of some cases of wrongs suffered by those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged was begun. Industrial and agricultural production was fairly swiftly restored. Work in education, science, literature, public health, physical culture and other fields began to return to normal. However, the progress of these 2 years was one of the stops and starts. Comrades inside and outside the party demanded more and more strongly that the errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" be thoroughly corrected, but such demands met with serious resistance. The rehabilitation of veteran cadres and the process of redressing the wrongs suffered by those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged (including the Tian-anmen cases), an occurrence unique in its extent throughout history, met with delays and obstructions. This, of course, was due to the fact, as the Third Plenary Session pointed out in its "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC", that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade-long "Great Cultural Revolution" could not be eliminated in a short time, but it was also due to the leftist errors in the guiding ideology that Comrade Hua Guofeng continued to commit in his capacity as Chairman of the CCP Central Comittee. He promoted, and stalled in correcting, the erroneous "two-whatevers" policy, which was, "firmly to uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly to adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave." This actually meant that he wanted to uphold a policy based on the mistaken theories, viewpoint and principles held by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. He continued the personality cult of the past and fabricated and accepted a new personality cult around himself. Under his deluding influence, the 11th CCP Party Congress that convened in August 1977, though correctly deciding on the four modernizations as the core task, did not rectify, but rather continued to reaffirm the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." The impatience to show quick results in economic work and the continuation of other leftist policies continued to inflict losses on the party and the state. For all this, he bears a heavy responsibility.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978 reflected the strong hopes of the whole party and the whole people to begin a comprehensive and earnest rectification of all the leftist mistakes committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and also to put an end to the situation in which the party had been advancing haltingly in its work during the past 2 years. This plenum resolutely rectified the mistaken policy of the "two-whatevers," firmly discarded slogans such as "Take class struggle as the key link," and made the strategic decision to shift the focus of work throughout the whole party to the socialist modernizations. It declared that the whole party must pay attention to solving the problem of serious imbalances between the branches of the national economy, that the structure of economic management must be reformed and economic democracy introduced, and adopted a resolution for acceleration of agricultural development. It stressed the task of perfecting socialist democracy and of strengthening the socialist legal system. It investigated and redressed a number of major unjust, false and wrong cases in the history of the party and settled the controversy on the rights and wrongs, merits and demerits of some prominent leaders. It also elected additional members to the party's central leading organs. All these resolutions of the plenum signified that the party had truly begun to restore order out of chaos in the theoretical field as well as in the field of political policies, that it reestablished and developed one step further the Marxist policies of the Eighth National Congress, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a meeting of great historical significance, outstanding among all meetings since the establishment of the PRC. Following that plenum, the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth Plenums and other important meetings of the party continued to solve the many problems left over from the past as well as to solve creatively many new problems arising in the course of actual practice. For instance, the readjustment and reform of the national economy, the leadership system of the party and the state, etc., achieving as excellent an economic and political situation as has seldom been achieved since the founding of the PRC.

Energetically Strive to Build a Modern, Highly Democratic, Highly Cultured Powerful Socialist Country

The objective of our party's energetic endeavors in the new era of socialist construction is to turn our country into a powerful socialist country, materially modern, politically democratic and spiritually cultured. The fundamental aim of our summing up the historical experience of the 32 years since the founding of the PRC is to further concentrate the will and strength of all party comrades and the whole people on the accomplishment of this great objective on the basis of upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, these four basic principles. The four basic principles constitute the common political basis for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. They are also the basic guarantee for victory in our undertaking of socialist modernization, we must certainly uphold them!

The first of the four basic principles is to uphold the socialist road, the other three concern indispensable conditions for upholding the socialist road. Socialism alone can save China. This is the correct conclusion drawn by the Chinese people from their experience over the past century or so; it likewise constitutes the most fundamental historical experience in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC. Advancing on the socialist road has already produced tremendous changes in the political, spiritual and economic life of our people, manifesting in every respect the superiority of the socialist system. Workers, peasants, working intellectuals and other people who had all along been pushed into the lowest level of society have now stood up and become the masters of society. This brought about a radical change in the social and political structure of China. This victory of the people is of inestimable significance. Following the socialist road has brought a understanding of the true meaning and value of life to the people of various nationalities throughout the country, first of all to the millions of progressive men, namely that it is to eradicate classes, liberate mankind and bring benefit to them, all the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, which will allow them to gain a true spiritual liberation and become conscious human beings and noble-minded persons. It is precisely this spirtual liberation which will raise the ideological level of our nation to unprecedented heights. This spiritual liberation must also not be underestimated. Following the socialist road has already begun to show developments in our national economy and culture; we have achieved in a little over 30 years what old China could not achieve in several hundred years. Our population of almost 1 billion is truly beginning to reap the tangible material and cultural benefits. In this respect the superiority of the socialist system is also initially but effectively being manifested. It is true that we committed many mistakes in the course of these 32 years, but out party and our people, relying on their own strength, discovered and corrected these mistakes, and furthermore drew useful lessons from them. This is truly evidence that the socialist system has a strong vitality and will never suffer defeat.

Of course, our socialist system is still in its initial stage, it is not yet perfect. To bring it from imperfection to perfection will of necessity require a lengthy process, but the important thing is that the firm ice has been broken, a navigable channel opened up and the route has been charted. Since the Third Plenary Session, our party, based on the repeated summing up of the many historical experiences, positive and negative, since the founding of the PRC, has already gradually found a correct path for the socialist construction fitted to the special conditions of our country. This road is, in summary: uniting the various nationalities of the whole country, mobilizing all positive factors, working with one heart and one mind, seeking truth from facts, planning a well-proportioned development of the economy, politics and culture, achieving greater, faster, and better economic results, and building a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured powerful socialist country.

The last part of what was just said explains the great objective we are striving for. The powerful socialist country that we have set forth as our objective has three important special features:

1. In material respects it must be modernized. Modernization refers to the four modernizations, namely of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and our national defense, of which we have been talking all along. The country's modernization implies the fullest development of the production forces. If we want our socialist system to have a solid material basis, if we want to fully satisfy the daily growing material and cultural needs of the people and have them all live prosperous and happy lives, if we want to strengthen our national defense to resist the aggression of all imperialists and hegemonists and if we want finally to eliminate class and social disparities, it is necessary to effect the modernization of the country. To carry out economic construction and realize socialist modernization of the country is the central task of the whole party as determined by the party's 8th National Congress and in Comrade Mao Zedong's articles "On the 10 Major Relationships" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." If we make economic construction our central task and if we proceed in this work according to the economic laws, our economic construction will experience a speedy and solid development and the livelihood of the people will experience a remarkable improvement year by year. If we abandon economic construction as our central task, to be assaulted and interfered with by "Take class struggle as the key link" political movements, we will not be able to enjoy the long-term social stability required for the realization of the four modernizations, and our socialist construction will suffer reverses and defeats. The resolution of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, shifting the focal point of work for the whole nation to the socialist modernizations, is eminently significant precisely in this respect. It gives a new, corrected direction to our socialist construction. We are firmly determined to uphold this strategic shift from now on; there definitely must not be another shift!

2. The socialist country that we wish to build is politically to have a high degree of democracy. The so-called high degree of democracy is one in which the people have become the true masters of the state and of society, that is, the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other people are really able to administer the state (from grassroots to central authorities), to administer the economic and cultural affairs and also able fully to cultivate their own individualities and skills. Only if a degree of high democratization is achieved, will it suit the political superstructure of a socialist public-ownership economy based on modern large-scale industry, and only then will it guarantee and promote a political superstructure of rapidly and solidly developing social productive forces. Socialism is not only an economic system, not only a system of public ownership of the means of production, but also a political system, namely one with a high degree of democracy where the people are truly masters in their own house. Under socialism, the most essential content of our party's guidance of the life of the state is to support and guide the people to be masters in their own house. If we do not make efforts to achieve this goal, the character of the state and of our society will undergo a change.

Since its inception, the Chinese Communist Party has fought hard for democracy and freedom for the people. In the course of struggle with powerful enemies, our party has come to realize that the enemy can be defeated and victory in the revolution can be gained only if a full measure of democracy is developed among the people and among the revolutionary ranks and only if the masses are fully aroused to action. From 1927 on, a proletarian army was therefore built up that entirely served the people. Ever since the establishment of revolutionary bases and democratic regimes of workers and peasants, our party built up its own revolutionary democratic tradition wihtin the party, the army and in the life of the state. For several decades, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have made reliance on the masses and taking the line of the masses as their own guidelines in work and in cognition. Comrade Mao Zedong has clearly pointed out that the only main method of preventing a corrosion and deterioration of our party and the new people's regime is to truly foster democracy, to have the masses administer the state and supervise the government. Comrade Mao Zedong has furthermore clearly pointed out that a socialist state must guarantee the right of the people to truly administer the state and manage all economic and cultural affairs because this is the greatest and most basic right of the workers under a socialist system. Judging from actual conditions, our party, prior to 1957, gave much attention to fostering democracy within the party and in the life of the country; at that time the political life of the party and of the state was lively and vigorous. However, later, due to the mistake committed by our party and by Comrade Mao Zedong of overextending the class struggle and to the fact that we regarded as a good form in fostering democracy what actually was the mistaken idea of the "four greats," namely "speaking out, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters." This was a method of catching in a kind of encirclement people who are under criticism and of suppressing democracy, because of this true democracy in the life of our country and within the party gradually came to suffer serious harm. This made us basically guilty of the mistake of becoming separate from the masses and from reality. Similarly, our socialist construction suffered progressively severe damage. Mindful of just these historical experinces, positive as well as negative, the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out emphatically that it is our task to establish a perfect socialist democracy and to strengthen the socialist legal system. The Fifth Plenary Session even more strongly put forward the proposal that a high degree of democracy must be part of the whole people's overall task of building socialism.

3. The socialist state that we want to build is to be one of a highly advanced culture. Socialism is a type of social system and a doctrine in support of the socialist social system; it is a kind of lofty idea concerning the value of man, an idea that is highly cultured. The objectives of socialism are the elimination of classes, the liberation of mankind and bringing benefit to mankind. The core and basic point in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is service to the people. Only with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought can there be a correct resolution of the contradictions between the individual and the collectiva entiry and between the individual and society which have existed all through the ages in the social life of mankind and which may exist even after the abolition of classes. Marxixm believes, on the one hand, that the individual can attain freedom only within the collective entiry and furthermore only through the strength of the collective entiry, and, on the other hand, that in the new society after the abolition of classes, the development of each man's freedom is the condition for the development of freedom of all men. The maxim of communism is therefore: "One for all and all for one." When summing up the experiences of the Paris Commune, Marx stated that the leaders of the commune had been servants of the people and responsible public servants of society. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out that serving

the people is the fundamental purpose of every party member and of all revolutionaries and he furthermore inculcated this viewpoint in all cadres, party members and the people. He pointed out: "Serving the people wholeheartedly, not separating from the masses for even one moment, starting out in everything from the interests of the people and not starting out from the interests of an individual or a small group, a unanimity of holding oneself responsible to the people and to the leadership organs of the party, this is precisely our point of departure." Comrade Mao Zedong has taught us that we must have the spirit of communists to benefit others without the slightest egotism. He said: "Men differ in their abilities, but as long as a man has this spirit, he is noble, pure, moral, dissociated from base interests and of benefit to the people." It is exactly this great idea of serving the people wholeheartedly which inspired the whole body of Communist Party members, the whole body of officers and men of the PLA and the broad masses of progressive elements outside the party to entertain lofty sentiments and a revolutionary spirit that made them risk their lives unhesitatingly in striving for victory in the Chinese revolution and in the enterprise of socialist construction. However, unfortunately, this highly inspired, rousing revolutionary spirit was replaced and destroyed during the "Great Cultural Revolution" by such mistaken ideas as the broad overextension of the class struggle and a mixup of the two kinds of contradictions, by the mistaken idea of "overthrowing everything" and "justified rebellion," by the mistaken idea of "kicking out the party committees and stirring up trouble by revolting," by the irresponsible organization of fighting forces apt to split all unity, by the idea of "seizing power" and other such mistaken ideas. The pack of counterrevolutionary scoundrels and careerists, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, exploited the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and indulged in unbridled propaganda for the ideology of the exploiting class. As a consequence the lofty communist idea of service to the people was most brutally trampled underfoot, individuals strove for personal fame and power, the most shameless political fraud and factional struggle was enacted, extreme individualism, pernicious anarchism and other such evil ways began their vicious spread unchecked. The result was a serious ideological and political confusion within the party and in society. One of the great historical achievements of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was that it thoroughly rejected the leftist mistakes of the "cultural revolution" as well as the decadent and reactionary ideology of the exploiting class which was being spread anew, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the "cultural revolution," and that it reinstated the ideology of communism, namely to serve the people wholeheartedly. It is imperative for us to implement the policies of the Third Plenary Session, greatly strengthen education in socialist and communist ideology among the masses, vigorously clean up the filth and poison of the old society which was newly spread during the "cultural revolution," firmly resist and overcome any bourgeois ideology infiltrating from abroad and to nurture generation after generation of completely unselfish, socialist new men.

In order to achieve modernization in our economy and a high degree of democracy in politics, we must greatly raise the scientific and cultural knowledge that mankind has acquired or accumulated. We must continue to wipe out the mistaken viewpoint, which has prevailed for a long time and which was especially widespread during the "Cultural Revolution," of looking down on and underestimating education, science and culture and of discriminating against intellectuals (the so-called "stinking ninth class"). We must make a great effort to raise the position and role of education, science and culture in our undertaking of socialist modernization. The high degree of cultural refinement of socialism is shown in the fact that the broad masses are imbued with the lofty ideas of socialism and communism, and that, guided by these lofty ideas, there is a flourishing development of science and technology which is up to modern standards and the development of a many-splendored culture and art. Building up a spiritual culture of this high quality is also an important organic part of our overall task of building socialism.

For the purpose of building a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured powerful socialist state, our party has adopted the basic political policy of uniting the various nationalities of the whole country and mobilizing all positive factors to undertake the construction with one heart and one mind. This means first of all that our policy in undertaking this construction is "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our hands" and also that "our primary policy is self-reliance, but that we shall strive to obtain foreign assistance as a complement." Mainly, we shall rely on the strength of all the people of various nationalities to achieve theobjective of building a modern powerful socialist state. Next, this means that we must firmly implement Chairman Mao Zedong's policy on the correct handling of contraditions among the people. It means we must adopt politically and ideologically the principle of people's democracy, the principle of "unite--criticize--unite." With regard to the relationship of the Communist Party with the various democratic parties, we must adopt the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision." In economics we must adopt the principle of "more work, more earnings" and of recognizing differential treatment. We must institute unified planning with due consideration for the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, unified planning with due consideration for the interests of various parts and various nationalities of the population. In cultural affairs we must adopt the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools contend." This way alone will enable us correctly to resolve the contradictions among the people, in order to unite all the people of various nationalities, mobilize all positive factors to build with one heart and one mind a prosperous, strong, democratic, cultured, modern socialist state.

If we want to be successful in the speedy construction of a prosperous, strong, democratic, cultured modern socialist state, we must proceed in our socialist construction according to the objective laws, uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, follow the chief rule of proceeding in a planned and proportionate way in the development of the socialist construction. Only in this way will we be able to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. In the development of socialist constructive undertakings we must start out from the particular conditions in our country, act according to our capability, strive for actual efficiency, proceed in a planned and proportionate way. Proportionate means to establish a correct proportion between accumulation and expenditure as well as a correct proportion between the various branches of the national economy. In our past economic construction we have on several occasions committed leftist mistakes, in the first by being impatient for quick results and then by raising excessively the proportion of accumulations. Then, we subjectively formulated such baseless slogans as "Take steel as the key link," which harmed and ruined the correct proportional relation between the various branches of the national economy and even caused serious imbalances in important proportional relations in the national economy. We must take a warning from the repeated leftist mistakes, proceed according to the objective laws, and while following the rules of planning and proper proportioning, truly achieve, as far as it is within our capabilities, greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The development of a socialist, highly democratic, political construction and the economic modernizations mutually support and supplement each other. We must overcome the defect of overcentralization in the leadership system of our party and our state, proceeding step by step in a planned way and undaunted by repeated setbacks. We must uphold the principle of collective leadership. We must strengthen the supervision from below by the broad masses. We must strengthen the ideological and political leadership of the party over state organs, over various economic and cultural organizations and mass organizations, but we must at the same time ensure that these organs and organizations can carry out their work in an independent, responsible and mutually harmonious way. We must adopt various measures to ensure that the masses will actually administer the state and all economic and cultural affairs, and will also be able to develop freely their individuality and talent. As we shall perfect the socialist democracy, we shall also perfect the socialist constitution and legal system, so that the socialist economy and culture, and also guarantee that the stable and powerful weapon of people's democratic dictatorship will protect the rights and interests of the people and rebuff the destructive activities of the enemy class.

The road to building socialism which our party selected correctly reflects, either in the targets of our struggle as well as in the methods to achieve this target, the objective laws of socialist construction (including the developmental laws in the three areas of social life, the economic, political and spiritual life). It is a road progressively established as a summing up of the positive and negative experiences during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC. Because it is precisely this, we can be certain to reach our objective by advancing along this road.

Let us all, comrades of the party and all people of various nationalities, closely unite and rally around the Central Committee of the party, make a resolution in the spirit of the "foolish old man"who moved the mountain, to exert our efforts with one heart and one mind and undaunted by repeated setbacks progressively to build up our country into a materially modernized, politically democratic, spiritually highly cultured, powerful socialist state!

8453
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PROMOTION OF TALENTED YOUNG CADRES TO LEADING POSITIONS URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yin Shichuan [1438 0013 0356]: "Promote Talented Young Cadres to Leading Positions"]

[Text] In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China Hu Yaobang stated: "In order to ensure that there is an adequate number of successors to carry on our cause and guarantee continuity in our party's guidelines and polices, we must devote much of our energy from now on to the selection and training of thousands upon thousands of cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime and give these cadres the opportunity to take part in leadership in various fields so that they may be better and more effectively tempered through practice." This is one extremely important task that the Party Central Committee has given us.

In recent years the work by party organizations at every level in our province of training cadres in the prime of their lives has been stressed and is being firmly grasped and carried out. But in some places and units the mere mention of promoting young cadres into leadership circles sets certain comrades to considering this and considering that, worrying that their qualifications are too limited, that they lack work experience, and that they cannot handle the burdens. While it is true that those younger cadres in the prime of their lives are a bit younger, less qualified and less experienced than older cadres, still the younger cadres now being promoted are the same age as many of our older revolutionaries were when they took on the responsibilities of leadership, and so we should say that these younger cadres should be taking on greater responsibilities by now. For example, in 1925 when Comrade Yang Shegong was selected to be the first provincial party committee secretary of our province, he was only 27; in 1933 when Comrade Luo Shiwen took over as the Sichuan party committee secretary, he was only 29; in 1928 when Comrade Li Mingke became the Sichuan Military Commission secretary, he was only 31. A person's age, to a certain extent, is actually reflective of his work ability; still, age and talent are not "mutually indictative." Some people do not like to study, are unwilling to do penetrating research, accept mediocrity and are satisfied with just getting by. Although their age is great, they have made no contributions to the nation and the people. Contrarily, some people study hard, take initiative in their work, are good at summarizing the experiences and lessons of previous generations and, even though their age is not great, they are still good at handling matters and can still shoulder heavy responsibilities. When Marx and Engels created the theory of scientific communism and led the "Communist League," they were both only in their 20s; when Lenin created and guided the Union for the Liberation of the Working Class, he was only 25; in 1923 when Comrade Mao Zedong assumed the post of director of the organizational department of the Party Central Committee, he was only 29; in 1925 when Comrade Liu Shaoqi was selected to be the deputy party committee head of the All China Federation of Labor, he was only 27; and at the end of 1926 when Comrade Zhou Enlai became the Central Military Commission Party Secretary, he was only 28. Many cadres now in the party, government and military and in leadership circles on every battlefront were quite young when they assumed leadership roles. Some led regiments, divisions and whole armies in battle, struggling against the enemy, while only 20 or 30 years of age; some became directors and provincial party secretaries when only 30 or 40 and, moreover, most of these comrades did good jobs. These facts make it clear that talented people selected and promoted in the prime of their lives can handle great responsibilities.

Of course, it cannot be denied that when younger cadres first enter leadership circles they must pass through a process of learning and adaptation. Some mistakes in their work will be unavoidable. This is not surprising and is a perfectly natural part of cadre development. During the war era, todays old cadres took on the work of leadership despite their youth. Is it not true that at first they also lacked experience and maturity, but having suffered a few blows they gained experience and gradually matured? The ancients said: "If a man doesn't take a position of authority, then he cannot put his policies into effect." If we take those cadres in their prime who the masses have recommended and the party organization has examined, those recognized as clearly being of superior talent, and boldly place them early on into positions of leadership, lay heavy responsibilities on their shoulders and allow them to put certain secondary policies into effect, then after a period of tempering, along with the instruction, help and guidance of older cadres, they will gradually gain rich experience and the quality of their leadership will gradually improve; they will go from being unable to make policy to being able to make policy, from being poor at making policy to being good at making policy. These are facts. Last year, after the No 4 Heavy Steel Plant selected and college educated specialists, all of whom were under 40 years of age, to occupy leadership positions in the plant hierarchy, the rate of production increased over that of the same period the previous year. It would be surprising if, among the younger cadres in all areas who entered positions of leadership in recent years, there were not quite a few as talented as those at the No 4 Heavy Steel Plant.

Paying close attention to the training and selection of successors in leadership circles at all levels, and gradually making leadership circles more revolutionary, more knowledgable, more specialized and more youthful is an urgent task confronting the entire party. It is also a great mission given by history to our older cadres. I hope that the comrades of areas and departments which lack actual movements along these lines will all increase their awareness of this strategic task and actively and enthusiastically undertake the work of training and appointing talented younger cadres.

9705
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LEADING CADRES MUST GET OTHERS TO IMPLEMENT 'RESOLUTION'

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by SICHUAN RIBAO contributing commentator: "Leading Cadres Should Take the Lead in Studying the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] Leading cadres at all levels, especially leading cadres at the county and higher levels, must take the lead in studying the "Resolution" well and must take practical action and initiative to put it into effect in order to guarantee the continuation and in-depth development of our provincewide campaign to study the "Resolution" and bring it to a successful conclusion. They should view this as a matter of primary concern for them.

For a leading cadre, it may be not too difficult to preside over a meeting to study the "Resolution." But how to get others to study it well and put it into effect may present a difficult problem.

What are the basic requirements for leading cadres to bring to a successful conclusion the campaign to study the "Resolution"?

First, leading cadres at all levels are required to study the "Resolution" with a definite objective in mind, and to firmly grasp its essence instead of distorting it. The "Resolution" unequivocally points out: "That basic objective our our effort to sum up the historical experiences of the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC is to further rally the willpower and resources of the entire party, the entire army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country behind the grand goal of building a modern socialist power in accordance with the four basic principles of allegiance to the socialist road, allegiance to the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat, allegiance to the leadership of the Communist Party, and allegiance to Marixism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought." Of course, the exemplary role played by leading cadres at all levels in observing the system of study, in helping other cadres fulfill the study, and in conveying the "Resolution" to the masses is very important. What is most important, however, is that they must first make efforts to clearly understand the objective of the campaign to study the "Resolution" as well as make vigorous efforts to grasp its essence. Only in this way can they prevent themselves from being begged down in the quagmire of minor issues of the past or old and historical disputes involving personal grudges, focus their attention on the situation as a whole and on the cause of the party and the interests of the people, work with one mind and one heart for unity, think in a way consistent with the basic conclusions contained in the "Resolution," and take a political stand consistent with that of the Party Central Committee.

As long as they can do a good job in this regard, they will have no difficulty in helping other cadres to fulfill their study or in clearly conveying the "Resolution" to the masses and bringing the study campaign to a successful conclusion.

Second, in addition to studying the "Resolution" well, leading cadres at all levels are required to thoroughly implement its guidelines and to take practical action to convince others that they have successfully completed the study of the "Resolution". In his speech in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We, the proletariat, are the class which commands the future, and our party has lofty ideals and aspirations. The best way for us to celebrate this grand festival, our party's birthday, is to learn from historical experience and thus unite and look forward, focusing our attention on unresolved problems." The party's Sixth Plenum issued the following call: "Under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the entire party, the entire army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must closely rally around the Party Central Committee, continue to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, work with one mind and one heart to overcome all difficulties, and strive to gradually build our country into a modern socialist power with a high level of democracy and a high level of civilization!" Words alone cannot answer the question as to whether or not the leading cadres at all levels have successfully completed their study of the "Resolution." What is more important is that they must convince others of their success in this respect with practical action to focus their attention on unresolved problems and on the development of the four modernizations. Leading cadres must be the first to answer the call for carrying forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains as contained in the "Resolution," by promising to provide good leadership in this regard. The spirit of the foolish old man refers to the dauntless spirit of despising difficulties strategically while paying full attention to them tactically, the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and action against empty talk, and an indomitable spirit of tenacious struggle or a spirit of perseverance in carrying struggles through to the end. At present, our province is suffering serious loss of life and property as a result of floods affecting a large portion of Sichuan. A difficult task and a serious challenge that our leading cadres at all levels now face is to use the guidelines of the "Resolution" as a source of inspiration to all of us, to make their presence felt as leaders in the forefront of the struggle, and to lead and encourage the broad masses of cadres and people to increase their confidence and stimulate their morale in order to overcome difficulties, to combat floods, to restore production, to rebuild homes, and to win victories in the struggle against the floods. Whether they can lead this struggle to success can be determined to be an important indication of whether they have successfully completed their study of the "Resolution."

Third, leading cadres at all levels are required to rectify the workstyle of the party. Leading comrades on the Central Committee have repeatedly pointed out: The style of work of a party in power vitally affects its very existence. The style of work of our party is certain to command the greatest attention of the masses of people. No matter how high their position, all our cadres are the people's servants. They must live up to the requirements of the "Resolution" by "keeping in close touch with the masses and reality, by being modest and prudent, by sharing weal and woe with the masses, and by striving to overcome the bureaucratic style of work. They must correctly use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to overcome erroneous ideas incompatible with the party's correct principles, to eliminate factionalism, to combat anarchism and extreme individualism, and to eliminate special privileges and other unhealthy practices." In addition to studying the "Resolution," leading cadres at all levels must play a leading role in rectifying the style of work of the party, strictly observe party discipline and the laws of the state, do everything in accordance with the "Guiding Principles," and earnestly devote themselves to serving the people. Particularly at a time when the broad masses of people throughout the province face temporary difficulties caused by flooding, leading cadres must redouble their efforts to set a good example for others to follow in the direction of rectifying the workstyle of the party. Only in this way can the party further strengthen its ties with the masses and raise its prestige among the people. Only thus can we mobilize our strength to overcome any difficulties we now face and make our cause develop more vigorously than ever.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE RECALLS DEFEAT OF FOREIGN FORCE IN TAIPING REBELLION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Wan Zhuang [8001 8369]: "The Taiping Army's Devastating Defeat of Ward's Foreign Rifle Force"]

[Text] In the summer of 1860 the Taiping army smashed the large Jiangnan encampment of the imperial army and followed up their victory with an advance toward the east. In less than 50 days they captured a large number of important cities in southern Jiangsu Province, and the spearhead of the Taiping Revolution pointed directly at Shanghai.

The aggressor nations, the British, Americans, French and other foreigners, first declared that they would not interfere in the internal political affairs of China and repeatedly informed the Taiping regime that they would maintain neutrality. After the second Opium War, the foreign aggressors threw off the pretense of neutrality and staged an armed intervention against the Taiping regime. In May, when the Taiping vanguard threatened Shanghai, the British and French envoys screamed in unison that their countries would help the imperial troops "suppress and put down all illegal, rebellious movements and protect Shanghai." Instigated by the American consul in Shanghai, supported by England, France and other countries and working in collusion with the Shanghai bureaucracy, landlords and compradors, the American citizen Ward, in June, recruited foreigners living in China to form a "foreign rifle force," as a first step to suppress the Taiping regime.

The arrangement was that Ward would recruit the soldiers and train them for combat, and the imperial government would supply weapons and bear all military costs and would in addition pay substantial bonuses for the capture of each city. Ward then recruited 200 foreigners and several hundred Chinese. Ward himself held the position of commander of this force, having as his lieutenants two American military men named Burgevine and Forrester.

In July on completion of its organization, the foreign rifle force boarded ships for a night attack on the city of Songjiang. The Taiping army met them head-on and inflicted a severe defeat on them. Ward was sounded, his force was completely routed and in only a few minutes the whole battle was over. Ward retreated to Shanghai. There he put together a new force, outfitted them with new equipment and in the middle of July, with a supporting imperial army of 7,000 men, resumed his invasion, this time taking Songjiang by a surprise attack.

After the capture of Songjiang, during the first week of August Ward led his foreign rifle force, in coordination with an imperial army of over 10,000 men, in two attacks against Qingpu on the western outskirts of Shanghai. With one stroke the Taiping troops annihilated one-third of the foreign rifle force and killed or wounded a large number of the imperial soldiers. Ward was hit five times and fled in a panic back to Songjiang.

In August, 1861, Ward reorganized his foreign rifle force at Songjiang. The force was composed by Europeans and Americans as officers, and the Chinese were enticed to join up as common soldiers; the force was thus organized as a mixed brigade of foreigners and Chinese. The total number of officers and men was 700. By the middle of November this reactionary military force had grown to over 2,000 men and later gradually increased to over 5,000 men. The Qing government had no compunction in bestowing the name "Ever Victorious Army" on these constantly defeated troops and to commission Ward as "deputy general."

In February, 1862, exploiting their great victories in Zhejiang Province, the Taiping army advanced in five columns from Suzhou and Hangzhou for a second attack on Shanghai. As soon as the news was received that the Taiping army was advancing to attack Shanghai, the clique of reactionary Chinese and foreigners in great haste organized a "Sino-Foreign Common Defense Bureau." An aggressor force of over 1,500 Englishmen and Frenchmen was hastily linked up with a force of 7,000 men of Li Hongzhang's Huai army which had just arrived, to form a united Chinese-foreign army. This force, under the command of Admiral Hope of the British aggressor navy, staged a desperate counterattack against the Taiping army. The valiant officers and men of the Taiping army fought extremely well and almost captured Hope and Ward. In his report the British consul in Shanghai, Medhurst, said: "Luckily, there was available a small boat on which the two were able to escape. Otherwise they would certainly have been captured by the Taiping troops."

In May, of 1862, the Taiping army led by Li Xiucheng made a third attack on Shanghai. In the fighting at Taicang, the Taiping troops killed several hundred of the foreign aggressor troops, destroyed over 30 stockades of the imperial troops, annihilated over 5,000 of the enemy and captured a large quantity of foreign rifles and guns. During the battle they also captured Ward's lieutenant, Forrester. After a series of victories, Li Xiucheng said: "That time the foreign devils would not dare to fight me as they would have been immediately defeated." Even Zeng Guofan in his memorial to the emperor made a comparison in which he acknowledged: "The barbarians fear the long-haired ones just as we do. When they are commissioned to drive them away, the true state of things is revealed."

In September, 1862, Ward was finally killed by Taiping troops in a battle in eastern Zhejiang Province.

8453
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PARTY AND STATE

WORK OF DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION REVIEWED

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 25 Jun 81 pp 12-24

[Article by reporters Min Fanlu [7036 0416 6424] and Qu Jianchong [2575 1696 1504]: "Working Hard Day and Night for the Sake of Party Workstyle--a Visit to the Discipline Inspection Commission of the CCP Central Committee"]

[Text] At the end of a speech given at the third conference of the CCP Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, the second secretary, Comrade Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389], quoted a poem written by Comrade Ye Jianying in the spring festival:

In the universe the old is superseded by the new,
The new generation prospers in the succeeding years.
The flow of the Changjiang may not be unbroken,
But the resources of the 900 million people of China are adequate.
If workstyle and institutions continue to improve,
Fine traditions will be properly passed on.
Unite all the people to build our country,
And hail the land to which spring returns.

This poem embodies the joy of the older generation of revolutionaries over the fact that our party's undertakings are just developing and have successors. It encourages the comrades of the whole party to succeed the older generation in their revolutionary spirit of building an enterprise through arduous effort, to carry forward the party's fine traditions, to overcome unhealthy tendencies, and to unite the people throughout the country to build a modern and strong socialist state. These are sincere words and earnest wishes.

Party workstyle, a major problem which concerns the life and death of the party in power, has the close attention of the broad masses of cadres and people inside and outside the party. It is the focus of the work of the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline to earnestly do a good job in party workstyle. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, and through the common efforts of the comrades of the whole party and the effective work of discipline inspection commissions at various levels of the party, people are happy to see that the "Guiding Principles" have initially demonstrated their power and that party workstyle is improving.

On the eve of the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the birth of the party, we visited the CCP Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. This important department of the Party Central Committee concentrates a group of our party's older generation of proletarian revolutionaries who are tried and highly popular, and who shoulder the heavy responsibility of safeguarding party discipline and law. The average age of the standing committee members of the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is 76. These old comrades, who are of venerable age and poor health take infinite pains and work hard day and night in order to keep our party's fervor of youth alive.

Long ago, when the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline was first established, the first secretary, Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061], stressed that its work was to do a good job in party workstyle. Later he pointed out even more sharply, during the third nationwide forum on implementation of the "Guiding Principles," "The problem of the workstyle of the party in power concerns the life and death of the party." This clearly indicated the direction of the work of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline and served as a warning to all party comrades.

Why does the problem of party workstyle concern the life and death of the party in power? Comrade Hu Yaobang said at the third forum on the implementation of "Guiding Principles" of the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline: Before our party came to power, circumstances forced it to have a good workstyle. In a war environment at that time, we would have been defeated and eliminated by the enemy if we had engaged in subjectivism, bureaucraticism, deviation from the masses, or special privileges. After the party came to power, some comrades whose revolutionary will was weak were easily victimized by the sweet life and were corrupted. They often mistook our party's leading position as a ruling position, and this generated a series of problems. That is why our comrades should never overlook the basic change in the party, from one of being oppressed, butchered, encircled, and suppresses to the position of the party in power. We may morally degenerate if we do not do well.

The comrades on the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline said now that the party has the correct line, principles, and policies, the problem is to have a good workstyle in order to guarantee their implementation. Certain unhealthy tendencies existing in the party have in fact destroyed the relationship between the party and the masses, tarnished the party's image, damaged the party's prestige, weakened the party's fighting strength, and fostered unhealthy tendencies in society. Therefore, implementation of the "Guiding Principles" and emphasis on party workstyle have become urgent tasks. The Commission's standing committee secretary, Comrade Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134], suffers from ill health, yet with single-hearted devotion he studies how to do a good job in party workstyle, and he personally takes up numerous major matters. He encourages everyone to struggle daringly against all unhealthy trends and evil practices for the party's undertakings; in addition to Chairman Mao's "five fear-nots" we must add two more fear-nots: fear not hurting someone's feelings, and fear not making secret charges. The deputy secretary in charge of the day-to-day affairs of the Commission, Comrade Wang Heshou [3769 7729 1108], has to deal with a lot of strenuous work every day. Although he is over 70 years old, he is energetic, personally takes care of every single thing, and is scrupulous about every detail. The Commission's deputy secretaries--

Comrades Wang Congwu [3769 1783 0710], Zhang Qilong [1728 0796 7893], Zhang Yun [4545 5686], Guo Shushen [6753 6615 3947], Ma Guorui [7456 0948 3843], and Zhang Ce [1728 4595] have all gove down to the grass-root units to understand the situation and to investigate, study, and deal with problems. Deputy Secretary Comrade Yuan Renyuan [5913 0117 6678] and many standing committee menbers persist in doing their work even while they are sick. Their spirit moves the people's hearts.

The in rectification of party workstyle, the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline adheres to a policy focusing on education and implements adherence to the four basic principles and safeguarding of the party line as the emphasis in discipline inspection work. Within 1 year and 3 months after the "Guiding Principles" were issued, the Commission had convened three nationwide forums and one plenary session to sum up and exchange the circumstances and experience of implementation, and to discuss opinions and the means to launch an in-depth implementation of the "Guiding Principles." To correct all unhealthy tendencies, the Commission issued 19 circulars and notices which explicity order all parts of the country to stop freely accepting and privately dispersing gifts in their activities with foreign nationals and organizations, to put an end to unhealthy tendencies in reception work, to strictly prevent cadres from eating and drinking extravagantly or entertaining guests and giving away presents, to stricly forbid the seizure of state goods under the pretext of "trial use," to resolutely put a halt to unhealthy tendencies in the realm of economics, to strengthen the struggle against bureaucraticism on the economic front, to strictly forbid malpractice in student enrollment work in schools of higher learning, to forbid interference in assigning college graduates for work, and to strictly forbid revelation of state secrets. As a result of each of these circulars and notices, serious violators of law and discipline are castigated, those who dare tostruggle against unhealthy tendencies are given recognition, comrades who act in violation of discipline come to understand their mistakes, and the broad masses of cadres and party members are educated. These circulars and notices have struck home at current corrupt practices like a long-sounding alarm bell.

For a while, people talked about quite a number of cases of cadres' children doing bad things. What was really happening? The Commission for the Inspection of Discipline decided to investigate and get a firm grasp of first-hand sources. The investigation concluded that the absolute majority of cadre children are good, and that fewer than 2 percent are bad. How should those who have really gone wrong be dealt with? The attitude of the leading comrades of the Commission is clear and definite. Regardless of who is involved, and regardless of whether he is the father of the heavenly king, that person must be dealt with strictly. Last year, in dealing with a major case concerning the sale of state-owned automobiles for profit which could not proceed because it involved the children of a leading cadre, the comrades of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline cooperated with the department concerned, broke through the obstruction, and dealt with the case according to the law.

The Party Central Committee is strict and impartial aon party discipline and has a clear-cut stand, so the people trust and love the party even more. The Commission for the Inspection of Discipline firmly struggles against unhealthy tendencies, enforces the law without pandering is impartial and icorruptible, and inspires confidence among the people. Last year the Commission received 260,000 pieces of mail from the masses and had 30,000 visits from the people. Many important problems were discovered in the letters form the masses, such as the retaliation case of the Shanxi Ribao [News] Agency and the "eating guest meals" incident at Fengzeyuan Restaurant. The leading comrades of the Commission pay great attention to letters from and visits by the people and treat this as [showing the] trust and love of the party by the broad masses, and as help and supervision of our party by the people. They point out the need for strength and courage in encouraging the masses to expose unhealthy tendencies. Noxious influences can be reduced only if we have this strength and courage.

It is precisely because of the common effort by the whole party and the people throughout the country that party workstyle has made rather great progress. The comrades of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline informed us of the four areas of manifestation of the improvement in party workstyle: Since the Party Central Committee revived the Marxist ideological and political line and organization line, there has been an increase in self-consciousness by the whole party in implementing the party line; life within the party had gradually taken the path of democratic centralism, with the result that democratic spirit grows and criticism and self-criticism develop from the top to all levels; the practice of seeking truth from facts has revived, a great number of unjust and misjudged cases are redressed, and unsubstantiated words and deeds continue to be exposed and criticized; and bureaucraticism and the unhealthy tendency whereby cadres' lives become privileged weaken and disappear.

The Party Central Committee has given sufficient certainty to the new outlook for the implementation of the "Guiding Principles." Comrade Deng Xiaoping is very concerned with the work of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline and he often entrusts major problems and cases to it for handling. He emphasizes strict implementation of the "Guidelines" and unremitting correction of all unhealthy tendencies, and he particularly opposes the incorrect attitude of feigning compliance to the party's line, principles, and policies. Comrade Hu Yaobang encourages the comrades of the Commission to further do well in their work and to do a good job in party workstyle. He said: Comrades who perform discipline inspection work must have courage and resourcefulness, struggle against all unhealthy tendencies, give courage a leading role, and not be afraid of offending others. Our discipline inspection work can be accomplished and can do great things for the party, state and nation.

In the course of visiting the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline and talking to some old comrades, we found them full of confidence in the party and doing well in party workstyle. Naturally, "the future may be bright and clear, but we must not forget hidden complications." The Commission's deputy secretary, Comrade Zhao Yimin [6392 3015 2404], told us: "There are still many difficulties and obstacles to truly doing well in party workstyle. Unhealthy tendencies within the party have basically not yet been reversed, and there is much more arduous work to do. However, if just we just follow the instructions of the Party Central Committee and firmly continue with our work, in time the fine traditions and workstyle of our party will be carried forward."

Leaving Zhongnanhai and walking on the shaded Changan Street, we were still pondering: This older generation of Revolutionaries who had tempered themselves for decades care about the world, and looking at the future they know that they shoulder heavy responsibilities. Although their hair is grey, they are full of youthful vigor. They have a spirit of advancing despite difficulties and of indomitability; they have the vitality and do not give up until they reach their goal. The thought of this causes a surge of strength in one's heart. There are high hopes for our party!

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DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Guan Weiyan

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 2, 1981 pp 1-2

[Article by Guan Weiyan [4619 1919 3508]: Institute of Physics, Academia Sinica: "Formulate Scientific Programs in Accordance With the Demands of the National Economy"]

[Text] The Central Work Conference has recently decided upon important policies to further implement economic readjustment and political stability. In carrying out these policies, science and technology must expand in step with the economy and society, and take the promotion of economic development as its main task.

The State Planning Commission should include a plan for science and technology as an integral part of the long-range plan for national economic development. Moreover, the plan for science and technology should be subordinate to the plan for national economic development. Namely, the plan for science and technology ought to be formulated according to the needs of national economic development, so that the two will be organically and closely bound together. Speaking of national economic development, relatively rapid progress can be made only if the newest technological achievements are utilized consciously. Speaking of scientific matters, they can prosper for an extended period of time only if they have society's needs as their driving force.

The key is, state planning organizations ought to see plans for science and technology as their own business, grasp them in their hands and utilize them for the benefit of national economic development. If the planning department were merely to appropriate a certain amount of funds for science and technology each year, neither assigning any task to the scientific research department nor investigating the effect of the investment, then the scientific research would lose contact with the needs of national economic development.

During the feudal period, production which was based on the manual labor of the farmers and the handicraftsmen did not allow extensive and conscious application of natural science to the production process. The farmers and the handicraftsmen *built their labor on their own skill, on learning gained only through their* experience, and on the foundation of the knowledge of natural science based on disjointed scientific theories.

However, when the society turned to a capitalist system, the situation of science also changed. In pursuit of profit, capitalists were already consciously utilizing natural science to the production processes. Capitalists made science serve themselves. They transformed the maids of theology into the slaves of capitalists, and used them as a tool to expand surplus value and to pursue surplus profit. In the early days of capitalist production, the bourgeoisie joined the rank of science in a revolution against the church. Influenced by the profit of production made by the bourgeoisie a new organization for the study of nature was born--Academy of Sciences. Some rules adopted by the Academy of Sciences pointed out clearly that its most important task was to promote the development of "mechanical skill" (e.g., technology). For example, the famous "financial superviser general" Colbert during the reign of Louis XIV of France, who is known for his policies protecting the development of capitalist large industry and trade, was at the same time the organizer of the French Academy of Sciences. This fact is not accidental at all. He was known to have demanded from the scientists those sciences which could promote the national industry directly.

With the development of capitalist production, the bourgeoisie sought more and more help from natural science. When it was necessary, they did not spare expense building laboratories and special institutes for physics and technological sciences. A number of large enterprises in the capitalist countries all have their own research and development departments of considerable scope. For example, the U.S. International Business Machines Corp and the Bell Telephone Company have their own very large-scale laboratories, and their research achievements are known all over the world. However, what is more important is the fact that the research plan of these laboratories are formulated directly according to the needs of their company's production development. They serve directly to increase the competitive edge of their own company. The results are outstanding when the needs of production are closely bound with the technological research. The production of capitalist society is disorganized and anarchistic, but within each enterprise, the organization is tight and the plan is precise. We, the socialist nations, may adopt only those effective things that exist inside an individual capitalists enterprise, and apply them to the entire society, in order to launch the plans for science and technology into orbit for the needs of national economic development. In fact, only the socialist system is capable of delivering science and technology from the bondage of capitalism, and transforming it from a tool for making profit to a means for raising the material welfare of the working people.

The plans for science and technology can be guaranteed to reflect the needs of national economic development only if the State Planning Commission takes up the charge to organize the troops and units.

Scientific research may be classified, according to the length of time required for its impact on production to be felt, into three categories: short range, medium range, and long range. From the viewpoint of long-range planning, medium-range (research projects) whose impact on production can be felt within 10-20 years ought to be emphasized.

Take energy resources, for example. Controlled thermonuclear fusion is truly the path through which mankind can hope fundamentally to solve the energy shortage problem. However, this belongs to a long-range project with an economic benefit that will not be felt for approximately 50 years. In view of China's national strength and its past technological resources, this project should not be emphasized at this time.

Nuclear fission power stations belongs in the medium-range projects. It has surpassed 10 percent of the total electric power generated in industrially developed nations. The worldwide specific weight of nuclear power generation capacity is expected to surpass 30 percent by the year 2,000. More than 20 nations worldwide have nuclear power stations today, while China has none. However, China has considerable technological reserves to be able to handle this type of medium-range project. We need only to organize carefully, and the economic effect can be reaped in 5-10 years. Therefore, this type of project ought to be emphasized.

Moreover, utilization of solar energy is nearing the practical applicable stage today. This type of project also belongs to the medium-range project which can yield early results with a relatively small investment.

In the 1950's when Soviet satellite technology led, the United States upon deep reflection discovered it was weak in materials science. Thereupon, they built a dozen or so materials science research centers. Thus overcoming its weakness, U.S. space technology quickly caught up and surpassed Soviet space technology. Materials science is related to various sections of the national economy. New materials are being invented endlessly one after another all over the world and are becoming the most important foundation for the new technology. We ought to select a number of medium-range projects, organize our forces, and break through with concentrated effort.

Now when the central government is formulating the important policies, the policy concerning the further readjustment of its organization must also be thoroughly carried out on the science and technology front. The present plans and projects for scientific research ought to be reexamined. First of all, a large number of projects involving small investment, short period and quick results ought to be grasped, funded according to their tasks and their activities effectively supervised in order to reap the results of the investment. We cannot afford the situations which have taken place in the past: "Money is thrown into the ocean and not a sound is heard." Next, from the viewpoint of long-range plans, we must selectively grasp a number of medium-range projects, organize forces, and break through with concentrated effort. I agree wholeheartedly with the present policy emphasizing discovery of latent potential, reform and renovation practiced by every enterprise. However, in order to be able to duplicate the miraculous "economic take-off" realized by some countries, we must more than ever emphasize utilization of the newest achievements of modern science and technology, and strive to catch up with the rest of the world starting out from a higher level.

In his analysis of the capitalist world in the imperialist period, Lenin pointed out the law of "late comers excelling over their predecessors." It was exactly this law which demanded the repartition of the colonies and led to wars between the imperialists. The reason why "late comers can excel over their predecessors" is because the late comers do not carry the burden of old technology and are free to adopt new technologies. In industrial construction, while we emphasize technological renovation of the existing enterprises, we must adopt as far as possible the newest achievements of modern science and technology. We must use the brand-new technologies, facilities, and processes in order fundamentally to change the backward appearance of China's industry and agriculture. We must turn our weakness, "weak foundation," into an advantage, "no burden."

Yang Jike

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese, No 2, 1981 pp 3-6

[Article by Yang Jike [2799 4764 3784], professor at China University of Science and Technology and deputy governor of Anhui Province Peoples Government: "Efficiency on Scientific Research Work Must Be Improved"]

[Text] During the period in which the national economy is being readjusted, scientific research work must also undergo corresponding readjustment. In view of the fact that national economic development has continuously to make demands on scientific research work, and the responsibilities of the scientific research workers are above all to satisfy the needs of national economic development, readjustment of scientific research work is, therefore, substantially one of the most important links in the readjustment of the national economy. Without this readjustment, the scientific research work cannot be bound to national economic development very well; it can become separated from the state of affairs and, worse, hinder the realization of the four modernizations.

Readjustment of scientific research work is extremely complicated. I would like to express my humble opinions here only on one of the problems--raising the efficiency of scientific research work. A comparison of the results achieved by the scientific research work carried out in China and the money spent on it over the years indicates that the efficiency is not very high; in fact, it is very low in some areas. If we in the scientific research field all work together with one heart and mind, and use every conceivable method in order to improve the work efficiency, one person accomplishing what it takes two to do now, accomplishing in 1 hour what takes 2 to do now, using only 1 square meter of area for what takes 2 to do now, and achieving a utilization rate of one instrument equivalent to what takes two today, then the scientific research work efficiency can be raised at least four fold without increasing investments on capital construction, instruments and equipment. This is absolutely not empty talk. The key lies in conscientious endeavor. The key to endeavor lies in discovering the latent potentials in man, time, space, and material and making full use of them.

To discover the latent potential in human talent ought to begin with discovery of the latent potential of the masses. Today distribution of talent among China's masses suffers from a serious disproportion. One of the reasons why the potential of many talents has not been manifested is the fact that the masses to which they belong are too crowded. On the other hand, the environment where these talents can thrive is sparsely populated.

Two examples may be used to explain the problem related to the disproportion of mass distribution. First: It became clear after the Second Society for Light Industry was recently established in Anhui Province that the number of workers with any specialized knowledge was only 0.31 percent of a total of 160,000 workers belonging to the jurisdiction of Anhui Second Light Industry; a pitifully small number. An inspection of a list of subjects of papers related to science and art reveals that although they have some economic value, they are so few in number. With such weak technological strength, how can we expect it to contribute significantly to the development of light industry? How can we truly place the light industry in the important position where it ought to be? On the other hand, the defense science research units are packed with talent, college graduates as thick as carp in the river. According to a report, the No 708 Office used to have a couple who held electrical engineering degrees. During the period of the cultural revolution, they were persecuted and sent to the countryside. While there, they helped the production team of the commune, purchased scrap materials from the factory and led a number of intellectual youths, in the manufacture of miniature electric devices and reaped an annual profit of 200,000 yuan. The production team of the commune took good care of the couple as if they were valuable treasures, raised their wages 140 yuan a month. After the disorder was quelled, the No 708 Office invited them back to work in the office, but the couple decided to remain in the countryside, unwilling to go back in spite of the fact that they were promised promotions and raises. If they were to go back to the office, they figured, they would remain as reserve staff or superfluous employees and, like the great majority of college graduates, they would never have the opportunity to fully develop their potentials. Is it permissible to suggest that a large number on the scientific and technical staffs belonging to various units under the Defense Science Commission be reassigned to civil industries such as light textile, electronics, electric machinery, mechanical, and chemical industries where their talents are urgently needed? The Defense Science Commission attaches importance to the systems science. If the problems related to the systematic and effective use of scientific and technological talents nationwide are studied using the method of systems science, I believe that my proposal will not meet any objection.

The other example: This year, Anhui Province requested a number of specialists from 15 fields of science to investigate the general utilization of natural resources in the Lianghui and western Anhui areas, including a general economic study requiring the use of systems science. We invited a mathematics instructor who was familiar with the work to participate in the project. When he was asked incidentally how many of the mathematics teachers are engaged in research which has practical applications to the national economy, he replied after a long pause that no one except himself has any interest in it; they all work in abstract mathematics. At the same time, a comrade who has just returned from an inspection tour in the United States told me that there were 25 professors in the mathematics department in one of the state universities he visited. Twenty of them taught applied mathematics and also did research. Five of them taught abstract mathematics, but they, too, did research on applied mathematics, because only by doing applied research were they able to earn extra income through contracts with outside enterprises. This point is worth taking into consideration, for comparison.

I believe, in order to be able to solve the disproportionate distribution of talents among various fields, the government must formulate truly effective guidelines and policies, so that these talents may be guided toward where they are needed by the national economy. In order to solve the disproportionate distribution of talents between abstract theory and practical application, the government must study the guidelines and policies which link the planned adjustment and the market adjustment of the talent problem. Otherwise, the phenomenon of disproportion between talents and masses will continue to develop and this is disadvantageous not only to the national economy but also to the four modernizations.

In discovering the potential of human talent, efforts should also be made to discover individual potential next. To do this, the most urgent matter is to implement thoroughly the 16-character guideline, "Management according to specialty, responsibility at every level, discussion among colleagues, and signing of contracts." Based on a report made by a comrade who spent 2 months at MIT recently, all professors of that school are engaged in some form of scientific research commissioned either by industrial enterprises, various social organizations, or the government. The majority adopts the contract responsibility system. The objective, the funds, and the schedule of a project are all laid out first, but the detail of how the time and funds are to be spent, including hiring workers, purchasing equipment and instruments, is up to the professor who is in charge of the project. This way, a great saving in expenses is achieved. Only the necessary instruments are purchased. And there is a lot of competition among the specialists, because everyone is afraid of losing the next contract. Workers cannot afford to be idle. This type of management method mot only joins scientific research with the actual needs of enterprises but also constitutes a great personal driving force, strengthening their sense of responsibility and fighting every minute and second in this endeavor, so that efficiency is very high. This way, human mobility and potential can be fully developed, and its rise or fall or transfer is all based on the standard of the results and is independent of seniority or rank. To say that one of them can stand up against two of us may be still an understatement.

We can also talk a lot about effective use of time. The unified planning method which was proposed and popularized by Prof Hua Luogene can save a lot of time if it is applied to scientific research. I have seen many chemical analysis offices in a number of research institutes in which one cannot find a large number of clean, ordinary glass equipment such as test tubes, beakers, pipettes, titration tubes, and fractionating columns. One can imagine that time must be utilized inefficiently in this type of analysis office. Experiments must be carried out like a surgeion operating on a patient. All instruments--knife, scissors, clamps, needles, saw, etc.--must be sterilized, clean and ready, and laid out orderly in a tray on the table by the side of the operating table, to be handed out by a nurse in charge. The doctor concentrates on the part of the body being operated on; he does not even turn his head when he asks for an instrument. Only in this way can the time required for the operation be made the shortest, efficiency the highest, and the safety of the patient guaranteed. The situations are similar when a chemical experiment is carried out. Imagine that a certain vessel is required during an experiment. Will not precious time be wasted if that vessel must first be found, then cleansed, and then rinsed with distilled water before it can be used? This is a most lamentable loss. This matter may appear insignificant, but it contains profound significance. Because, if those in every experimental process of science and technology are fussy about saving time, we will soon find out that twice the work is done in half the time. Therefore, I think every scientific research staff, especially the comrade who is leading a small research group, must learn a scientific method of conserving time and labor, such as the united planning method. We must research in earnest the problems concerning how to discover the latent time potential.

Management must reward the one who saves time and punish the one who wastes time. Various unreasonable political caps of the past such as "bourgeois specialist" road and unbreakable "iron rice bowl" have created a real effect of punishing those who worked hard and saved time and rewarding those who wasted time. Therefore, this was not a scientific management method; it was in the opposite direction from raising efficiency. If we wish rapid progress in scientific research work while holding such an attitude, then will it not be just as the saying goes "southern wagons will not fit into northern wagon tracks"? If the time required for various types of scientific research is determined quantitatively and totaled, and using a 95 percent reliability limit to predict the maximum time required by the similar type of research work, so that the time limit is fixed in the contract, then not only will there be a greater confidence in finishing the project on time or ahead of time, but also a significant rise in efficient use of time. In addition to this, if time saving is further encouraged by a reward method, then efficiency and benefit that can be achieved will more than double the success rate with only half the effort.

There is also a large potential that can be discovered in the land area used for the construction of scientific research institutes and offices in China. The effective area used for experiments by the various research units is usually smaller than that abroad. Those comrades who have taken a study tour abroad know well that the laboratories in foreign countries are usually very crowded. They don't build offices for technical personnel in the laboratory, and there are very few administrators, so that the office occupies only a small area. In order effectively to utilize the space, usually a number of research projects are carried out simultaneously in the same laboratory. Walls are full of chests for storage, fully utilizing the space. In contrast with this, some research units in China have more office space and some are even very spacious. Some laboratories have very poor space utilization. Quite a few experimental benches are idle and stacked with many unused instruments and equipment, just like an instrument display room. In China, very seldom can one find a number of research projects carried out simultaneously in a single laboratory. Few people have studied in earnest how every square meter of space may be most effectively utilized, but there are many who cry for more and larger buildings. If we investigate and study carefully, we often will discover that every laboratory or group has its own territory clearly staked out and nobody wants to overstep. Due to a desire to be big and complete, incorrect ideas such as "occupying" a branch of science prevail, and as a result, the office and group of research institutes grow bigger and bigger, and the ground larger and better. The natural consequence of this trend is a significant reduction in the effective utilization of the building area. One of the shortcomings resulting from purely administrative management can be seen here. Therefore, at this time when readjustment work is being undertaken and hundreds of enterprises are about to prosper, readjustment of the building area utilization effectiveness of every scientific research unit and the related management system is truly in order. Readjustment ought to be based on on-site inspection of the actual area utilization situation and using a method consisting of a combination between economic management and administrative management. For example, unused idle areas must be taxed according to the area. The standard of taxing must be increased according to the degree of shortage of the actually used area. This will force every laboratory or group to transform its office into laboratory or to start utilizing the idle area, or lend the space to people doing other important research projects. Using economic management methods such as this, it is quite possible to discover 30 percent of potential space nationwide without increasing investment on capital construction for scientific research work. As much as 50 percent of potential space can even be discovered in some areas.

As to instruments and equipment, the potential is even greater. The results of a nationwide investigation of large-scale electronic computers carried out this year sufficiently brings up this problem. Up to May 1979, 332 large-scale electronic computers were imported at an expense of $326 million, equivalent to 500 million yuan. However, the utilization rate is only a fraction of 20 hours of effective work per day which is the norm abroad. Less than 1/3 of these computers are used as many as 10 hours a day. There are 24 large-scale electronic computers in Anhui Province. Only three of these computers are used more than 8 hours a day. In spite of this, some units insist on importing more large-scale electronic computers. If investigation were carried out one step further to see what items were calculated on the machines which were reun 8 hours a day, one would often find that the proportion of important projects which are closely related to our national economy is very small.

If it is thus with the electronic computers, can other expensive imported instruments be any different? Foreign scientists who visited China often cast an envious eye on the advanced precision instruments on display at a number of research institutes (please note, utilization rate of these instruments is usually very low), because they can not affort them! When the director of a laser research institute belonging to the famous Max Planck Society of West Germany visited China to negotiate laser research cooperation, he said the instruments he found here were more advanced than those in his institute. It is unclear whether his words were a compliment or criticism!

The prevailing phenomenon characterized by the low utilization rate and low economic return of these instruments and equipment also runs counter to the needs of China's national economic development. I propose, in this year of readjustment, that a general investigation of all instruments and equipment valued at more than 10,000 yuan be carried out. Necessary policy changes including instrument import and management policy ought to be made based on the results of this general investigation. A set of economic measures ought to be implemented to strengthen control and management so that materials may be fully utilized. For example, an investment tax may be levied on idle instruments and equipment in order to force effective utilization of these instruments and also to join closely together the research projects which are essential to the industrial, agricultural, and national economic development. Those large-scale instruments which can be used jointly or centralized, such as electronic computers, must be effectively utilized collectively and should not be scattered and idle. Such bad habits as importing advanced instruments and equipment blindly and year-end buying sprees must be strictly forbidden. If necessary, a law ought to be written so that the wasteful party can be held legally responsible.

I do not know why, but it appears that everybody's eye is fixed on export trade and the foreign market, while at the same time, they waste hard-to-come-by foreign exchange on some unrealistic advanced instruments. They feel no pain spending several hundred million dollars, much less several hundred thousand dollars. I think it is time we transfer our sights from the hard to grasp and difficult to compete in foreign market to the vast domestic market. It is also time we transfer our precious foreign exchange from the impractical, expensive advanced instruments to the import goods which are essential to our national economic growth.

Biologists are all well aware that functional efficiency of human organs is extremely high. Brain, heart, liver, and stomach, each play their role with an extremely high efficiency. The human body survives and grows as a result of their coordinated function at high efficiency. Bionicists (cyberneticists) are all well aware that any social organization can function most efficiently and develop most extensively if it imitates a living body. Scientific research work cannot be an exception. High efficiency, joint utilization of man, time, land, and material is similar to the high efficiency coordination of various organs of the human body such as the brain, heart, liver, and stomach. Low efficiency utilization of talent is like retardation of the cerebrum; low efficiency utilization of time is like obstruction of the heart; low efficiency utilization of space is like hardening of the liver; and low efficiency utilization of material is like obesity. When all these conditions exist simulataneously in a human body, its days are numbered. Likewise, in a scientific research organization, it will be wasteful and with little actual achievement. Therefore, let us cry out loud: We must raise the efficiency of scientific research work! We must include raising the efficiency of scientific research work as part of the main content of readjustment of scientific research work. We must within 3-5 years, step by step raise the efficiency to such a level that it can be joined closely with the needs of national economic development. It must be raised to such a level that it matches the advanced step of the four modernizations. We must fight for the conditions of diligence and frugality, close and accurate calculation at all times, and discover and fully utilize the potentials in the limited manpower, material power, time, and space and thus shorten the gap between China's science and technology and the world's advanced standard as soon as possible.

Commentary on Articles

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese, No 2, 1981 p 6

[Text] Today China is moving one step further in the readjustment of its national economy. Development of scientific undertakings must be coordinated with the development of national economy. The two articles, Prof Guan Weiyan's "Formulate Scientific Program in Accordance With the Demand of National Economy" and Prof Yang Jike's "Efficiency on Scientific Research Work Must Be Improved," presented excellent opinions.

The article "Logic of Scientific Search" has concisely and systematically explained the scientific philosophy of Bupuer [phonetic]. The article "Problem of Methodology Concerning Discovery of DNA Double Helix Structure" discussed great scientific discovery in some detail from the angle of methodology.

Prof Yang Zhenning's "The Influence of Einstein on Theoretical Physics" presented concise discussions of symmetry and interaction, unification of physics, the relationship between physics and geometry, the impact of the simplicity and beauty of mathematics on theoretical physical research. The article also mentioned the work related to gage fields and fiber bundles which the author and Prof Chen Shengshen did together. The article "Development of Information Theory and Its Significance" explained the new trend in the study of information theory from simply a study of the quantity of information to a unified study of both quality and quantity of information, and also explored various aspects of information concepts.

Prof Shi Yafeng's "Is There Really a Glacier of the Quarternary Period at Lushan?" presented a different view from that of China's famous geologist Li Siguang concerning a theory related to the glacier of the Quarternary Period at Lushan. We wish that the concerned scholars would express their opinions and discuss the subject freely according to the policy of let a hundred schools contend and also based on the spirit of pursuit of truth. At the same time, the question of how to discriminate an old glacier must be studied using an approach mentioned above, e.g., discussing it from the angle of methodology. The author of the article "A Trial Discussion of the Characteristics of Metallurgy in Ancient China" has combined the literature research and the experimental verification method and obtained a historically unique understanding of the copper and iron smelting of ancient China, and thus set straight some misconceptions held by many foreign scholars about China's ancient smelting history. The article "A Brief History of Nuclear Power Stations" discussed the history and trend of the development of nuclear power stations. Included also were suggestions concerning how China's nuclear power stations may be developed and how to harmonize the relationship between military and civil applications. The article "It Is the Age of Communications and Control" described vividly the life and scientific spirit of Wierner, the founder of cybernetics.

In recent years, in order to cultivate a new type of scientists and engineers, many famous universities in the United States of America have established, one after another, teaching and scientific research projects related to "Science and Technology and Society." In the "Academic Movement" column of this issue, this type of teaching and research project established by MIT, Princeton University, and Stanford University were introduced for the reference of those who are interested in the Dialectics of Nature, History of Science, and Scienology.

9113
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GUANGDONG PARTY LEADERS ADDRESS OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS MEETING

Ren Zhongyi's Speech

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Guangdong Party Leaders Urge Party Organizations To Pay Special Attention to Overseas Chinese Affairs"]

[Text] Yesterday, Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, delivered a speech to a joint session of the Guangdong Provincial Work Conference on Overseas Chinese Affairs and the Second Plenary Session of the Second Committee of the Guangdong Provincial Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations, emphasizing that since Guangdong is a principal native place of overseas Chinese, party organizations at all levels throughout the province must attach great importance to the role they have played in revolution and construction; they must also pay high attention to the work done by the office of Overseas Chinese Affairs and its implementation of the related policy; they must do a good job in this field in accordance with the guidelines of the kentral Committee instructions and further improve their performances in the service of the four modernizations.

These two meetings which opened in Guangzhou on 27 July are still in progress today. A total of more than 1,000 comrades attended yesterday's session. Among them were representatives attending the two meetings, and office cadres from Guangzhou Municipality and other parts of Guangdong Province. Comrade Ren Zhongyi followed Comrade Liu Tianfu [0491 3944 1133], secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and governor of Guangdong, in addressing the joint session. [Comrade Liu Tianfu's speech will be reported lated on.] The joint session was presided over by Ye Xuanping [5509 6693 1627] vice governor of Guangdong.

Comrade Ren Zhengyi said: Why should we attach importance to the overseas Chinese role in revolution and construction? At issue is our understanding of their life. It seems clear that the great majority of them love their motherland. Their wholehearted love for their motherland and native place remains unchanged and firm regardless of its poverty, no matter how sorrowful is their memory of their past in their homeland, no matter how far they live from their homeland, and how many generations later. This seems to be an intrinsic characteristic unique to the Chinese people. Wherever they reside, they will never forget themselves at patriots always concerned with the ups and downs and destiny of their homeland.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said: The overseas Chinese had played an exceptional role in the history of the Chinese revolution. The democratic revolutionary movement to overthrow the Manchu government under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen was first conceived and launched by overseas Chinese with the continuing financial aid from overseas Chinese throughout the world. Sun Yat-sen was an overseas Chinese himself. Throughout its revolutionary struggle, our party has never failed to expect and count on support and aid from patriotic overseas Chinese. This was true in wartime. This has also been true since the founding of new China. The overseas Chinese occupy a glorious place in the history of the Chinese revolution. They can be expected to play still a more positive role in the development of their motherland's four modernizations program in the days ahead. Among the numerous overseas Chinese are talented people. Comrade Liao Chengzhi estimated the number of the overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and their dependents at nearly 100 million. This is indeed a great source of strength. Among them are experts in all fields of trade and professions including world-renowned scientists. Because they reside overseas, they usually enjoy access to new knowledge and new technology during their years. They are an important medium for economic and cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries. They are expected to bring their role into full play when we speed up the pace of four modernizations, especially in their native place such as Guangdong.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said: Why should the overseas Chinese affairs command so much attention? The department in charge of the overseas Chinese affairs is an important aspect of our party's work. Its mission is to protect and encourage the patriotic and enthusiastic overseas Chinese to serve the four modernizations program and the great cause of the reunification of their motherland. This very important mission should be viewed as a common concern of all departments rather than just the Office of the Overseas Chinese Affairs. Party committees at all levels must attach great importance to and must be concerned with the work done in this field. They should strengthen their leadership over this work in order to guarantee its success. The Federation of the Overseas Chinese Associations has been named by the Central Committee as one of six important mass organizations. The five others are federations of trade unions, youth, women, writers, and scientists. Party committees at all levels must attach importance to the work done by the Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations and the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs. As this work now commands nationwide attention, Guangdong should attach even greater importance to it.

Why should Guangdong be required by the Central Committee to enforce a special policy and carry out a flexible measure in this connection? Of course, there are many reasons for doing this. One of the most important reasons is that the overseas Chinese mostly come from Guangdong as their principal native place. This is viewed by the Central Committee as a vantage point from which Guangdong can proceed to develop its economy. If Guangdong wants to move a step ahead of other provinces in the development of four modernizations, it must do a good job in terms of overseas Chinese affairs, and must assume the full responsibility to protect and encourage patriotic and enthusiastic overseas Chinese to serve their motherland and native places.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said: Why should the implementation of the overseas Chinese policy deserve our great attention? Because the job of protecting and encouraging the patriotic and enthusiastic overseas Chinese is an essential part of the policy.

There are two very important historical problems which remain: (1) the cases of those returned overseas Chinese and their dependents who have been falsely, unjustly and wrongly charged and sentenced still needs to be reviewed and corrected; (2) their economic problems, especially the problem of their homes still being occupied by others, need to be urgently solved. Party committees at all levels must adopt a very active and serious attitude in dealing with and solving such problems. Certainly, the implementation of the overseas Chinese policy covers not only the need to settle problems left from the past but also the requirements for solving some practical problems. In other words, we must make conscientious efforts to implement the policy of "giving equitable treatment to all overseas Chinese without any discrimination, and paying special and proper attention to their well-being." Particularly noteworthy is the political aspect of their life. Returned overseas Chinese and their dependents should be given equitable treatment without any discrimination. Those who qualify for party and CYL membership should be permitted and encouraged to join; those who qualify for promotion and higher important positions should not be suppressed. We should pay attention to their economic needs and should show regard for their living habits, and speedily process the shipment of supplies coming in from abroad at their expense. At the same time, we must convey the party's line, principles and policies to them and strengthen ideological and political work.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi emphasized: As soon as all returned overseas Chinese and their dependents are successfully settled, we can win greater support from overseas Chinese who remain overseas. We must also adopt a correct policy toward them and do a good job in this field. We welcome overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao to return to their homeland along with their offers of investment, cooperation or donations. But we should never extend our hands for their money and donations. Nor should we indicate any willingness to accept anything from them. This is our standing policy. Any acts contrary to this policy are a shame on our country and an embarrassment to the overseas Chinese involved. We also welcome overseas Chinese residents and overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao to return to their homeland where they can visit their relatives, sightsee, and embark on economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation. All localities should extend warm hospitality, and warm their hearts while in their motherland.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi concluded his speech by saying: The party Central Committee has paid great attention to the work done by the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs. Hu Yaobang and other leading comrades on the Central Committee have issued instructions after attending a briefing on this work. Recently, Comrade Hu Yaobang personally circulated a letter reflecting problems resulting from the implementation of the policy toward the overseas Chinese. This letter written by Comrade Lin Qingyun [2651 7230 0061], a returned overseas Chinese and cadre, has been published by RENMIN RIBAO. Since the party Central Committee has shown such a deep interest in this work, it deserves even greater attention from party committees at all levels throughout Guangdong Province.

Comrades Ren Zhongyi's and Liu Tianfu's speeches were subjects of heated discussion by comrades who attended these two meetings yesterday afternoon.

Liu Tianfu's Speech

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 pp 1,3

[Article: "Two Conferences on Overseas Chinese Affairs Close in Guangzhou"]

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial Work Conference on Overseas Chinese Affairs and the Second Plenary Session of the Second Committee of the Guangdong Provincial Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations closed yesterday with a speech by Liu Tianfu, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and governor of Guangdong Province. In his speech, he emphasized: Party organizations at all levels throughout the province and government must work together to strengthen their leadership over the work dealing with the overseas Chinese affairs, make further efforts to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology, concentrate on the implementation of the policy toward the overseas Chinese, and secure the services of overseas Chinese from Guangdong to our best advantage in our efforts to accelerate the pace of four modernizations.

These two meetings were held to convey the guidelines of the National Work Forum on Overseas Chinese Affairs, to review the work done by the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs and the Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations during the past year, to endorse their achievements and to exchange their experiences. Also discussed and studied at the meetings were problems of how thoroughly to implement the basic overseas Chinese affairs policy proposed by the Central Committee for this new period, how to preserve and carry forward the tradition of cherishing their homeland inherited by the overseas Chinese, how to further implement the overseas Chinese affairs policy, how to help the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs and the Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations do a good job in connection with our efforts to accelerate the development of four modernizations in Guangdong Province.

The meetings held that the thorough implementation of the basic overseas Chinese affairs policy calls for the continuous emancipation of the mind, and conscientious efforts to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology and to overcome the erroneous "leftist" ideas and approaches in dealing with the overseas Chinese and returned overseas Chinese and their dependents. The meetings noted that the long existing deepening "leftist" influence on the overseas Chinese affairs front has resulted in a political discrimination against the returned overseas Chinese, economic infringements on their legitimate interests, and ignorance of their special character and needs for special care. The existence of this pernicious "leftist" influence is a great factor that has prevented our province from using the resources of overseas Chinese from Guangdong to the best advantage and has dampened their enthusiasm for loving their motherland and native place.

The meetings emphasized that various overseas Chinese affairs' policies must be firmly implemented in order to preserve and carry forward the tradition of cherishing the homeland inherited by the overseas Chinese and mobilize the returned overseas Chinese and their dependents to work harder than ever; at present, various localities must continue to concentrate on the implementation of the humanitarian policy in connection with the reinvestigation and correction of cases of those returned overseas Chinese and their dependents who have been falsely, unjustly and wrongly charged and sentenced, which must be completed as soon as possible, and score success in settling returned overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese in distress; secondly, they must concentrate on grasping well the implementation of the housing policy affecting the overseas Chinese.

In his speech, Comrade Liu Tianfu repeatedly emphasized the vital significance of the work done by the department in charge of overseas Chinese affairs to the proposals for realizing great unity among the patriotic overseas Chinese, for facilitating the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland, and for accelerating the pace of the four modernizations in Guangdong. He pointed out that it is entirely wrong to argue that the work done by the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs carries rightist overtones or has gone too far to the right side; rather than going too far to the right side, progress in this work has been retarded by the existence of the "leftist" ideology.

Comrade Liu Tianfu called on various localities and units to conduct a review of the achievements in the implementation of the overseas Chinese affairs policy, and take effective measures and make solid and conscientious efforts to solve the existing problems one after another. He said: all cases of returned overseas Chinese and their dependents who have been falsely, unjustly and wrongly charged and sentenced must be thoroughly settled without leaving anything undone. At present, the implementation of the overseas Chinese housing policy presents a big problem. Official units must take the lead in returning houses they have occupied to those overseas Chinese who own them. Various localities and units must strive to solve this problem within the next two years by setting aside a specific percentage of newly built housing units for use in the settlement of this issue through the implementation of the overseas Chinese housing policy. Judicial organs must step in to handle those occupants of such houses who have adamantly refused to vacate them, thus creating a very bad case in civil disputes. Only in this way can the legitimate interests of overseas Chinese be protected. We must extend good hospitality to the overseas Chinese residents, Chinese nationals and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan who are coming to their homeland for sightseeing and reunion with their relatives. Customs authority, border checkpoints, railways, ships, airports, railway stations, harbour authority and other units must pay attention to improving their service attitude and service quality so as to leave a good impression on them.

Comrade Liu Tianfu said: This overseas Chinese affairs work must be strengthened in connection with the implementation of the guidelines of the work conference of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces and special economic zones recently called by the State Council. The Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs should do a good job of studying what it can and must do to stimulate fully the interests of overseas Chinese from Guangdong in developing their home province's industrial and agricultural production, in expanding its economic relations with foreign countries, and in local economic construction. It must also do everything possible to encourage overseas Chinese and organize their capital to develop Hainan.

In conclusion, Comrade Liu Tianfu pointed out: Aware that the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs in our province faces a very difficult task, party organizations and local governments at all levels must effectively strengthen their leadership, and truly list the overseas Chinese affairs as an item on their agenda so that they can schedule regular meetings to discuss and study them. They must urge and help the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs to do a good job of implementing the related policy, and attach importance to the positive role played by the Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations. The Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations is a mass organization and therefore should be treated in much the same way as the federations of trade unions, youth, women, scientists, and writers and artists are treated. All these mass organizations deserve the same assistance in solving their practical problems. The Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs must step up investigations and study so that it will be able to keep party committees and government informed of what is going on and give them recommendations and suggestions in connection with its business. Various departments and units must attach and support this work.

These meetings opened in Guangzhou on 27 July. Their joint opening session featured a speech by Vice Governor Ye Xuanping [5509 6693 1627] of Guangdong Province, and a report on overseas Chinese affairs by Xu Shengshou [1776 4939 0719], director of the Guangdong Provincial Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs.

The two meetings were attended by more than 300 representatives including responsible comrades from various prefectural executive offices, municipal and county governments, various overseas Chinese affairs departments, and various units directly under the provincial level authorities, and members of the Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations, as well as representatives of the various local overseas Chinese associations and of returned overseas Chinese.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERATURE AND ART URGED TO INFLUENCE LIFE

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by He Yin [0149 7299]: "Literature and Art Should Not Only Recapture Life, But Also Influence It - An Exchange of Opinions with Comrades Sun Xun [1327 6676] and Wan Qinghua [5502 1987 5478]"]

[Text] Synopsis: The proposition that literature and art should not only recapture life but also explain life is, in terms of the function of literature and art, is not quite accurate. Because explaining life is by no means the entire function and ultimate function of literature and art. In order to illustrate how literature and art recapture life and in turn react on life, especially in the case of our work in revolutionary literature and art, we may entertain the proposition that literature and art should not only recapture life but also influence it.

WENHUIBAO published an article by Comrades Sun Xun and Wan Qinghua (the issue of 1 May 1981, p 3) entitled "Literature and Art Should Not Only Recapture Life But Also Explain it." The article stresses that, apart from "recapturing life," literature and art also play the role of "explaining life"; it also correctly points out that these roles of "recapturing life" and "explaining life" on the part of literature and art "do not become estranged or cut off from each other but permeate and blend with each other. In conjunction with the above viewpoint, expounded by certain creative thinkers in the circles of literature and art at present, the article exhibits a certain relevance and is also capable of producing some good effects. But it also has its shortcomings. Such shortcomings are mainly reflected in the following: First, even though the article speaks of how "recapturing life" and "explaining life" "penetrate and blend with each other," when it does concretely treat the two, it still ends up making them "become estranged or cut off from each other," as it stresses them as if they are two separate functions of literature and art. Meanwhile, it takes "recapturing life" and "explaining life" as the "total functions" of literature and art, and even asserts that only after "recapturing life" and "explaining life" can literature and art be "considered as having fulfilled their total duties and responsibilities," while it fails to mention that literature and art also play the major role of guiding life forward. Second, the article asserts it viewpoint mainly on the basis of a passage from Chernyshevsky, yet it fails to provide any concrete analysis of this passage. In response to the above shortcomings, this article expresses the following views for discussion.

Literary and Artistic Works Recapture Life and at the Same Time Explain Life Through the Authors' Understanding of Life

Literature and art recapture life, or literature and art are the recapture of life: this is a materialistic, and also a realistic, proposition; it is a fundamental law among all objective literary and artistic laws. As a social ideology, the recapture of life by literature and art is always achieved through the subjective mental activities of the literary and artistic authors. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In their conceptual forms, literary and artistic works are all products of reflection of social life in man's mentality." All literary and artistic works recapturing life (so long as they are worthy of being regarded as such a recapture of life) include the respective understandings of the recaptured life on the part of the literary and artistic authors, and embody the various explanations of life based on the respective understandings of the authors: whether such explanations are superficial or profound, partial or comprehensive, twisted or accurate, artificial or substantive, they are all explanations. There is no such literary and artistic work which is "directly" reflected from life, i.e., a work recaptured in literature and art without going through a certain understanding of life by an author. Literary and artistic works recapture life through the authors' understanding of life and at the same time explain life; the more profoundly an author grasps the reality of life and the more thoroughly he understands the meaning of life, the deeper will be the degree to which his work recaptures life. Such depth of the recapture of life and the depth of the explanation of life are entirely consistent and not fundamentally two different things. The article by Comrades Sun and Wan acknowledges on the one hand that "the more authentically and profoundly a literary and artistic work recaptures the realistic life of a certain given era, the more it is of perceptual value, educational value, and esthetic value"; on the other hand it also says that it will not do by simply "recapturing life" this way, but there is still the need to "explain life." This kind of exposition is inaccurate and self-contradictory.

At its beginning, this article quotes the following passage from Chernyshevsky in his "The Esthetic Relationship Between Art and Reality"; "Recapturing life is the characteristic of the general nature of art, its essence. Artistic works often also have another function--explaining life: they often still have another function: passing judgment on the phenomena of life." The fact that the article takes "recapturing life" and "explaining life" as two functions originated from here. Below I would like to offer some analyses of this artistic viewpoint on the part of Chernyshevsky.

We all know that Chernyshevsky was a well-known materialistic thinker, a great revolutionary democratic fighter of 19th-century Russia. This materialistic view of art that recapturing life is the essence of art as put forward by him is connected together with his famous definition on beauty that "beauty is life." Originally, the view of looking at art as the recapture of reality had a long history; people gnerally think that it originated with Aristotle of ancient Greece. Chernyshevsky thought that the inventor of this view was Democritus, who was even earlier than Aristotle, and France's Laishin [phonetic] of the 18th Century was its greatest defender. By the 19th century, Hegel, following Kant, opposed this recapture view. The reigning idealist esthetics at the time took beauty as the sensual manifestation of absolute rationality; real beauty could not be found in reality, and art served to fill up this lack in reality; hence, artistic beauty was higher than realistic beauty. The view put forward by Chernyshevsky, that beauty is life and the essence of art constituted the materialist version of esthetics in terms of recapture of life, which represented a diametrical criticism of idealist esthetics and suggested outstanding ideological and artistic significance. But, just as Chernyshevsky himself said, his writing of the pamphlet "The Esthetic Relationship Between Art and Reality" "was an attempt to solve the basic questions of esthetics with Feuerbach's ideas"; therefore, he was subject to the influence of Feuerbach, and his materialist viewpoint was also tinged with an intuitive character. He emphasized that the beauty in reality "is thoroughly authentic," "is fully satisfactory." On the one hand, he correctly pointed out "in nature and life, there is nothing which exists only in abstract"; an artistic work "should reduce abstract things as much as possible, and do its best to concretely reflect everything in a lively scene and in individual forms." On the other hand, he also stressed that realistic beauty is higher than artistic beauty and did his best to depreciate artistic beauty, taking art as but a realistic and extremely uncouth "duplicate." Here we can see that, when Chernyshevsky criticized the partiality of idealism, because he did not master dialectical materialism, he also induced another partiality. In spite of the fact that he stressed recaptured reality to the height of considering it to be the essence of art, his interpretation of recaptured reality was somehow marked by an intuitive, mechanical-materialistic imprint.

Yet, Chernyshevsky was, after all, a great revolutionary democratic fighter. He understood and paid great attention to the role of literature and art in social life. If literature and art were merely a simple duplication of realistic life and far from being as authentic as reality, then what major social role could literature and art develop? Hence, Chernyshevsky made a timely amendment himself by putting forward their function of "explaining life." He put it this way: "The main function of art is to recapture life," but "explaining life, passing judgment on the phenomena of life, is also often raise to the status of first importance." I wonder if we may perceive such views of Chernyshevsky this way: attributing equally important meaning to "recapturing life" and "explaining life" is of course correct; but separating the two and make them two separate functions of art is in fact cutting them apart, which would be inadvisable. Therefore, it would be also inappropriate to postulate a theory of recapturing life and explaining life being the two functions of art on the basis of his above views. Affirming and exalting such views can easily lead to two problems: First, recapture of life itself includes explanation of life and passing judgment on life. If a literary and artistic work's recapture of life proves to be partial or even twisted, that means that the explanation of, and judgment on, life are also partial of twisted; this would have something to do with the author having come up with a partial or twisted understanding of life. The author would thus not be able to shirk his responsibility. If recapturing life and explaining life are viewed as two separate function of literature and art, then when the above situation is encountered, some authors would be liable to emphasize that this is a recapture of certain aspects of life and not paying attention to how life is recaptured or what realistic effects are actually brought about; nor would they try to find out the cause as to what kind of understanding and perception of life they have come up with in their own subjectivity. Second, explanation of life should be realized mainly through the symbolic recapture of life. If another function of explaining life is appended after recapturing life, that would likely lead to their expressing opinions about the images of life and characters of personalities in their works, attaching footnotes to them, and thereby bringing about conceptualized things. In the different opinion expressed by Plekhanov about Chernyshevsky's views was included precisely this point of concern. As for some people to take the passing of judgment on life as a third function in addition to the explanation of life, that would aggravate this problem even further. In the case of the above two problems, they have by no means failed to prop us in our realistic literary and artistic work; therefore we cannot but pay some attention in our theoretical explorations.

Literature and Art Must Not Only Recapture Life and Explain Life, More Importantly They Must Exert Influence on Life

Literature and art must not only recapture life but also explain life: this two-function theory is inaccurate, and defective, one aspect of the reason having already been stated above. On the other hand, it has not explained any practical problems in the treatment of the relationship between literature and art and life and as to what effects literature and art have on life and how to bring about such effects. Marx said, philosophy cannot just explain the world in different ways; the problem is to change the world. Literature and art should also be like this; they must not only recapture life and explain life; more importantly, they must exert influence on life, promote the development of life. Actually, if we but study a bit more seriously we would immediately discover that the explanation of life as broached by Chernyshevsky somewhat already more or less includes such an idea. Lunacharsky thought that Chernyshevsky "longed just as Marx said, not to explain the world, but to change the world"; this was of course an overestimation because Chernyshevsky was still unable to perceive and solve the relationship between explaining the world and changing the world from the height of philosophical world view of dialectical materialism. But he made his demands from the political and ideological viewpoint of revolutionary people's democracy in order to let art give scope to its role of awakening the people and exposing the tsarist autocracy; this point was very strong. For instance, when he explained passing judgment on the vicissitudes of life, he emphasized that an artist could not just recapture the aspects of life which pleased him but must recapture the things interesting to his contemporaries and thereby "put forward or solve problems arising in life for thoughtful people." When he specifically reviewed "Russian Literary Concepts in the Gogoli Period" of literary development, he clearly demanded "to understand literature as a powerful force exerting influence on the development of our social life" and "leaving a wholesome impact on the intellectual life in society."

In the history of literary development and realistic literary work, the question as to how to treat and handle the influence literature has on social life has, in contrast to the question that literature must at the same time explain life while it recaptures it, been explored far more often and also of far greater significance. The article by Comrades Sun and Wan takes Balzac's works as example in citing as the basis of his theory that literature has the two functions of recapturing life and explaining life, but Balzac's ideas of creation and the ideas reflected by his creative practice do not all happen to have to do with this, nor are they limited to this. Balzac declared that he wanted to be the French society's "secretary" and he wanted to write its "history of customs; did he mean in this connection the so-called "recaptured life" which included no explanation of life? Then, in saying that the history of customs he wanted to write would include the listing of good and bad behavior, the description of characters, the selection of principal events, and the molding of typical personalities, could these depart from understanding and perceiving social life or exclude explaining social life and passing judgment on it? The article says that only what Balzac said about how literature must not only describe the manifestations of life but also expound the reason why such manifestations come about and the significance behind personalities and events belongs to the "realm" of "explaining life"; then, for what is the revelation of such reason and such significance intended? Balzac wanted to let his history of customs become a force exerting influence upon society; this attempt was quite obvious. The explorations and discussions we are carrying on around certain questions of creation today indicate that some pertain to the question as to whether a recapture of life should include an explanation of life, but in reality the crucial point lies with how to understand and handle the exertion of influence on life by literature, especially the question of an exertion of good influence. Take, for example, what has been called the practice of displaying the dark side of life, the reason here is not that life is not explained (perhaps some comrades think life should be precisely explained that way), but that the question as to what influence should literature exert on life is not properly solved, that no attention is paid to correctly and dialectically explaining life and passing judgment on it, so that not very wholesome social effects have resulted.

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No. 222

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ARTICLE HAILS SIGNIFICANCE OF POLISH PARTY CONGRESS

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 15, 10 Aug 81 pp 52-53

[Article by Chen Xi [2525 2569]: "Briefly on the Polish Party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress"]

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, which convened on 14 July, concluded on 20 July, after 7 days of tense and heated work. The overall historical significance of this congress is of course a matter for the Polish people themselves to assess. It may seem too early for an assessment, but this does not lessen in the least the strong impression that this congress left behind.

Precisely as the "Appeal to the Polish People," passed at the end of the congress, expressed it: "The deep economic, social and political crisis that is now tormenting our country imperils the secure existence of our people and the future of our fatherland." The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish party "must extricate the country from its crisis and become the turning point in its struggle." Owing to the complex and delicate position that Poland finds itself in, owing to Poland's role in the overall East-West relationship where one light move may easily affect the entire situation, and owing to the nonstop political, military and economic pressure from the Soviet Union, the international community pays extraordinarily close attention to the Polish party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress. This is completely understandable.

The present congress summed up the events in Poland since the Eighth National Congress in February of last year. The congress debated most conscientiously the role and task of the Polish party in the present situation, selected in a uniquely new system a new central leadership structure, affirmed the line of having social reforms and political discussions solve conflicts, determined economic reforms, especially the strengthening of the policy of agricultural development, investigated the responsibility of former leadership personnel for the serious mistakes that have been committed and formulated new party statutes incorporating a new revolutionary spirit. One may take it that the special features of the present congress were promotion of democracy, determination to carry out reforms and a joint effort to avoid a national calamity. The overall atmosphere at the congress indicated that Poland is seeking a road of development that will conform with its national history and national peculiarities.

The courageous and successful experiment that the present congress carried out in democratizing innerparty political life left an extremely deep impression on everyone. It was most intensively reflected in the elections. All the elections, from Central Committee members to first secretaries, departed from the usual and traditional practice of the past, when candidates were nominated by the higher authorities and voted on by the lower levels. This time the candidates were nominated directly by the delegates and, after inquiries, voted upon by secret ballot and elected by majority vote. The result of the election was that 89 percent of the full and alternate members of the Politburo were eliminated and a large number of workers, peasants and rank and file cadres were elected into the highest leadership structure. Among the 200 members of the Central Committee, workers and peasants account for over 50 percent, and provincial party committee members and secretaries from factory and mine party committees account for less than 10 percent. Only four members of the former Politburo were reelected. This great "changing of the guard" undoubtedly expresses the determination of the delegates to "vote into the central leadership structure men who will resolutely carry out and support socialist innovations." However, since most of the new men lack experience in leadership work, this might entail a number of new problems.

The spirit of political reform of the present congress is full expressed in the new party statutes passed by the congress. The new statutes stipulate: First secretaries in the central party organizations and party organizations of all levels may not hold office in excess of two terms (10 years). The separation of party and government, and the principle of no one holding concurrent offices in both is strictly emphasized. The statutes determine the supervisory role of the party's electoral organization over the executive organization and strengthen the functions of the grassroots party organizations. The party statutes also clearly stipulate the responsibilities and limits of powers of the cadres at different levels. These reform measures are undoubtedly very positive.

The renewed confirmation of First Secretary Kania's leadership position and the elimination of the "extremists" in the leadership by the present congress is of great significance for the maintenance of party unity and prevention of its splitting apart. This also created the necessary conditions for the realization of reforms and for the process of democratization. However, the present congress has obviously not yet set forth a "well-considered program of action" to overcome the present crisis and concrete plans to carry out such a program effectively. The new leadership will have many things to attend to.

Essentially, the key problem which the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress solved was the problem of the leadership team, that is, the problem of personnel. This was precisely the crucial point in Moscow's concerns all along. Ever since Kania and Premier Jaruzelski took charge of the party and the government, Moscow has incessantly attacked the Polish party as "revisionist" and "opportunist" and in letters, naming names, expressed its dissatisfaction, stirring up quite some action in the internal division of the party. Up to the present congress, there has been not the slightest letup in the Soviet military, economic and political pressure. The low-key reaction, limited quantity and dark-tinged criticism of the Soviet propaganda machine toward the Polish party's Ninth Congress has been noteworthy. International observers even noticed the subtle difference in Brezhnev's congratulatory telegram to Kania, calling him "Respected Comrade" and not "Dear Comrade." Even though Kania has repeatedly reaffirmed his loyalty to the Polish-Soviet alliance and the "one big family," Moscow has not changed its attitude of distrust of him and reservations toward him. This means that the dark cloud of Soviet intervention will continue to hang over Poland and that Poland's road out of its crisis and toward reforms is still beset with many difficulties.

However, the significance of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish party is perhaps just that it wants to be, on the one hand, "the loyal ally," "one of the big family," and "a firm link in the chain," but on the other hand courageously break out from the "Soviet-style" cage and seek its own road.

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PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL STUDY, CORRECT CONCEPT OF PARTY URGED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 5, May 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172]: "To Know the Party as It Is"]

[Text] Lately, some people, especially young people, have formed some questionable concepts about our party. Some way that our party is a party of small producers. Others say that our party has never been a party of the proletariat, but rather "a paradise for a few career revolutionists," or words to that effect. Are they correct or not? They are of course wrong.

Our party has grown up in rural environments. Many of our party members have a peasant background. Thus the mentality of small producers has held considerable sway within our party. But can we then conclude that our party is a party of small agricultural producers?

We must realize that the social background of our party members does not make our party what it is. The determining factors are its guiding ideology, its political platform, its political line, and the principles of its organization. For example, the Labor Party in England is made up mostly of workers as far as its membership goes, but it has long been a capitalist political party. While our party has a predominantly peasant membership, it is just the same a proletarian party. It is because our party is armed with Marxist scientific theory and is a product of the marriage between Marxism and the Chinese worker movement. Our party built its foundation on the working class, not the small agricultural producers. Peasants and people of other social classes and all social strata may join our party, but they must accept the proletarian world outlook, embrace our party platform, and prove themselves in the course of real-life struggles as the cream of the proletariat before they are admitted into the party as members. This is not a new issue. Comrade Liu Shaoqi touched on this point when he was addressing the Seventh Party Congress on revisions to the party charter. He said: "The social background of our party members in itself is not a determining factor. The determining factors are our party's political struggles and political conduct, its ideological education programs, and the ideological and political leadership it provides. Our party's general and organizational principles put the proletarian thought and line in an authoritative position in our party's conduct."

It is undeniable that the old China was a nation made up mostly of small agricultural producers. The petite bourgeoisie was a formidable national force. Therefore, the party leadership could not help being affected by the mentality of small producers.

During the period of democratic revolution, our party swerved several times to the far "left" and to the far right because of the influence of such a mentality. Even during the period of socialism beginning in the late 1950's, we still did not shake off this mentality entirely as we led our socialist construction. We suffered, to varying degrees, from left leaning utopianism. This notwithstanding, we need to point out without reservation, that in general and fundamental terms it was the proletarian scientific theory of Marx and Lenin, not the mentality of the small producers, that has guided our party all along. Some people are suggesting these days that it was a brand of rural socialism, not scientific socialism, that guided our party's conduct, during the period of socialism. They say that such rural socialism was "coated with Marxism, steeped in agrarian socialism, and rooted in feudal socialism." They are entirely off the mark. They are talking nonsense. It is true that our party did come under the influence of the mentality of the small producers when we worked on the problem of how to build socialism. It does not mean that such a mentality guided us through the period of socialism. No matter what guise it assumed and what influence it exerted on our party during both the period of democratic revolution and the period of socialism, the mentality of the small producers was illegal and it ran counter to the guiding ideology of our party. The very fact that our party is always guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guarantee that we shall triumph over the mentality of the small producers and all other social classes, that we shall elevate our theory, our basic concepts, our political line and our policies to a level in keeping with the scientific theory of the proletariat, and that we shall lead our revolution onto the path of one victory after another. Let us go back to the concepts and policies which our party pursued for the period of the new democratic revolution. We insisted at the time that such a revolution should be accomplished in two stages, that the proletariat should be the leading class, and that the democratic revolution was to pave the way for the socialist revolution. Small producers could not have envisioned that. By the same token, the concept and strategy that our party devised for our revolutionary war, including our extremely sophisticated military dialectics, could not have been devised by small producers. Similarly, the lofty program designed by our party to realize socialist modernization and the political and economic reforms planned by our party would again be beyond the intellectual reach of the small producers. The fact that we could build such a great party as ours, win such a remarkable victory for our revolution, and move on to the socialist path was a testimonial to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the triumph of scientific socialism. This achievement can never be justified on the strength of the mentality of small producers by itself.

It is clear then that to negate our party's leading ideology and to doubt the proletarian character of the party just because our party once came under the influence, even strong influence, of the mentality of small producers is an unscientific attitude. Anyone who holds such an attitude sees only what is on the surface, not what is on the inside. He will never correctly understand the true nature of our party.

Anyone who contends that our party is "a paradise for a few career revolutionists" is again making an error of judgement in failing to see what is truly at issue.

It is true that a number of career revolutionists filled our party ranks at its very inception. As our revolution developed apace, their ranks grew in number.

Even for a proletarian party like ours, these career revolutionists played a very important role. In his book "What Is To Be Done," Lenin also dwelt upon this important issue. He argued that scientific communism did not rise out of the workers movement. It was "injected" into it. The career revolutionists acted as the inspirers and organizers of the proletarian struggle and their role was indispensable. Lenin said: "Without the strong and organized leadership provided by career revolutionists, the spontaneous proletarian struggle could not have grown into a class struggle in its true sense." ["Complete Collection of Lenin's Works" Vol 5, p 445] Since its founding, our party has led a protracted and arduous armed struggle and underground struggle. The career revolutionists in our ranks have grown in number and have played more and more important roles. Li Daozhao, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and Dong Biwu were the most outstanding of them. This is not to say that our party is nothing more than a tight group of career revolutionists. The fact remains that our party is a proletarian party composed of the broadest possible cross section of the people. It is because our party is not working in the interest of the proletariat and the working people as a whole. Our party is not a paradise for career ervolutionists. It is a melting pot of all revolutionary people. Everyone who joins our party must be prepared to accept all sorts of challenges. Our party once worked under extremely vicious white terror. The great majority of the career revolutionists joined our party ranks not to work for their own personal gains but to work for class and national liberation. Many of them gave their precious lives for this cause. "They were concerned about what was good for the world, not what was good for themselves or their families." Anyone who knows a little bit about the Chinese revolution will accept this fact.

Perhaps some of the people who will not accept this fact are not thinking about the past, but the present. Perhaps what they mean is that all the career revolutionists are enjoying special privileges now, so that our party is no longer what it was and has turned into a "paradise" for the career revolutionists. Such a conclusion has no basis in fact and is dangerous.

We have to admit that with the victory in our revolution, our party has assumed a different status and a large number of career revolutionists have moved into leadership positions at all levels of the government and are holding considerable power. As a result, their relationship with the people may be changing. In the past, they shared weal and woe with the people and maintained close ties with them. They led the people in their struggle against the reactionary rulers. Now they are leaders of the people's government. While they still share the basic common interests with the people, they may, if they do not do their jobs properly or conduct themselves properly, come into conflict with the people, or they may even place themselves in a position opposite the people. Comrade Chen Yun once pointed out: "How a ruling party conducts itself is a matter of life or death for that party." It is wrong to ignore this serious problem or fail to recognize the danger in the degeneration of a ruling party.

We must also admit that some leading cadres have committed improprieties. The decade of chaos fueled the fire of bureaucratism and the pursuit of privileges. Some party leaders were affected by Lin Biao's philosophy that "when you have power, you have everything." They took to heart life's philosophy summarized in this maxim: "Power and money, power and money, power generates money." They put their personal gains above everything else. They do not care what is good for our party or what is good for our people. Perhaps they cared before, but not any more. This situation calls for a careful analysis as follows:

1. We must make a quantitative analysis. Within our party, those who have flagrantly disobeyed the law and the party's code of conduct, who have embezzled the fruits of labor of the people, and who have squandered and wasted public money form an extreme minority. What they did or are doing does not meet our party's code of conduct and tarnishes the good reputation of all other party members. Nevertheless, we cannot generalize or blame the misconduct of a few on the entire party. If we draw the conclusion that the majority of our party leaders are already corrupted, we are not stating the true facts.

2. The problem of our party leadership is basically a problem of misdirection. The desire to achieve quick results, the failure to strike a proper balance between reserves and spending, poor planning and mismanagement have resulted in tremendous waste. This has created obstacles for the development of production and the improvement of the living standard of the people. However, this is not the same as pocketing the entire proceeds from the surplus production of the working people, like the capitalists used to do. We must separate honest mistakes of individuals from the normal conduct of our party. We must also separate the mistakes of our party from the attempt at sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We cannot blame all the social consequences of the decade of chaos and all the hardship we have suffered because of it on our party. If we do, we will not form the right opinion about our party, we will not see it for what it truly is.

3. More importantly, we must ask ourselves this question: Are the policies of our party designed to serve the interest of the people and to benefit the people? Or are they designed to protect and perpetuate the privileges of a few? This is a basic criterion by which to judge our party. We must admit that except the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were pursuing their perversive policies, our party has spent most of its time trying to curb and criticize special privileges. Special privileges have always been illegal within our party.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has passed a number of bills regulating the political conduct of our party. It has set a code of ethics for high-ranking cadres. It has made an exhaustive effort to criticize and stamp our misconduct. It is also determined to carry its corrective effort a step further if necessary. This is a direct refutation of the thoughtless claim that all leading cadres of our party are privileged people and that our party has turned into a party of the privileged class.

It is not surprising that some people, especially some young people, should raise questions about what our party is. All our young people under age 30 stepped out into the world at a time when the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" had just gotten underway. They faced a confusing situation when everyone was demanding: "Let's kick the party committees out of the way and get down to making revolution!"

What they heard and saw was the distorted and disfigured image of our party and our veteran cadres, an image created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Many of them have only a fragmentary knowledge of what our party stands for and what our party has gone through. They are too young to have taken part in the revolutionary war led by our party. They are too young to have experienced the correct leadership provided by our party during the first 17 years of China's liberation. There is no wonder that they are likely to form some objective, one-sided, and superficial opinions about our party. They have no appreciation for the fact that a large party like ours which has to lead a nation of 1 billion people and which has to take on an innovative and arduous task in a situation full of complex contradictions and conflicts is likely to make its share of mistakes. Once they realize that our party has made some mistakes, they refuse to examine those mistakes from a dialectical and historical perspective. They simply say that nothing is right. They refuse to accept the party for what it is. They close their eyes to the fact that our party is a superior party, that it has a glorious, revolutionary tradition, and that it has a vibrant vitality. It is capable of overcoming its own mistakes on its own strength and in the process grows stronger and better able to lead the nation toward the socialist goal. If we do not understand this issue properly, we are likely to give in to complaints and accusations, to develop skepticism and pessimism, and to lose faith in our party and in its ability to carry out the four modernizations. If we are to understand correctly the true nature of our party, we must review the history of our party's struggles in the past 60 years in the right perspective and conscientiously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. We must realize that by adopting dialectical materialism and historical materialism to suit the conditions of China's revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong came up with many creative ideas that filled the pages of all his brilliant works. If we study the history of our party and the philosophical treatises by Comrade Mao Zedong side by side, we will develop the correct approach, perspective and method to reach the right conclusion about what our party has gone through and about what our party really is. We will also develop a stronger faith in our party's leadership style and its ability to carry out the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM STRESSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Hong Yunshan [3163 7301 3790]: "Daring To Make Self-criticism Is an Important Profile of Our Party"]

[Text The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, is a realistic endorsement of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, and is a reaffirmation of our party's tremendous achievements in leading the people throughout the country to embark on socialist revolution and construction. At the same time, this document contains open confessions of mistakes committed by our party's leadership since the founding of the PRC and mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, as well as serious, conscientious, and nonperfunctory self-criticisms and a review of experiences and lessions it has drawn during the past 32 years. This reflects the quality of a proletarian political party characterized by honesty, openmindedness, selfless devotion and courage, as well as a high sense of its responsibility to the party and the people, or what Lenin called "the hallmark of a serious-minded party." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 213)

In 1891, when Engels decided to publish "Criticism of the Gotha Program," a document written by Marx 15 years earlier to seriously criticize the party's erroneous tendencies, he wrote a letter to Kautskiy saying: "The worry that this letter (reference to 'Criticism of the Gotha Program'--editor) will provide the enemy with a weapon will prove unfounded. Of course, anyone can spread malicious slander for any reason. Generally speaking, however, this form of dispassionate self-criticism may catch the enemy by surprise and may give him this feeling: What gives this party such enormous potential strength to offer itself such things!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 487) This resolution that has been adopted by our party was published some 32 years after it came to power, and it is expected to carry greater weight and influence than the principled criticism of that Gotha program exercised by a party not yet in power. The fact that we dare openly to examine and criticize ourselves also proves that the "potential strength of our party is very great!"

Whether a political party can lead a revolution is a point that has nothing to do with whether it will make mistakes or not. The most important point is that we must watch whether it can represent the progressive social tendencies and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, and whether it can push the wheel of society forward. In our era, only socialism can save China, and only the Communist Party can assume the difficult historical role of leading the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. No political party or individual can avoid making mistakes. A case in point is that correcting mistakes calls for a correct attitude and strength. Our party has taken a serious and conscientious attitude toward its mistakes and has relied on its own strength to consciously correct them. In the process, it has also summed up experiences and lessons so that it can push the revolutionary cause forward and grow more mature than ever.

During the new democratic revolution, our party committed two serious mistakes--one in 1927 and the other in 1934--as a result of the implementation of an erroneous guiding ideology. Because our party took a serious and conscientious attitude toward these mistakes and could rely on its own strength to correct them, it eventually succeeded in overcoming difficulties, triumphed over the enemy, and captured the nation's political power. After the founding of the PRC, our party led the people throughout the country to take swift action to revive the seriously damaged national economy through the proclamation of a general line for the transition period, the formulation and successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, and the socialist transformation of the means of production of private ownership. When the socialist transformation was basically completed in 1956, our country began to shift the emphasis of its work to large-scale socialist construction. Socialism is a brand new undertaking--especially new to a poor and backward big nation like ours. Under such circumstances, we cannot consult the books by our revolutionary teachers on ways to practice socialism, its special characteristics, and the laws governing its development. We have had no alternative but to find answers to these matters of interest through exploration. For example, the tempo and scale of development that would suit our nation, the specific forms of public ownership that should be adopted in order to meet the level of the productive forces in our country, and how to establish an economic management system and certain leadership systems for our party and state--all these needed to be explored through practice. Only thus could we obtain correct knowledge and acquire successful experiences. Because any correct knowledge can be obtained only through the repeated process of practice, knowledge, and again practice, and because almost all successful experiences can be made available only through the process of summing up lessons in success and failure, it seemed unavoidable that we would make mistakes of one kind or another in our work. A review of our historical experiences since the founding of the PRC shows that some mistakes could not be avoided, while some could have been avoided. Since these mistakes have been made, we must try our best to draw useful lessons and experiences from them and convert them into the invaluable assets of the party and the people throughout the country. Since the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has taken careful measures to lead the comrades of the entire party to conscientiously sum up its experiences since the founding of the PRC, and especially the experiences and lessons drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution"; to resolutely rectify mistakes and wholly revive and reaffirm the correct Marxist line on the political, ideological, and organitional fronts; and to effect a great transition of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is a document aimed at summing up all such experiences. It reflects not only the fact that our party is a serious-minded organization capable of relying on its own strength to correct its mistakes, but also the fact that it has become more politically mature than at any time since the founding of the PRC. It convinces us that the great objective of our socialist modernization program can be victoriously realized. In the face of mistakes and frustrations, no one should lose confidence, nor should anyone become pessimistic, disappointed, or demoralized. It is entirely wrong to adopt such attitudes.

In the 60 years of its struggle, our party has committed many mistakes. No matter how many mistakes it has committed and how serious their nature and consequences, it has counted on nothing but its own strength to correct them. In the course of correcting its mistakes, it has summed up its experiences so that it can continue its march forward again. This fact proves that our party is a proletarian vanguard armed with Marxism-Leninism and Lao Zedong Thought, that it is dedicated to serving the people wholeheartedly, and that it willing to do everything for the masses or in their interests. This is why we are not afraid to tell the people and the whole world openly of its shortcomings. The demonstration of this daring spirit to make criticism and self-criticism is proof that our party is always serious-minded and is very powerful, and a hallmark that distinguishes our party from any other political party. It tells us that our party can overcome any difficulties in leading the Chinese people on the march from one victory to another. Through the study of the "Resolution," we must exhibit greater confidence in this point, rally more closely around the Party Central Committee, work with one mind and one heart, display an indomitable spirit, and make vigorous efforts to develop the socialist modernization program.

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PARTY AND STATE

THIRD PLENUM DEFENDED AS GREAT TURNING POINT

Guangzhou NANFAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Li Changtai [2621 7022 1132]: "Why the Third Plenum Was the Great Turning Point in Our Party's History Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China"]

[Text] Comrade Ho Yao Xin:

You wrote and asked why the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" evaluated the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee by saying the "the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was the great turning point with far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the nation"? Why doesn't the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique qualify as the great turning point? I feel that what was written in the "Resolution" was reasonable and correct.

Generally speaking, in order to be called a great turning point, something must have created an entirely new situation for the revolution and construction. We call the Cunyi Conference the first great turning point in our party's history because it opened a new page in our country's new democratic revolution and laid the foundation for its victory. Similarly, we call the Third Plenum another great turning point because it created a new situation for our nation's socialist revolution and construction and is leading us to a great new victory in socialist modernization construction.

The victory achieved in smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique had tremendous significance in our party's history. It saved the party and the revolution from great peril and led our country into a new period of historical development. In the 2 years from that time until the eve of the Third Plenum the party and the people did a vast amount of work, such as unmasking and denouncing the crimes of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, beginning in part to redress the injustices done, bringing about a fairly quick restoration of production, etc. In short, during these 2 years the work of the party proceeded. But the progress achieved met with severe obstruction. Suddenly there appeared mistaken theories, policies and slogans of the "Great Cultural Revolution," including the theory of "Continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the slogan "Take class struggle as the key," etc. And these not only went uncorrected, but to varying degrees were confirmed as correct. There are reasons for the appearance of these improper phenomena. One is that the political and ideological confusion created by the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" cannot be easily cleared up in a short period. A second is that Comrade Hua Guofeng who was party chairman during that time continued to make leftist errors in guiding ideology. The Party Central Committee convened the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in order to change the situation of party work proceeding in an atmosphere of indecision.

The great significance of the 3D Plenum lies in its full scale, resolute restoration of order which relied on the masses and was well thought out. The 3D Plenum ended the situation of party work proceeding in an atmosphere of indecision, and began the complete and serious correction of the leftist mistakes committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution: and before. The 3D Plenum established the correct ideological, political and organizational lines. The guiding ideology of the party returned to the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought. The 3D Plenum began the search for a path to Chinese style modernization. After the 3D Plenum, we began the step by step establishment of a correct path to socialist modernization construction which suits China's situation.

The 3D Plenum firmly criticized the mistaken principle of the "two whatevers," fully confirmed the need to grasp completely and accurately the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, evaluated in depth the discussion of the question of standards of truth, and established the leading principles of emancipation of our minds, using our heads, seeking the truth from facts, and looking forward in unity. This demonstration that our party has already established the correct ideological line of "seek the truth from facts, everything proceeds from reality, and theory and practice unite." The 3D Plenum decisively put a stop to the use of the slogan "Take class struggle as the key" which is ill-suited to a socialist society and formulated the strategy which made socialist modernization construction the focal point of our work. It also demanded that we make an effort to solve the serious imbalances in our national economy and it made the decision to speed up agricultural development. This makes it clear that our party has already established the correct political line of "Carry out the four modernizations in a Chinese way." The 3D Plenum emphasized the tasks of perfecting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, and of investigating and solving the large number of grievous mistakes made in the history of the party and the question of the merits and demerits of certain important leaders. The entire plenum also selected the members of the organ of central leadership. This makes it clear that our party has already established the correct organizational line which, along with the ideological and political lines, appropriately upholds democratic centralism. All of this demonstrates that in guiding ideology our party has already departed from the leftist mistakes of so many past years and has returned to the correct path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. After this the party grasped the initiative in restoring order. It proceeded step by step to solve the numerous historical problems passed on since the founding of the nation and new problems which have appeared in actual life, and has done tireless work in construction and revolution, creating for our nation an excellent situation. Under the leadership of the 3D Plenum thinking inside and outside of the party has been vigorous and a lively situation of working hard at researching new conditions and solving new problems has developed. Economic construction has begun to free itself from the long period of leftist guiding ideology and has been set upon a path of measured advancement and stable development which is suited to our national situation and which is concerned with effectiveness. In the area of relations between society and government we have made progress in resolutely solving a large number of grave problems which were mishandled for a long period and we have promoted both stability and unity and the consolidation and development of a lively political situation. There have been great accomplishments in other areas as well. It is just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" indicated: "In short, since the 3D Plenum the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party have been restored and developed under new conditions. Every item of the party and nation's work has daily improved. There are still errors and shortcomings in our work. There are still numerous difficulties before us. But, the road to victory and progress has already been cleared." Practice has proven that the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was another great turning point. It will inevitably lead us to a great victory in socialist modernization construction.

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MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY REVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Li Huaxing [2621 5478 5281]: "A Historical Choice: Marxism--A Review of Modern Chinese Intellectual History"]

[Text] Note on the topic of this article: In the 80 years since the Opium War and prior to the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party the people wished to avert disaster and preserve the nation and so they investigated and followed a number of doctrines and methods, but were doomed to repeated failure. It was only after they found Marxism that the real way to save China became clear.

1

A historical choice is one that the people make under the restrictions of social limitations. "The degree to which a theory is realized in a nation is determined by the degree to which this theory satisfies national needs." (MAKESI-ENGESI XUANJI--THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS, Vol. 1, p 462) Each and every theory, no matter what sort of theory, must stand before the criterion of national needs and either defend or relinquish its right to exist; each and every intellectual, no matter of what school, must stand before the fixed social conditions and either accept or reject the historical choice, and moreover must use these conditions to determine his right and wrong deeds.

Beginning with the Opium War in 1840 the ancient Chinese nation was subjected to imperialistic barbaric invasions. From this time on, averting disaster and saving the nation became the most urgent and sacred problem facing all the people. In attempting to answer the questions of how to analyze national conditions, how to save the nation, save the people and how to plan for the future, superior men in all social classes, levels, factions and groups engaged all their mental and emotional abilities to apply their understanding and experience to produce solution upon solution. All the methods they suggested and all the avenues they chose without exception were subjected to severe social observation on the central point of saving the nation.

2

A series of events including the cannon shots of the Opium War, the loss of authority in the Treaty of Nanjing and the collapse of the imperial court awoke some members of the feudal gentry out of their apathetic slumbers, reality revealed the lies and forced those members of the landlord reform faction who were concerned about the fate of the nation and the "plight of the people" to open their eyes in order to see the world, see reality, discuss national affairs and ridicule the current government.

Gong Zizhen smashed the mute, unresponsive attitude, revealed the corrupt feudal "world-sorrow," loudly demanded reform and attacked the imperial system asking "why is it unthinkable to change the system of government?" When Lin Zexu was resisting the British naval invasion he suggested the correct policy of "learning the enemy's strong points in order to defeat them and concentrating the people's financial resources to open mines and factories." He bitterly attacked the nobility as "benighted and ignorant." The person who developed this correct view of Lin Zexu and systematically learned great lessons from western nations was Wei Yuan, the author of HAIGUO TUZHI--A RECORD OF MARITIME NATIONS. "In order to control the barbarians we must systematically understand them," and only by understanding the enemy will we overcome them. Wei Yuan advocated learning the enemy's superior military technology and make up national shortcomings to use the technique of learning from the barbarians with the""goal of controlling the barbarians." The ideology of "learning from barbarian strengths in order to overcome the barbarians" both prompted the study of western firepower and lit the fires of patriotism.

Nonetheless, it was impossible to avoid the limitations of the times and of class so that they were unable to escape the confines of the feudal, ancestral halls and could not escape the trap of "loyalty to one's sovereign." Gong Zizhen, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan revealed social corruption but also protected the feudal system, called for progressive reforms but were afraid of basic reforms, and called for a "great storm" but looked with emnity on peasant uprisings. These attitutes kept them in the first stage of modern history and placed them in a secondary role.

3

During the 1850s, peasant reveloution ideology as represented by Hong Xiuquan, appeared on the political stage and was subjected to the test of history.

In the struggle against feudal oppression and feudal exploitation the demand for an ideology of equality and egalitarianism was the simple expression of the revolutionary instincts and livelihood aspirations of the broad peasants. In the increasingly fierce practice of this struggle Hong Xiuquan focused the peasant demands for equality and used some features of western Christian doctrine and Confucian ideology to provide the peasant revolution with anideological weapon to oppose feudal oppression.

The Taiping peasant uprising wore an outer robe of religious mysticism, they worshipped an all-powerful "heavenly emperor," and sought the wisdom and protection of the gods in creating an earthly paradise and in fighting to the death against "satan" and his minions. In the TIANCHAO TIANMU ZHIDU--THE HEAVENLY SYSTEM OF LAND DISTRIBUTION, Hong Xiuquan brought about the peasants' lifelong dream of a future society with "land for all to till, food for all to eat, clothes for all to wear, money for all to use, equality in all matters and satisfaction for all people." However, this ideal castle was built on the sandy foundation of small-scale peasant production and absolute egalitarianism. Hong Xiuquan strongly advocated that all nations of the world ought to "concern themselves with their own production efforts and avoid interfering with other people's property rights." Consequently, the naive peasants were unable to discern the character of the aggressors who were wolves in sheeps clothing and who were mistaken as foreign brothers who believed in the same gods.

The combination of an insubstantial structure and Chinese and foreign reactionary forces brought about the defeat of the Taiping peasant revolution. The tragic lesson of history is that a small peasant economy cannot oppose a feudal economy and to base absolute egalitarianism on small-scale production can only restore the path of feudal production methods. A peasant government cannot oppose a feudal government, it will either be repressed by the feudal court or become transformed into a new feudal court. The end result will be the same. A peasant ideology cannot defeat the system of feudal ideology--after the victory of the revolution the ideology of equality will be denied by social practice and by the peasants themselves. Autocracy and class views will come to replace it. Religion is only mysticism and idealism deifies the individual. The deification of the individual will then bring about the demise of the revolution.

The greatest revolutionary democratic faction is the hundreds of millions of peasants. Nonetheless, the old style peasant revolution cannot overthrow feudal nations, it cannot fulfill its anti-imperialist duties and a spontaneous peasant ideology cannot revitalize China.

4

During the bloody repression of the peasant revolution there appeared in history the fantasy of the "Tongzhi Restoration." Prior to the Sino-Japanese War, this westernization ideology under the banner of "new government" seemed to some people to be an excellent method for "seeking power and wealth."

The starting point and resting point of the westernization faction was loyalty to the feudal system. The Manchu and landlord class became involved in a contradictory struggle over the allocation of authority so that even Li Hongzhang lamented that "In the capital everyone is unable to make longrange plans. They worry at the internal weakness and foreign strength and the timorousness at accepting military commands or border area governships." (YU GUO SONGTAO SHU--A LETTER TO GUO SONGTAO) Nonetheless, he was willing to "bear insults and carry heavy burdens" in exercising his loyalty to the court.

With regard to the Taiping peasant revolution westernization was a step backward, but with regard to the reactionary faction westernization was a step forward. Although the westernization faction and the reactionary faction agreed on the preservation of the feudal system, they nonetheless differed on the methods and technique of achieving this reactionary goal. The westernization faction advocated learning "barbarian knowledge to build cannon and ships and then using these foreign ships and cannon to protect the feudal structures." The reactionary faction advocated a return to the period of exclusion, "with loyalty as armor and ritual as shields" and applying the ways of the sages to preserve the Qing court.

The keystone of the westernization faction ideology was to "use Chinese learning as the spirit and western learning as technique." However, the entire history of the westernization movement clearly shows that the structure of the feudal system could not withstand the results of the production technology of capitalism. It was like fitting a horse's legs on a cow's body, by no means a valiant steed. All plans to import the materials and techniques of modernized western production and force these into the unyielding mold of the feudal ownership system were but a fleeting dream.

5

The process of the downfall of the westernization movement corresponds with the progress of the development of the bourgeoisie reform movement. How was western knowledge acquired? According to the understanding of modern Chinese scholars, but underwent a progression from appearances to essentials, from form to content, gradually progressing from a shallow to a more profound understanding, making progress in very small increments. Prior to the Sino-Japanese War, the vision of the early bourgeois reform faction had already progressed beyond the simple model of western "boats and cannon" and production technology and had advanced to a demand for the development of capitalistic industry and commerce. The feudal shackels of "inspection at every port and taxation at every level" could not but make them issue a call for the establishment of capitalist production relationships. Taking things a step further, they were even more aware that if they did not transform the feudal political system they could not enter the path of developing capitalism. The suggestion of "joint rule by the nobility and the people," that is to say the change to a bougreois constitutional monarchy, came about in just this fashion. The reform movement ideology as represented by Kang Youwei was a direct reflection of the desire to avert disaster and preserve the nation. The sad part is that the reformers wished to resist the external enemy and had an unrealistic view of imperialism, even to the point of thinking that England, Japan and the United States would assist China in its reform into a "friendly nation." The reformers wished to transform current conditions but also held on to the two major symbols of feudal authority (the political authority of the emperor Guangxu and the theoretical authority of Confucian and Daoist thought). The reformers wished to save the nation and save the people but they also were afraid of awareness among the people and were more afraid of mass movements than of reactionary forces.

The conclusion was of course tragic and the Hundred Day Reform vanished like a puff of smoke. "I lay my sword aside and laugh at the skies," Tan Sitong welcomed his death and won a place in the annals of history! Before taking action he lamented that he "had the desire to kill the bandits but lacked the strength to ascend to heaven." "Desire" in the end is but "strength" and the phrase "those with the strongest mind can accomplish anything" (Tan Sitong in RENXUE--ON LEARNING) was but an empty boast. "True strength" belongs to the people and without the people the Reform Movement of 1898 was without any strength.

6

After entering the 20th century the most obvious point in the historical development was the spread of the bourgeois democratic revolution throughout the whole nation.

The bourgeois revolutionary faction led by Sun Zhongsan praised revolution as the "universally acknowledged truth" of being "obedient to heaven and pleasing to men" and also praised it as a "heavenly principle" of "eliminating barbarism and advancing civilization." They saw Rousseaus's theory of innate rights of man,Montesquieu's theory of the tri-part separation of powers as ideological weapons and firmly believed that they were "precious formulas for restoring life and revitalizing the soul." They called upon the people to "rush into a hail of bullets" to overthrow the barbarian Manchu government and sweep out all foreign devils" in order to take the United States as a model in establishing a free, independent, democratic and constitutional "Republic of China" (Zou Rong in GEMING JUN--THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY).

"In 1911 the great revolutionary martyr Sun Zhongshan led the revolution in overthrowing the Qing dynasty and thus brought an end to over 2,000 years of feudal imperialistic rule. Nonetheless, there were no changes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of Chinese society." (Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the Nation) With the establishment of the Chinese Rebublic the people first thought that this would bring them freedom, equality, and compassion and reward them with milk and honey. After a time there was a republic in name only and the people still suffered under the two great mountains of oppression of feudalism and imperialism.

What was the way out? More than 70 years had gone by and the idelogical weapons and political techniques of evolution, the innate rights of man and the bourgeois republic had all been brought in and tested, but all failed and were unable to carry out their ideals. The history of the search for truth in previous western democratic revolutions was not one of success but rather one of failure. Yet, this failure bred success and doubt became the starting point of a new search. The process of the downfall of western bourgeois civilization in China was also the process whereby China discovered Marxism, chose Marxism and successfully applied it.

7

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century only a very small number of Chinese people had any knowledge of the name Marx or knew anything of his writings or the theory of socialism. Nonetheless, Marxism was accepted by progressive Chinese intellectuals. After the Russian October Revolution it pointed out the true path of the Chinese revolution. In May of 1919 Li Dazhao published his very important work WODE MAKESIZHUYIGUAN--MY VIEW OF MARXISM.

In February of 1899, the Shanghai Christian missionary newspaper WANGUO GONGBAO, issue #121, published an article by Timothy Li which said: " The leader of the the workers is an Englishman (actually German) named Marx." In April of the same year, issue #123 published an article titled "Datongxue" which said, "The German Marx is the author of 'On Capitalism'." As far as we now know, this is the first mention in any Chinese language publication of any reference to Marx or his famous work "On Capitalism."

Neither history nor mankind will ever forget the contribution of that great Chinese Communist pioneer Li Dazhao. It was Li Dazhao who first told the Chinese people of the great victory of the October socialist revolution and who said, "The world of the future will follow the red banner." It was Li Dazhao who first systematically introduced Marxism to the Chinese people, who pointed out that Marx's theory of socialism was a "scientific theory and system." He also said that Marx's historical materialism, economic theories and socialism were "three theories which are undivisible and which are joined together by the golden thread of the theory of class struggle." (LI DAZHAO XUANJI--SELECTED WORKS OF LI DAZHAO, pp 176-177)

"Sublime words brilliantly transmit the truth." As representatives of Chinese Communist intellectuals, Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong possessed the wisdom to select the scientific theory of socialism found in Marxism from the great variety of socialist theories. After gaining possession of Marxism the spirit of the Chinese people was no longer passive and took the initiative. In May of 1921 the great Chinese Communist Party was born and the face of the Chinese revolution took on a new appearance!

Practice is the only standard for judging truth. Comparison is the major technique for understanding things.

"Prior to the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, during the 80 years after the Opium War the people engaged in heroic struggles without cessation but suffered defeat after defeat, and many dedicated people bore an undying hatred because of this." (Hu Yaobang, "At the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party") During the protracted struggle to preserve the nation and during the revolutionary experiences in opposing imperialism and opposing feudalism the people underwent practice, understanding, more practice and more understanding, then engaged in struggle and suffered defeat, struggled more and suffered further defeat and took up the struggle anew until the goal of victory was attained. They paid a great price and undertook all sorts of comparisons before discovering Marxism and placed their faith in it. Marxism is the remaining essence of the historical process and is a social selection not influenced by individual will.

The ideology of the landlord revolutionary faction, the egalitarianism and religion of the peasant revolutionary faction, the "Chinese learning for spirit and western learning for function" of the westernization faction, the reformist ideology and constitutional monarchy of the bourgeois reformist faction, the Three People's Principles and democratic republic of the bourgeois revolutionary faction, the various forms of non-scientific socialism and bourgeois socialism were all unable to save China. The facts irrefutably point out that only Marxism was able to save China. This was the best possible choice during the past hundred-some years in China.

Lenin correctly said, "The reason why the revolutionary proletarian ideological system of Marxism was able to win worldwide historical significance was because it did not discard the most valuable accomplishments of the bourgeois period, but on the contrary absorbed and transformed a number of valuable accomplishments from 2,000 years of mankind's ideological and cultural development." (LIENING XUANJI--SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN, vol 4, p 362) Because of this, those truly democratic people in modern Chinese history finally had to follow Marxism or at the very least become friends of Marxism. And because of this, promising young people who wished to awaken China and pursue the road of intellectual truth made observations, comparisons, syntheses and analyses to measure success and failure, advantages and disadvantages and finally chose Marxism.

11582
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PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM CAMPAIGN MOUNTED IN YONGKANG TO RECTIFY WORK STYLE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 81 p 3

[Article: "Pick Up the Weapon of Criticism To Rectify the Style of the Work of the Party"]

[Text] In the course of conscientiously studying the "Resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenum and Comrade Hu Yaobang's 1 July speech, the leading members on the party committee of Longshan District of Yongkang County have summed up experiences and lessons, and applied the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to do away with the dirty political practices and effectively to rectify the style and the work of the party.

The careful study of the "Resolution" and "speech" has led the party committee of Longshan District to believe deeply that it is important to be critical and self-critical within the ranks of the party. In this connection, Zhang Ruizhi [4545 3842 5347], secretary of the party committee of Longshan District, said: Early this year, in response to the urgent demands from the masses, Tangqi Commune located in a mountainous area proposed to put into effect the system of production responsibility for the fixing of dry field crop output quotas based on the individual households. When the commune party committee reported this to the district party committee, Zhang could not make any decision in a matter of minutes, this forced a "noncommittal" and evasive attitude on the matter and a "showdown" with the cadres an and the masses.

Later, he personally visited this commune for an investigation. While there, he listened to opinions from the grassroots cadres and the masses, rectified his earlier understanding and voluntarily criticized himself in the presence of the cadres and in addition he helped them eliminate a variety of ideological obstacles and wholeheartedly assisted the masses in improving and perfecting the system of production responsibility. In coordination with the secretary of the commune party committee, he studied some new problems resulting from the enforcement of the system of production responsibility so that he could seek solutions for these problems. Thanks to the overall guidance provided by him, the commune has scored great success in production. In this connection, Zhang Ruizhi said emotionally: "We communists are committed to serve the people. We must dare to uphold the truth, and correct our mistakes. Only in this way can we win the trust of the people and remain invincible."

In the course of developing cricitism and self-criticism, the party committee of Longshan District has urged the people to take an active part in the ideological struggle and to neither cover up contradictions nor distort facts. One day, a party member-cadre in this district leaked to the public the information on the reshuffle of the district party committee personnel under discussion, thus creating an adverse impact on society. After becoming aware of this problem, the leadership of the district party committee contacted this cadre several times, pointing out his mistakes. The party branch of the district government then called a meeting to criticize this comrade in a stern manner and in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts until he acknowledged his mistakes and criticized himself. To prevent a repeat of similar cases in the future, the district party committee has adopted a five-point conference room discipline designed to safeguard the secrets of the party. There are some individual party members and cadres who have been found guilty of failing to abide by principle when assigned to distribute material supplies and of disobeying orders for transfer from their party organizations, which have then held meetings to help these comrades correct their mistakes and rectify the style of the work of the party. The district party committee is composed of 10 members. Except for one who is now on sick leave, the rest of them have demonstrated the courage to bear the brunt of its workload thus introducing a new spirit into work. The district party committee has made further efforts to study and improve the system of developing criticism and self-criticism in a determined effort to do away with dirty political practices and to revitablize the organization of the party through the process of frequently and systematically developing criticism and self-criticism.

9574
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STRICT DISCIPLINE, LEFTIST IDEOLOGY DIFFERENCES DEFINED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 3

[Excerpts of article from 21 August ANHUI RIBAO: "'Strictness' and 'Left' Are Not the Same"]

[Text] In routine work and daily life, some comrades often make the term "strictness" sound indistinguishable from the term "left." For fear of being accused of being "leftists," some leading comrades have hesitated to place strict demands on their subordinates and cadres. Nor have they dared to take stern measures against the unhealthy practices or criticize those who should have been criticized. What does the "left" imply? The term "left" refers to the guiding ideology of a political party or a leading cadre which has no regard for the objective laws governing the development of things, which transcends the objective reality and the political consciousness of the masses, and which calls for subjective efforts to fulfill missions today that can never be fulfilled or can only be fulfilled step by step in the future. What does the term "strictness" imply? It refers to the serious attitude taken by the people and rigid requirements set by them for work, study and styles of work. For example, well-defined discipline, close-knit organization, solemn styles of work and rigid requirements are essential in this connection. Requirements must be set for any undertaking, work and study programs. To guarantee that these requirements can be met, we must formulate and adopt a variety of regulations for strict implementation. Otherwise, stability cannot be achieved, civilization cannot be built, and progress cannot be made by society and mankind. Can we mix this up with the "left"? Today as the Party Central Committee leads us to negotiate the Eighteen Bends and to scale the Peak of the Jade Emperor in the Mount Taishan, can we fulfill such missions without a close-knit organization, well-defined form of discipline, solemn styles of work, and rigid requirements?

The opponents of "strictness" have denounced it as something from the "left." In their minds, there often exist to a certain extent individualism, liberalism or anarchism. If we countenance, accomodate and acquiesce in the face of such elements and phenomena, we would do harm to our revolutionary cause and would be accused of showing no sense of responsibility to the people. If a leader adopts this approach, he would be guilty of a dereliction of duty. Of course, we will not allow anyone to promote the "leftist" trash under the pretext of being "strict."

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ARTICLE REVIEWS TAIPING LAND SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Cui Zhiqing [1508 0037 3237]: "'The Celestial Dynasty's Land System': A Brief Introduction"]

[Text] In 1853, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom established its Celestial Capital and soon thereafter promulgated "The Celestial Dynasty's Land System" (hereafter cited as "the System").

The basic spirit of "the System" was to destroy the feudal landlord's land ownership and redistribute the country's land on an equitable basis. "All land in the country must be cultivated in common by all people in the country." Land was classified into nine grades according to degrees of productivity and divided equally according to the population of farming households; "irrespective of difference in sex...each person is given half of a good grade and half of a lesser grade of land." On this basis, sthe System" also prescribed the policy of equitable distribution and lifestyle of "a universal mode throughout the country." Apart from raising grains, each farming household must also plant mulberry trees and hemp and raise five chickens and two sows. In those days, at harvest time each year, 2 military officers would supervise the head of every 5 (multiples)-household unit to see that, except for retaining a sufficient amount of the harvested grains so that every person in the 25 constituent households would have enough food until the next harvest, all the rest was handed over to the state treasury. When a household was scheduled to have happy events like a wedding, the state treasury would dispense money and provisions according to established rules. The ultimate goal of "the System" was to establish an ideal state for the peasants in which "people cultivate their land together, share their good together, share their clothing together, use their money together, so that equality prevails everywhere and no one is deprived of his daily necessities."

Following the organic structure of the Taiping Army, "the System" also installed a rural officers system in which military undertakings and agriculture were combined. Such rural officers below the county level were divided into those of five (multiples)-household, two (military officers), company, regiment, division, and army units. One "army" unit had jurisdiction over 13,156 households; the lowest basic unit of production and distribution was a "two (military officers)," which had jurisdiction over 25 households, a state treasury, and a church. Each farming household was to designate an able-bodied male to serve as a soldier; he would in ordinary times engage himself in farming but in wartime he would join an expedition. In ordinary times, these rural officers handled production, distribution, livelihood arrangements, litigations, and administrative affairs; in wartime, they became military officers to command the militia under their jurisdiction in combat.

The rural officers, according to regulations, were elected publicly by their local communities and then recommended by the next higher level officers and thus investigated and recommended from above, level after level, until they were all approved by the Celestial Emperor himself. When administrative officials at various levels were to be promoted or demoted, their situations were also examined level after level, and finally decided by the Celestial Emperor.

"The System" also had certain provisions in policies on women. Economically, land and a means of livelihood were distributed to men and women alike; politically, women officials were also appointed; religiously, they participated in activities of worship; and "no property is to be made a condition of marriage throughout the country."

Culture and education were combined with religion and propaganda; all subjects of the country were required to honor the God-worshiping sect, to gather in weekly worship service, to listen to sermons, to follow Taiping regulations, and to exert themselves in agricultural undertakings.

"The System" had some special provisions in respect to those who earned military merits and were given official ranks; "meritorious subjects are given Celestial provisions generation after generation," so that generation after generation they would enjoy privileges and abundant remunerations, whereas the vast ranks of the peasants would be saddled with the duties of "cultivating the land and providing for those above."

"The System," for the first time, used the strong desire of the peasants to deprive the landlords of their land and redistribute it into a concrete policy decision; this was the essence of "the System."

"The System" attempted to eliminate all private properties and thoroughly redistribute all wealth. "The System" thus proclaimed the public ownership of "ascribing everything to the Lord above," abolished commerce and independently managed handicrafts, organized all the country's population and kept them engaged in a single agricultural production with farming combined with weaving; this, in essence, was a type of retrogression. And it was not by the development of productive forces but by an economic policy of equal distribution of means of livelihood that it sought to assure the people's elementary well-being; this, too, was impractical and harmful. The requirement that all surplus products must be handed over by the peasants to the state treasury was good of course, for depriving the landlords and rich peasants of their feudal wealth but it affected the peasants' enthusiasm in production. This policy was carried out in the cities, but it was eventually discarded because it led to dissatisfaction on the part of the people.

"The System" was never carried out to the letter; the most important intent, that of expropriating the landlords" land and equally distributing it to the peasants, in particular, eventually became a mere provision on paper. In reality, what was practiced was letting the people "hand over grains and pay levies as usual," which acknowledged the landlords' land ownership in the end. The fundamental reason why it could not be carried out was that, without thoroughly destroying the feudal system, it was impossible to solve the land problem which the peasants were so anxious to solve.

9255
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MISINTERPRETATION OF LITERARY WORKS BY CRITICS DENOUNCED

Shanghai SHEHUE KEXUE [JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 3, 81 p 112

[Article by Lin Fan [2651 1581]: "Imagination, Criticism and Social Effect"]

[Text] One day when I was pondering some problems, I suddenly recalled an interesting passage in an essay entitled "A Mixed Feeling" written by Lu Xun over 40 years ago which read: Upon seeing short sleeves, some people will immediately stretch their imagination from the white-skinned arms to a nude figure and then a bastard. This step-by-step leap in imagaination from short sleeves to a bastard reflects a degree of sensitivity that will surprise everyone. Actually, this strange feeling is not strange at all. The reason is that with the power of imagination, we human begins are often emotionally excited and can easily trigger a train of thoughts. This stretch of imagination falls under the category of mental activities! Everything has its own specification in connection with the objective realities. In the traditional Chinese concept, there is something called relationship between an object and its appearance. This summarization is concise and good because it reflects an indivisible relationship between an object and its appearance and a natural link between these two matters. For example, the "snow" will remind us of its "white" appearance and "cold" weather; "blood" will remind us of "red" and "pain." Likewise, fallen leaves will remind us of the arrival of autumn and the appearance of swallows will remind us of the advent of the spring season. These phenomena which are often associated with the objective reality will take shape as a result of the observation of nature by people or a stretch of their imagination. This is why we often use "the term 'running deep' to describe the waters and passages in a hall, and the term 'width and breadth' to depict the size of cloth and land."

It appears that imagination is indispensable to every writer. The reason is that without imagination, life will become tasteless, and will go on without prose and poetry. But from the critics' point of view, those who love a stretch of imagination cannot enjoy popularity everywhere. A careless stretch of imagination may produce results contrary to what one wishes, and may turn out to be an arbitrary contention which can convince no one.

A literary work of lasting value can withstand the test of the most astute book reviewers. Why? It is probably due to the "flawless expressions of emotion from the bottom of hearts that appeal to reason." A literary work is usually designed to depict emotion or reason or both. This is why a writer must pay attention to the expressions of reasoning and emotion in his works. However, critical remarks have little in common with such literary style because criticism must be dispassionate.

Instead of using imagination and speculation, a critic must seek truth from facts and reason things out. Otherwise, he is apt to turn his argument into a far-fetched interpretation and to impose his own views on others. The ancients said: There will never be any explanatory notes in poems. This is true. A poet is gifted to express emotion that lies deep in his heart, is full of imagination, and capable of thinking of centuries-old events and observing the world with clairvoyant eyes. The more he thinks, the fuller his poetic expressions. A poet can produce a work as a result of a stretch of imagination, a work which can be deciphered only by the same stretch of imagination. This is why interpretations of poem vary from person to person. If this method is applied in literary reviews, contradictions certainly cannot be avoided. I can certainly bury my views in my heart, if those negative far-fetched interpretations are not associated with politics. But the problem is that some "interpreters" have made deliberate efforts to hook certain fellows to specific lines or programs in an attempt to create a situation in which they can wield the stick.

A short poem entitled "Self-Expression of Winter Wheat" came to my attention recently; it read: "The wild flowers of the chrysanthemum wilted, we are growing in strength; the earth is covered by snow, we are expecting a bumper crop." Now let us take a look at how our "critics" have deciphered this poem: They have viewed the wilted "wild flowers" as a smearing of the Communist Party and a call for its downfall; they have interpreted the phrase "we are growing in strength" as an indication that the diehard bourgeois elements are about to rise to power; they have regarded the phrase "the earth is covered by snow" as a reflection of popular discontent with the socialist system and vocal opposition to it. In their view, the last sentence is most vicious of all, which is tantamount to an open call for staging counterrevolutionary uprisings. This judgment resulted from imagination and speculation. This being the case, all poets will find no place to bury themselves! We must remember this lesson that as a result of the 10 years of turmoil, our literary and artistic garden of a hundred flowers has been ruined. I feel that literary and artistic critics must act as a medical doctor who has the responsibility to control disease and save the lives of patients. I can't believe that a doctor would use his imagination to diagnose his patients and would stretch his imagination so far as to link an acute diarrhea to gastric ulcer or cancer and finally, the need to fill out a death certificate for his patient. If this is not the case, why do some of our critics prefer the imaginative method to "admonish" and criticize literary and artistic works in an attempt to sentence some of their authors to death?

I entirely agree that writers and artists must take into account the effect their works may have on society. However, can all literary and artistic critics disregard the effect their criticism may have on society as well as their obligations to improve the level of literature? When a patient hates to take medicine, why can't we give him some sugar-coated pills to swallow; when a patient is afraid of surgery, why can't we give him an anesthetic to the satisfaction of both the patient and doctor? This simple treatment would not have been suggested here if I had not heard some comrades complain about criticism directed at them, a criticism which again leaves them with a lingering scary feeling. Perplexed by this situation, I have no alternative but to speak out briefly on this matter.

In conclusion, I fervently hope that critics will also find it necessary to emphasize the effect their criticism may have on society. I also sincerely hope that some comrades will no longer go about the task of criticism by using imagination and speculation.

9574
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INTERVIEW ON QUESTIONS IN AWARDING ACADEMIC DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 2

[Interview with a responsible comrade from the Office of Academic Degree Committee of the State Council by staff reporter; date and place not specified]

[Text] Recently we have received many letters from our readers, asking questions about the awarding of academic degrees. For this, our staff reporter paid a visit to a responsible comrade at the Office of Academic Degree Committee of the State Council and asked him to answer the following questions:

[Question] Why should all units in order to award academic degrees be scrutinized before approval?

[Answer] The reason that these units must be scrutinized for approval is to guarantee the quality of academic degrees awarded by them. According to the "Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China," the awarding units are responsible for the specific work of awarding academic degrees without further approval of departments at higher levels. For the supervision on the quality of academic degrees of all grades, the state relies mainly upon a strict scrutiny by the awarding units to give them the authority. At present, our country has more than 500 institutes of higher education for college undergraduates, of which more than 300 institutes have enrolled postgraduates for training. More than 300 scientific research organs have also taken in postgraduate students. The conditions of these institutes of higher learning and scientific research organs are not uniform, and also the quality of their work is very different. For this reason, it is necessary first to accomplish the work of scrutinizing the awarding units.

To accomplish this work, we must act according to the "Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China," the "Provisional Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China" and the "Principles and Measures of the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council on the Examination and Approval of Academic Degree Awarding Units." In this work of scrutiny, we must act strictly and think of giving primary importance to quality. We must "uphold the standards, make strict demands, safeguard quality and be fair and reasonable." We must adhere to the principle "from the start rather to be on the strict side and place a little more stress on quality than on quantity" and "to set more stringent [rules] for a doctor's degree than for a master's degree." It is also necessary to take into account what is advantageous for the development of higher education, especially the steady and proportionate development of the work concerning postgraduates. We must earnestly refrain from prematurely concentrating the force of professors and associate professors on the training of postgraduates to weaken the education of undergraduates and lower the standard. The scientific research institutes should also carefully refrain from the implementation of such conditions as giving courses prematurely to enroll too many postgraduates. It will be difficult for these institutes to guarantee the quality of their postgraduates, and it will even interfere with the fulfillment of their own tasks of scientific research. Therefore, in this very important link we should also proceed from reality, strictly scrutinize and approve all units to award academic degrees, and make the authorized area fairly limited, not too broad.

[Question] What units can apply for the authority of awarding the first batch of doctor's and master's degrees?

[Answer] The Academic Degree Committee of the State Council decided at its first meeting to adopt a policy of carrying out gradually the "Regulations for Academic Degrees." Those units which have applied for the authority of awarding academic degrees will be examined and approved by groups. Therefore, the first batch of units to award doctor's and master's degrees will be mainly limited to those branches of learning and specialities which have trained postgraduates before or after the "Great Cultural Revolution" and are now applying for the authority to award doctor's or master's degrees. For the time being, applications from those branches of learning and specialities which just began to enroll postgraduate students in 1981 will not be taken into consideration.

[Question] What are the qualifications of units to award doctor's degree?

[Answer] The units, branches of learning and specialities to award the doctor's degree will be mainly the key branches of learning in China's key institutes of higher learning and scientific research organs attached to concerned departments of the State Council, which have the following qualifications and truly can train postgraduates studying for the Doctor's degree. One or two key branches of learning of a few other units, which have the following qualifications, may also be included in the list.

(1) A qualified unit must have professors (researchers or personnel with like titles) working as guiding teachers, who have fairly high academic attainments, have achieved outstanding successes in education or research work, are at present engaged in scientific research work of fairly high standards and have gained certain results.

(2) A qualified unit must be able to provide the postgraduates studying for the doctor's degree with full facilities for study, and should guarantee them the completion of their study of the courses.

(3) With respect to concerned courses for the training of postgraduates, a qualified unit have a fairly high academic standard among similar courses in China, must have a fairly good foundation of scientific research, have undertaken key national projects of scientific research, key research projects of the ministries and commissions of the State Council and in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and other projects of great value and fairly high academic

standards, and must be able to provide the postgraduates with laboratory equipment and related books and material which they need for writing their doctorate papers.

[Question] What are the qualifications of units to award a master's degree?

[Answer] Any institute of higher education which enrolls postgraduates with the approval of the Ministry of Education, and any scientific research organ which enrolls postgraduates with the approval of concerned departments of the State Council, having courses and specialities of the following qualifications and being able to train postgraduates on a regular basis for the study of a master's degree, may be listed as units to award the master's degree.

(1) A qualified unit must have professors and associate professors (researchers and assistant researchers or personnel with like titles) working as guiding teachers, who have a fairly high academic standard, have achieved successes in education or research work, and are at present engaged in scientific research.

(2) The institutes of higher education should be able to provide postgraduates studying for the master's degree with required and elective courses of basic theories, speciality theories and experimental technology of fairly high standards. The scientific research organs should have graduate schools, or work in cooperation with the institutes of higher education, to give the foregoing courses to postgraduates studying for the master's degree, or should provide sufficient teaching personnel to give guidance to postgraduates studying for the master's degree in the foregoing courses.

(3) With respect to concerned courses for the training of postgraduates, a qualified unit must have determined its direction and projects of scientific research, and be able to provide the postgraduates with laboratory equipment and related books and material which they need for writing their research papers.

All units to award doctor's and master's degrees must have a sound system for supervising and administrating the research students.

[Question] Can the institutes of higher education and research organizations train research students jointly?

[Answer] We should advocate that the institutes of higher education and the research organs may cooperate and train postgraduates jointly. It is a good way for them to cultivate qualified personnel by giving play to their own respective superiority and making up each other's deficiencies. The two parties of this joing undertaking in training postgraduates working for the doctor's or master's degree must maintain a fairly stable relationship of cooperation. When they apply for the authority to award doctor's and master's degrees, one of the two parties should be taken as the principal unit. At the same time, all professors, researchers, associate professors, assistant researchers and personnel with like titles can work at only one unit (either an institute of higher education or a research organization) as guiding teachers of the units which apply for the authority to award doctor's and master's degrees. However, if the joint training of two units shows no practical results, or if one of the two units which apply for the authority to award degrees simply uses the names of the other unit's specialists as a means of applying for the authority, then the approval of these applications should be deferred.

[Question] What is the procedure for the in-service personnel and those of the same educational level to apply for the doctor's or master's degree?

[Answer] According to the academic degree system of our country, a postgraduate may apply for master's degree at the first stage of his graduation, and he may apply for doctor's degree at the second stage of his graduation. At present, only a limited number of postgraduates have been enrolled in our country. To encourage self-study for advancement in learning, our "Regulations for Academic Degrees" stipulates that all in-service personnel and persons of the same educational level, who have attained from self-study the academic level of postgraduates on graduation, are permitted to apply for a doctor's or master's degree.

Our "Provisional Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations for Academic Degrees" stipulates that when personnel of the same educational level apply for a doctor's degree, they should submit a letter of recommendation signed by two professors or specialists of like titles. If an applicant has not obtained his master's degree, the unit to award the academic degree may take proper measures before accepting his application to check his qualification for certain subjects of the master's degree in basic theories and in his speciality. When the unit agrees to accept his application, it should also hold an examination of the courses for the doctor's degree. After the applicant has passed the examination, then he will be permitted to take the oral test for the doctor's degree.

When personnel of equal educational level apply for a master's degree, they should submit a letter of recommendation signed by two associate professors, professors or specialists with like titles. If the applicant has no educational record as a college graduate, the unit to award the academic degree may take proper measures before accepting his application to check his qualifications for certain college courses. When the unit agrees to accept his application, it should further hold an examination of the courses for the master's degree. After the applicant has passed the examination, then he will be permitted to take the oral test.

We have just begun to implement the "Regulations for Academic Degrees" and still have no experience. Therefore, it was decided at the first (enlarged) meeting of the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council to postpone the application of the in-service personnel and those of the same educational level for doctor's and master's degrees till 1982 when the work of awarding academic degrees will be carried out gradually.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TAIWAN WRITER DISCUSSES ISSUE OF REUNIFICATION

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 pp 69-70

[Article: "Exploration of the Reunification Issue in a Taiwan Publication"]

[Text] Editor: The text reprinted below consists of two sections of the article entitled "the Road of Modernization of the Two Coasts of the Taiwan Strait." Appearing in the inaugural issue of LIANHE YUEKAN, a Taiwan publication, in July, it was written by Gao Yingmao [7559 5391 5399].

In the sections under the subtitles "Exploration of the Reunification Issue" and "Conclusion," the author made a brief and concise analysis of the reunification issue of the two coasts of the strait and suggested limited contact, "indirect trade," "peaceful competition," and mutually "learning each other's good points and reform the defects" under the principle of giving consideration to humanitarianism, mutual benefit and security. We feel that such analysis and suggestions in Taiwan's media are relatively sober and rational. Today, concerned over the issue of reunification, Chinese at home and abroad have made many different suggestions. The article reprinted here will serve as a reference. It is slightly abridged.

Exploration of the Reunification Issue

To put it succinctly, there are only two basic means to reunify the two coasts of Taiwan Strait: (1) Reunification by force: Send troops across the strait and, by the law of the jungle, reunify by defeating the other side. (2) Peaceful reunification: Under the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, complete the reunification by peaceful means by both sides.

At present, Communist China possesses an army of over 4 million, large numbers of fighter planes and naval vessels, and strategic atomic weapons. On the surface, it should be easy for it to attack Taiwan by force, but actually, it must give careful consideration to several major problems which are difficult to surmount: (1) Though the number of the "Liberation Army" is several times greater than Taiwan's 500,000 troops, but in quality, Taiwan's airforce and navy are better equipped and better trained. According to the estimates of military experts in general, if Communist China stubbornly wants to cross the strait and attack Taiwan, it must be prepared to sacrifice one-third or more of its air and naval strengths. Under the grave threat of Soviet forces, whether it can pay such a high price for Taiwan is naturally a difficult strategic dilemma. (2) Whether Communist China will resort to atomic weapons to give Taiwan a blood bath in order to compensate for its military deficiencies in other aspects is also a dilemma. How will it justify itself in morality and justice if it slaughters tens of millions of its compatriots? After occupying Taiwan, what will be the benefit if the economy and industry of the island are completely destroyed? (3) If Communist China attacks Taiwan by force, the economy of the mainland will inevitably suffer severe destructions. Meanwhile, the scientific, technological and economic relations built by Communist China with the West in recent years will also run into serious difficulties. Finally, does Communist China have the capacity to fight simultaneously in the north and the south, facing the Soviet Union in the north and Taiwan and Vietnam in the south? All these are dilemmas which Communist China is unable to give a definite answer.

If the potential of reunification by force is not great, what is the potential of "peaceful reunification?" In recent years, Beijing has been reinforcing its "peace offensive" toward Taiwan, and the slogan "liberate Taiwan" has changed to "return to the motherland." Besides appealing to Taiwan to launch the "three-open" (opening trade, postal communication, and visiting), last year it proposed the "five-guarantee." Beijing guarantees that (1) Taiwan may keep its social system; (2) its living standard will not be lowered; (3) it may maintain its people-to-people relations with foreign countries; (4) it may enjoy self-governing rights; (5) it may even keep its troops.

These proposals do not have a strong appeal to Taiwan. There are the following reasons worthy of attention: (1) In the past 60 plus years, Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party held peace negotiations and cooperations three times, and every time the Guomindang got the worst of it, ending in defeat and withdrawal from the mainland the last time. The Guomindang will not forget such historical experiences. (2) The "peaceful liberation" of Xizang also taught the Taiwan people a frightening lesson. The Xizang authorities signed the "Agreement of Peaceful Liberation" of 17 articles with Beijing on 23 May 1951, but in the spring of 1959, Beijing sent troops to occupy Xizang and suppress the "rebellion." In fact, the "lenient" conditions proposed by Beijing to Taiwan at present are almost identical to those proposed to Xizang in 1951. The Taiwan people seem to be highly aware of the possibility of a repetition of history. (3) As analyzed above, great gaps and discrepancies have occurred in the living standards and living patterns of Taiwan and the mainland in the past 30 years. To protect its prosperous living conditions and free living pattern, Taiwan most likely will reinforce its resistance of the mainland's appeal for a united front, rather than voluntarily supporting it. Concrete economic interests will strengthen the anti-communist ideology of the Taiwan people. Possibly deeply aware of this problem, Deng Xiaoping, in his speech on New Year's Day of 1980, stated emphatically that the peaceful reunification of Taiwan awaits the improvement of mainland China's political and economic systems until they excel those of Taiwan. However, he hoped that, by the year 2000, the average per capita income on the mainland will reach $1,000, but what requires attention is that the average income per capita in Taiwan, by that time, will exceed $7,000. The most important key to the reunification of the two coasts of the Taiwan Strait actually may not be the difference in the living standards, but the difference in the basic systems and living patterns.

Conclusion

In view of the foregoing analysis, we may conclude that, in the near future, the reunification of the two coasts of Taiwan Strait will absolutely not be a simple issue. Today, while it is impossible for either side to use the means of force to attain reunification, nor is it possible to attain the goal by means of peace. Under this stalemate of "neither war nor peace," peaceful competition under the status quo becomes the most feasible and also the most constructive direction of development. For the survival of their own systems and for increasing the appeal to the people of the other side, the regimes on both coasts must produce the best patterns and systems for the welfare of the Chinese people. Meanwhile, peaceful competition will create a strong mutually stimulating effect, learning the good points of the other side and reforming one's own defects.

Today, the "three-open" proposed by Communist China is rather premature. Obviously, the time is not ripe, and there is no trust and confidence between the two sides. Such peace offensive has become a tool of threat and inducement for the united front. However, under the principle of giving consideration to humanitarianism, mutual benefit and security, limited contact and "indirect trade," getting along peacefully, seem to be worthy of a try; it will contribute considerably to the peace and prosperity of both coasts. In terms of the effort for modernization, many obvious experiences and patterns fully proved to be effective and successful in Taiwan should serve as valuable references to the mainland in its economic development. Taiwan's large scientific and technical manpower should be of considerable help to the modernization of the mainland. This is not only a feasible, but also correct, path for mainland China to follow. The Chinese people on both sides of Taiwan Strait and the millions of overseas Chinese will approve and support it. Under the major premise of seeking happiness for all the Chinese people, this is the most important task at the present time. As for the issue of final reunification, it is best to ask history for help for its gradual solution.

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6 October 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 223

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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 223

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EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON PALESTINE AUTONOMY

OW220826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Cairo, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali said tonight that Egypt's objective in the Palestinian autonomy negotiations, to be resumed here on Wednesday, was to push forward the peace process in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip.

At a news conference here, the minister expressed the hope that an agreement would be reached to create a climate of confidence in the West Bank and Gaza that would encourage the Palestinians to participate, directly or indirectly, in a future stage of the negotiations.

Ghali affirmed that the United States would remain the full partner in the upcoming stage. He stressed that the U.S. is an essential factor for the negotiations, and no results could be reached in the negotiations without that factor and no results could be reached without a full agreement of the three parties.

On the Arab countries' attitude towards the autonomy talks, Ghali said their difference with Egypt pertained to techniques and measures and not the objective. The objective was the same, namely the Palestinians' right to regain the West Bank and Gaza, he said.

Concerning Egypt's stance on the AWACS planes issue, Ghali said that Egypt welcomed and supported the sale agreement between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, as the planes would consolidate Saudi Arabia's capabilities to defend its sovereignty and political security.

CSO: 4020/1

FRG LEADER OPENS CONFERENCE ON DEVELOPING NATIONS

OW231612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] Bonn, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--Four West German foundations held a conference here today to discuss their work in developing countries. The four foundations are: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung and Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

Attending the conference were 500 West German delegates. Also attending were 50 politicians from 33 countries.

Opening the conference, West German President Karl Carstens pointed out that developing countries should plan their development more independently in the future. In addition, he said, it is important for developing countries to increase grain production on their own. Carstens explained that it is a worthy goal for each developing country to endeavour not to import grain if favorable conditions exist.

Former West German President Walter Scheel, after summing up the foundations' efforts in developing countries since 1961, pointed out that the principal aim of the foundations is to contribute to North-South dialogue. The ultimate aim of development is the strengthening of independence and self-determination.

Eduardo Frei Montalva, former president of Chile and the member of the North-South Commission, advocated that cooperation in the developing problem should be carried out both economically and socially. He said it would be a "big mistake" for Third World countries and industrialized countries if the West reduced its aid to developing countries.

Some statesmen in the Third World countries urged that more considerations should be given to their social and cultural conditions to help improve their conditions of trade.

CSO: 4020/1

NEW UK PARTY ALLIANCE SUPPORTS NATO, EEC

OW191606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 19 Sep 81

[Text] Llandudno, Wales, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--The British Liberal Party formerly decided to forge an electoral alliance with the newly-established Social Democratic Party (SDP) to fight the next general election due in 1984 at its 5-day 1981 annual assembly which ended today in the seaside town of Llandudno, north Wales.

After a heated and long debate on Wednesday, the assembly voted overwhelmingly in favour of the alliance.

The Liberal Party, with 11 members in the House of Commons, has been out of office since World War I. The SDP, which has now 16 members of Parliament, was founded last March by four former cabinet ministers of the Labour Party. In recent local elections, the Liberal Party and SDP polled well by working as an alliance.

In a traditional winding-up speech to the assembly yesterday, David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party reinterated the party'c commitment to the European Economic Community (EEC) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). "Our commitment to collective Western security in the defence of freedom must be maintained. The threat to Poland should remind us of the need for eternal vigilance," he stressed.

Speaking of a resolution passed at the assembly on Thursday, which opposes the siting of cruise missiles in Britain and calls for a European nuclear-free zone, Steel said: "If the Soviet Union can be persuaded to withdraw her SS20's, cruise missiles will not be required in Europe."

Some 1,600 delegates, representing about 160,000 members of the party throughout the country, attended this year's annual conference.

CSO: 4020/1

WRITER ADDRESSES PARIS PEN CONGRESS

OW221710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1636 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Paris, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--International PEN Center Chairman Per Wastberg (Sweden) inaugurated the 45th international congress of the PEN in Lyon today by saying that international PEN stands for peace in a world today where peace is threatened. "War can only be prevented by all of us," he declared. "Writers, having no power have moral authority. Our responsibility is to ourselves and to the future."

The congress, under the theme "literature: hope for a crisis-ridden world," was attended by more than 300 writers from 59 PEN centers throughout the world.

In his speech, Chinese writer Ba Jin said that Chinese writers crossed one half of the world for friendship and cooperation in literature creation. It is natural, he said, that writers from different areas of the world have differences. But writers should have the common ground of defending peace and opposing aggression to enable people of various countries to live in tranquility and to enable the literature works of each nation to develop freely on a healthy road. By so doing, writers would make contributions to the progress and prosperity of world literature, he stated.

Ba Jin is the head of the delegation of the China PEN Center. The delegation, together with representatives of Shanghai and Guangzhou Chinese PEN Centers, were participating in the PEN congress for the first time.

Lyon Mayor Francisque Collomb and French PEN President Rene Tavernier also addressed the congress.

CSO: 4020/1

SALVADORAN FRONTS SAY 'PEOPLE'S WAR' ONLY CHOICE

OW201612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 20 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 20 Sep (XINHUA)--Salvadoran delegates to the 68th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union now being held in Havana have said that people's war is the only choice left for the Salvadoran people, according to EFE reports.

A five-member Salvadoran delegation to the conference includes representatives from two opposition parties in that country: the Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

Juan Jose Martel, member of the delegation, said although it is possible to resolve the conflict in the country through peaceful means, "general elections are not a solution to the problem. We don't oppose general elections as one of the forms of expressing the people's will, but (we think) it can be realized only when there are necessary conditions, both objective and subjective."

Hugo Navarrete, another delegation member, said, "How can general elections be held in a country where curfew is imposed, martial law enforced, torture permitted and the freedom of expression deprived?"

Mario Aguinada, commander of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, said that the current Salvadoran Government "is only supported by the United States, but we, as the representative of the people's interests, have the right to use whatever means of struggle considered as necessary by the Salvadoran people to materialize their liberation."

Ruben Zamora from the Democratic Revolutionary Front, another member of the Salvadoran delegation, told the EFE News Agency in Quito yesterday that guerrillas will never lay down their arms to have dialogue with the Salvadoran Government. He held that the present state of war existing between the government and opposition parties is not an obstacle to a political solution. The Democratic Revolutionary Front believes, he said, that once international mediators acceptable to both sides are found, such items as cease-fire and elections can be placed on the agenda of their negotiations.

CSO: 4020/1

VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT ADDRESSES UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OW220328 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] United Nations, 21 Sep (XINHUA)—Luis Herrera Campins, constitutional president of Venezuela, today condemned foreign interventions in the affairs of the Third World countries and urged an end to the old international economic order. Speaking at the general debate of the UN General Assembly beginning today, Luis Campins noted that the organization's responses to aggression are "barely formal resolutions devoid of concrete substance, or simply may not even reach the level of operative recognition of the organization."

He condemned the "policy of force," saying that "on behalf of that policy of force, interventions occur with the intention of imposing or maintaining given political regimes leaning towards one ideology or another, or intervention is threatened, to intimidate with the force of weapons."

Reviewing the situation in various parts of the world, Campins pointed out, "In Africa, racism and intervention of diverse poles of power fuel the flames of violence." "The Middle East continues to be an explosive region" and "in Asia, foreign occupation threatens the peace, sovereignty and independence of the region's countries." Referring to the situation in Poland, he added, "The shadow of powerful maneuvers hang like a threat over that often-invaded country, whose people remain intact as such, in spite of successive dismemberments."

"In the face of colonialism," Campins stressed, this organization "should be particularly energetic not only in the face of classic colonialism, but regarding the new and subtle types of pressure of one state over another, new forms of disguised colonialism."

Dwelling on the world economic problems, Campins observed, "The gap between the more developed and the poorer countries has widened." "It cannot be assumed that the dispossessed will long accept with resignation their gradual and irreversible impoverishment," he asserted.

CSO: 4020/1

POLISH PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES ASSEMBLY

OW250945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 25 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Sep (XINHUA)--The Polish National Assembly (SEJM) opened its session here this morning to discuss draft laws governing workers' self-management and the state-run enterprises. The session began by hearing a report from Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski on the home situation.

Jaruzelski declared emphatically in his report that "the future of the (Polish) nation and people depends on the clarification of the question," namely, does the Solidarity Union intend to observe and honor its commitments in the agreements concluded last August and September and in its own constitution? "To what extent will (Solidarity) stop and renounce in practice its attempt to seize power?"

The prime minister appealed to the public to support the government "measures to deal with all sorts of sabotage in a severe manner." He told the National Assembly, "I have entrusted the matter to the minister of the interior whose actions will have the necessary and appropriate support of the troops assigned (for the purpose) and military means."

He solicited the assembly's understanding of what the government had to do to end the anarchy and unrestrained activities against the state and the Soviet Union and to stop making a mockery of the law and traditional values.

The country's economic crisis continued to worsen, he said. Industrial output value in the first 8 months of this year was down by 13 percent as compared with the same period last year, state purchase of slaughtered cattle by more than 20 percent and that of milk 12 percent.

He went on to say that the government had taken emergency actions to prevent a further decline in industrial production and to alleviate the crisis and its consequences.

Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party, was present at the session.

CSO: 4020/1

PAP ON POLISH DOMESTIC SITUATION, MINISTERS TALKS

OW200638 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1536 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--According to a PAP report, the Polish Council of Ministers held meetings on 14 and 17 September to discuss the complicated domestic situation in Poland today.

According to the report, the Council of Ministers felt that under the influence of the first stage meeting of the National Congress of the Solidarity trade union and the resolution adopted by the meeting, the situation in Poland has been seriously aggravated. The resolution adopted by the meeting in fact implies the refusal of constructive proposals for cooperation and implies incitement of confrontation which breeds dangerous consequences. The report says: The government concurs with the appraisal of the current situation made in the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and declares that as a last resort it will not rule out the adoption of any means suited to the state's emergency laws.

The Council of Ministers held that the Solidarity trade union's central leading organ and a number of its local branches are engaged in a struggle to seize power in Poland, fail to abide by the Solidarity trade union's constitution and are engaged in political activities against socialism. The first stage meeting of the National Congress of the Solidarity trade union was controlled by a very large number of people with extremely wild political ambitions whose main intention is to seize power. The Council of Ministers called on the ordinary members of the Solidarity union to break relations with this line."

The report says: The Council of Ministers held that "it is the responsibility of the government and the organs of the people's political power at all levels to resolutely defend the socialist state and the fundamental interests of the state and the people, guarding them against the threat of the counterrevolutionary forces."

The Council of Ministers indicated that it is imperative to rule out any possibility of consultations with the forces inciting confrontation and undermining the system and principles, and that these forces must face the resolute counterattack by the authorities and society. The Council of Ministers gave instructions to organizations under its jurisdiction on the appropriate tasks they must carry out when required by the national situation and studied concrete measures which must be adopted to safeguard socialism and defend the interests of the Polish state and people.

According to another PAP report, the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee held a meeting of secretaries of the Central Committee, first secretaries of the provincial committees and directors of the various departments of the Central Committee on 16 and 17 September. The meeting discussed the current internal social and political situation and put forward proposals to party organizations at all levels.

CSO: 4005/1

OLSZOWSKI MAKES TV SPEECH ON POLISH SITUATION

OW241055 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1442 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee, delivered a televised speech tonight on the current domestic situation in Poland.

Olszowski said: Recently the tense situation in society, like an avalanche, is becoming increasingly serious with each passing week, sometimes with each passing day. Within the country there have been over 1,000 meetings and interviews and everyday the central authorities have received hundreds of resolutions and letters reflecting panic about the situation. They have one characteristic in common, that is, uneasiness about the current domestic situation. He added: Today, in the face of economic and social threats and the threats created by the political activities trying to draw our cause into the Western orbit, it should be the time to put an end to the cold war aimed at opposing and seizing political power.

Olszowski said: The line formulated by certain leaders of the Solidarity trade union is not aimed at improving the socialist system. They intend to change the system completely and to link Poland with the West. For this reason, it is a counterrevolutionary line which opposes the fruitful results the Polish working people obtained during the years of the people's political power.

Olszowski said: "We do not believe that all leaders of the regional branches of the Solidarity trade union have dishonest and dangerous ambitions. On the contrary, we believe that in the struggle to extricate Poland from the disastrous crisis and anarchism most people, even though they still distrust the authorities and the party organizations, will become genuine allies and will play a due role in promoting the work of overcoming the destructive process. The Politburo still affirms that it needs and is prepared to form an alliance with everyone, with everyone who is not opposed to socialism, and to reach an understanding with those who attach importance to the cause of our motherland and to the work of national salvation."

Olszowski said: "It should be explicitly stated that we need mutual understanding now more than ever before."

Speaking on the "anti-Soviet actions" in Poland, Olszowski said: These actions may cause our closest friend, a big socialist power, to contemplate whether it should continue to help us or maintain economic relations with us on the condition that both sides keep the balance. We are confronted with such a staggering deficit in our trade balance that if we write off the unfavorable balance next year, then Poland's imports from the Soviet Union would be reduced from 4.4 billion roubles to 2.7 billion. That is to say, we could only expect a 50 percent purchase of raw materials at the most, and oil imports would fall sharply; they would be even less than those of other raw materials.

He said: Today, the Polish shipbuilding industry has developed on the basis of steady orders received from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union can exist without the supply of Polish goods but Poland cannot exist without supplies from the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, Olszowski said: Despite the difference in opinion, it is imperative to reestablish a basis for consultations among Polish people in order to unite all political forces to save the motherland. No matter how different their viewpoints and their moral and ideological motives, genuine consultations may create new prospects for development in our domestic affairs, prospects which will determine the future and development of our country.

According to another report, following the statement on the domestic situation issued by the PZPR Politburo, the National Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity trade union held a press conference on 21 September in (?Rzeszow). At the press conference, Celinski, secretary of the Presidium of the committee, said: The Solidarity trade union is ready to hold negotiations with the government at any time on any question. Regrettably, the government does not want to hold such negotiations at this time and the extensive "anti-Solidarity" propaganda is proof of this. He emphatically pointed out that the Solidarity trade union does not have the slightest intention of creating confrontation and that presently its attention is focused on matters concerning economic reform and autonomy. He further stressed that conciliation between the government and the Solidarity trade union is a requisite for the stable life in the country.

A PAP report says that the Presidium of the National Coordinating Committee of the Polish Solidarity trade union held a meeting on 22 September in Gdansk and adopted a document of the Union on the autonomy of staffs and workers.

CSO: 4005/1

DENG XIAOPING CRITICIZED FOR SENKAKUS POLICY

OW191135 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Our foreign policy of personally decided by the supreme authority just as our domestic policy is. This has led to serious mistakes and caused a huge loss to our national interest.

As everybody knows, the statement issued not long ago by the Information Department of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that, ignoring the position of our country, Japan conducted a survey of fishery resources on China's Diaoyutai Islands [Senkakus] and their surrounding waters. Our country lodged a protest with Japan over this illegal action. However, Japan's reply to our fair and just protest was extremely fallacious. It alleged that Diaoyudao Island has always belonged to the Japanese empire and the surrounding waters are Japanese territorial waters. At the same time, Japan also defended itself by referring to the Diaoyudao agreement reached by Vice Chairman Deng and the Japanese Government.

About this historical fact; we have to point out: Paying a visit to Japan in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping did his utmost to carry out his policy of friendship and alliance with Japan and virtually made no mention of Japan's armed occupation of China's Diaoyudao Island. He even ignored other leading comrades' objections, obstinately pursued his own course and told the Japanese that the Diaoyudao problem should be left for the coming next generation to solve. This meant that Comrade Deng Xiaoping decided, without authorization, to let Japan indefinitely have Diaoyudao Island and the surrounding waters. Obviously, this arbitrary action was a very serious mistake that gravely damaged our national interest. We ask: Should we go so far as to cede the territory of the Chinese nation simply for the sake of friendship and cooperation with Japan?

Everybody should recall that our government solemnly pointed out: In order to forcibly occupy China's Diaoyudao and other islands, Japanese reactionaries resorted to all sorts of despicable tricks in order to create a fait accompli. However, all the tricks played by Japanese reactionaries will be in vain. No matter how they use lame arguments and resort to fraud, they will not turn Chinese territory into Japanese territory.

Yet, what we now witness is that Japanese reactionaries are relying on the so-called agreement between Vice Chairman Deng and the Japanese Government to legalize their action of occupying our Diaoyudao and turn Chinese territory into Japanese territory.

We might as well review this: Some years ago, the Kuomintang ruling clique on Taiwan vainly attempted to cede Diaoyudao Island to Japan. At that time, our government solemnly and justly announced: The political mummies on Taiwan are shamelessly selling out China's territory and resources. The Chinese people will never forgive those political mummies for their crime of treason.

What a just, indignant and forceful statement that was. That statement is still significant. The great revolutionary people of our country will never forgive that treasonous action.

We also see that even though the supreme authority makes no mention of the Diaoyudao Island issue as he has promised Japan, the statement issued by the Information Department of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has resurfaced this problem. We know that some central leaders, ignoring the supreme authority's stand, have more than once pronounced, and will continue to pronounce, that Diaoyudao Island is the sacred, inalienable territory of China. We Chinese people will never honor any supreme authority's arbitrary decision and will never tolerate Japan's occupation of our sacred territory. infringement on our sovereignty and insult to the Chinese people's dignity.

CSO: 4005/1

FURTHER ON USSR LU XUN ANNIVERSARY SOIREE

OW190102 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1428 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--The Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and the USSR Union of Writers jointly sponsored a soiree in Moscow on the evening of 17 September to mark the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun.

(Bernov), vice chairman of the Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, delivered the opening speech.

The noted Sinologist N.T. Fedorenko, who is secretary of the Writers' Union and vice chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, made a report on Lu Xun's life and creative work. He aid that Lu Xun was a great writer and thinker and founder of the modern realistic literature of China. Fedorenko said: "By the clear-cut language of an artist and political writer, Lu Xun penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of imperialism, mocked at the bias of feudalism and expressed his deep hatred for those Chinese and foreigners that enslaved the Chinese people." He said that the massive publication of Lu Xun's works in the Soviet Union since 1929 has proved that the Soviet people like Lu Xun and his works.

After the report, a cultural performance was staged by Soviet artists.

Responsible persons of concerned Soviet social organizations and many Sinologists were present at the soiree. Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Yang Shouzheng and other diplomats of the Chinese Embassy also attended the soiree on invitation.

On 14 September, an academic report meeting on Lu Xun and his creative work was jointly held by the Oriental Studies Institute, the Far East Institute and the World Literature Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Moscow University's Institute of Asian and African Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

Beginning on 21 September, the Moscow Foreign Literature Library will hold an exhibition on the life and works of Lu Xun.

CSO: 4005/1

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER ON FOREIGN POLICY

OW271718 Beijing XINHUA in English 1631 GMT 27 Sep 81

[Text] Rome, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--Italian Socialist Party General Secretary Bettino Craxi said Saturday in Bologna that "we have strived and will strive for peace," however, peace should be set up on a basis of security and a balance of power.

Speaking at a mass rally, Craxi said negotiations for arms control and disarmament "should have a scope as broad as possible" and that Europe's position should be to participate and share responsibility with the United States. Craxi said talks should begin quickly to achieve results before 1983. He said that only with a balance of power can peace be maintained, but the Soviet Union has a superiority in Europe.

"We hope that our country will close its ranks on such important problems as peace and national defense," he said. "Any split on this issue of common and fundamental interests will be the most serious hindrance, rather than a help, to the nation and democracy."

On the 10-point basic propositions of the Socialist Party on international issues, he stressed the necessity of unity among NATO member countries, Europe's need to play a bigger role in the world in coordination with the United States and the need for more dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe.

Craxi also demanded Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, calling for a solution in Afghanistan that would guarantee stability in that area.

On the Middle East issue, he appealed for negotiations which would include the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On the Poland issue, he warned, "The continued Soviet threat to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland will only incite unpopularity in that country and bring about an ever more difficult and dangerous situation."

"Poland is not a remote province of the Soviet Union," he said.

CSO: 4020/1

JAPAN'S EXPORTS SHOW SIGNS OF DECLINE

OW190807 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 19 Sep 81

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Japan's export which used to help propel the country's economic recovery is now stagnant and even on the point of declining.

Car export, one of Japan's top foreign currency earners, has reduced as a result of restrictions demanded by the United States and Western Europe. A Finance Ministry release on 14 September showed that Japan's car export went down to 430,000 units in August, 12.3 percent less than the same month last year. This was the first two-digit slump in 2 years and 5 months.

Despite an upward turn since the beginning of this year, steel export is expected to drop to 7.10 million tons in the fourth quarter of this year. It was 7.46 million tons in the second quarter and about 7.60 million tons in the third quarter, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN reported today.

Machine tool export which has risen remarkably in recent years, is also declining. Exports went down for 2 consecutive months of June and July as compared with the corresponding months last year. The yearly total will be far less than last year's figure.

The export of video recorders has gone up briskly each year since 1977. However, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry has decided to curb recorder export next year to avoid frictions with the U.S. and the EEC countries as in the car war.

Both Japan's public and private research institutes are not optimistic about the prospects of the country's export business this year.

CSO: 4020/1

THAI RADIO PRAISES KAMPUCHEAN ALLIANCE

OW221528 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bangkok, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--The tripartite ad hoc committee meetings held in Thailand are aimed at establishing a coalition government that will genuinely represent the Kampuchean people now under Vietnamese occupation, Voice of Free Asia radio commentary said today.

The radio, which is under guidance of the Thai Foreign Ministry, said that Thailand's efforts in this connection are endorsed by two-thirds of the UN membership. "Thailand and other ASEAN countries have demonstrated their full support for such a constructive move which would pave the way for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem." The meetings, it added, are significant steps forward, contributing to a durable settlement of the Kampuchean question along the lines of the UN resolutions and declration adopted by a majority of UN members.

The commentary said: "Should the Kampuchean nationalists merge into a coalition government, this government will clearly be broadly representative of the Kampuchean people. This is something which the Vietnamese-installed clique in Phnom Penh can never claim to be, so long as it owes its existence to its foreign masters and their 200,000 armed troops.

"Its existence, furthermore, is a transgression against the fundamental principles of the UN Charter, and therefore, cannot be acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the world community which abide by these UN principles," the commentary declared.

Refuting the Phnom Penh regime's slander on Thailand, the commentary said: "It is ironic that the puppet of a foreign country should have the audacity to vilify Thailand's peaceful and constructive efforts to assist the Kampuchean nationalists to restore peace and independence to their country."

CSO: 4020/1

SFRY, KUWAIT COMMUNIQUE STRESSES NONALIGNMENT

OW201324 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 20 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--The preservation of security and peace in the Gulf region rests upon the countries of that region alone, says the joint communique of Yugoslavia and Kuwait issued at the end of the official visit to Yugoslavia by the amir of Kuwait today.

Amir of Juwait Sheykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah ended his 4-day visit to the country, during which he had talks with President of the Yugoslav Federal Presidency Sergej Kraigher on bilateral relations and the international situation.

The communique says that the two sides reiterate the conviction that the Gulf most remain outside all forms of bloc competitions.

The communique expresses the two countries' deep concern over the deterioration of international relations caused by big power rivalry and the policy of spheres of interest. It says that the two sides emphasize the great responsibility of the nonaligned policy and movement in settling key international issues. They point to the importance and the need of solidarity and cooperation among the nonaligned countries and of the peaceful settlement of disputes among them on the basis of the principles of nonalignment.

The two countries express serious concern at the deterioration of the Middle East situation because of Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy and reiterate that a just and lasting solution in the region cannot be reached without the realization of the national, legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. They also condemn Israel's constant aggressive policy against Lebanon.

The communique says that the two sides express serious concern over the continuation of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran and the crises in Southwest and Southeast Asia. They support a peaceful solution of the Afghan and Kampuchean problems on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops from these countries and an end to outside interference in their internal affairs.

The two parties also point out that the uninterrupted big-power military buildup in the Indian Ocean threatens peace and security in the world. The two countries press for global negotiations as a first step towards establishing a new international economic order, the communique says. It notes that Yugoslav-Kuwaiti relations are developing successfully and expresses readiness for further efforts to promote overall relations.

CSO: 4020/1

THAI FOREIGN MINISTER ON KAMPUCHEAN RESISTANCE

OW220916 Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bangkok, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila yesterday predicted the possibility for the three Kampuchean resistance forces to reach a common stand on many problems after several rounds of talks between their representatives, according to Thai press reports here today. He was talking to Thai reporters before leaving for New York to attend the UN General Assembly.

"If the Khmer Rouge, the KPNLF (The Khmer People's National Liberation Front) and the Sihanoukists can get together to form a coalition government, it would be to the benefit of them all and to that of their country and people," the foreign minister said. With the three groups united, Vietnam cannot maintain its claim that there is no resistance movement against its occupation of Kampuchea, he added.

Meanwhile, Gen Saiyud Kerdphol, chief of staff of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, told the NATION REVIEW that the formation of a resistance coalition government in Kampuchea will convince the other side to seek a political solution. ASEAN's diplomatic move on the Kampuchean issue has won very satisfactory support from countries around the world, he said.

Asked about Soviet assistance to Vietnam and the Heng Samrin regime, Gen Saiyud said, "estimates by some sources say that Soviet aid to Vietnam is about $3 million a day. But one must not forget that the Soviet Union also faces problems in many other parts of the world."

Answering a question on the use of toxins by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, the senior military officer said that Thailand has passed on all evidence it had gathered to friendly countries. "Our soldiers near the Thai-Kampuchean border are on alert and they have been trained to cope with toxins," he added.

CSO: 4020/1

FURTHER COMMENTS ON PZPR STATEMENT ON DOMESTIC SITUATION

OW181417 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1255 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--The PZPR Central Committee Politburo issued a statement on the evening of 16 September accusing the first stage meeting of the first National Congress of the Solidarity trade union of unilaterally breaking the "agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie," and "clearly adopting the line of seizing power and changing the sociopolitical system of Poland."

The statement stresses: "The domestic political situation is developing in a dangerous direction," "the state will take the measures called for by the situation" and "defend socialism, as it will defend Poland's independence."

The statement says: The current congress has "elevated the adventurist tendency and phenomena in the Solidarity union to the status of an official program of the entire organization." This program "implies the trend toward confrontations, which could cause bloodshed."

The statement says: This is not a program to unite the workers in the Solidarity union. It in fact serves the interests, schemes and aims of the adventurist, counterrevolutionary groups, such as the "Workers Defense Committee" and the "Confederation of Independent Poland."

The statement criticizes the congress's "message to the working people of East European countries" as "an insensate provocation against Poland's allies."

The statement says: The congress has also adopted an "outrageous resolution" against the Polish SEJM and taken a "negative attitude toward all efforts" of the Polish Government. This attitude "threatens the implementation of the program drawn up by the government to stabilize Poland's socioeconomic situation."

The statement calls on all PZPR members, members of the various parties and trade unions, religious organizations and the entire society to proceed from the interests of the Polish people and the country and "explicitly oppose political adventures and attempts to incite struggles for power and destroy the socialist motherland."

The statement stresses: "Despite the tense situation the PZPR Politburo still affirms its readiness and the need to forge an alliance with all and understanding with everyone who is not against socialism and who treasures the motherland's cause and comes to its rescue."

On 14 September the United Action Committee of the central committees of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party held a meeting in Warsaw to discuss the current domestic sociopolitical situation in Poland.

On 15 and 16 September the Presidium of the Polish Democratic Party Central Committee and the Presidium of the Polish Socialist Youth Union Central Council issued statements expressing uneasiness over the serious situation now emerging in Poland, "with a struggle for power actually in progress" and "with socialism being undermined," and stressing that it is imperative to protect the activities of legitimate state organs and strive to stabilize the country's political and economic situation.

The Polish Catholic Episcopate also held a plenary meeting on 14 and 15 September. The meeting stressed that in the current situation it is necessary to avoid confrontations that may bring great dangers and to "find a new way to bring all to sit down at the conference table."

CSO: 4005/1

BRIEFS

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITOR LEAVES--Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--Three Chinese journalists including Wang Ruoshui, deputy editor-in-chief of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, left here by air today for Italy and Spain to attend festivities organized by the organs of the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties. [Text] [OW162122 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 16 Sep 81]

COORDINATION OF EUROPE'S FOREIGN POLICY--Bonn, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--The West German Government reiterated today that the European Community (EEC) should remain intact and be strengthened as a balancer in world politics. Government spokesman Kurt Becker told newsmen after a cabinet meeting that the cabinet unanimously held that only a powerful EEC could act as a U.S. partner in their relations with the Third World and in the East-West relations. Therefore, it is very important for the EEC member states to coordinate their foreign and security policies. Becker said that the cabinet authorized Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to negotiate with other EEC countries on a political policy statement on the formation of a European union as an effort to promote political cooperation among the West European countries. In mid-August, Genscher suggested that political cooperation in Western Europe should take the "form of a treaty." Bonn now also attaches great importance to its bilateral relations with other EEC countries, Becker said, adding that it regards these relations as an important factor in European cooperation. [Text] [OW191618 Beijing XINHUA in English 1537 GMT 19 Sep 81]

ITALY REAFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR ANGOLA--Rome, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo today reaffirmed Italy's full support for Angola and denounced South Africa's military aggression against Angola. Talking with visiting Angolan Foreign Minister Pavlo Texeira Jorge, Colombo said that Italy hoped to see a peaceful solution of the Namibian question through negotiations and that the whole area should be free from tension and conflicts and rid of foreign forces. Pavlo Jorge described South Africa's violent action as in defiance of the rudimentary code of action, and denounced the United State's passive attitude at the UN Security Council as aimed at undermining stability in Angola. The two ministers shared the views that the Namibian question must be solved peacefully on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435. Pavlo Jorge also met today with Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali who was also on a tour here. Butrus has ordered the Egyptian ambassador to the UN to contact Pavlo Jorge who is on his way to the UN so as to act in accord with Angola diplomatically. [Text] [OW190730 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 19 Sep 81]

S. AFRICAN AGGRESSION CONDEMNED--Beijing, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--The 50-nation UN African group strongly condemns South Africa's "criminal aggression" against Angola, according to a report from New York. A statement to this effect was issued by the group after a meeting of African diplomats at the United Nations last night. The statement says that during the aggression, 150 South African planes and more than 6,000 infantry "brought death to more than 1,400 innocent civilians and massive material damage" to the southern region of Angola. It adds, "This renewed aggression comes as a result of the support being given by the Reagan administration to the racist and terrorist minority regime of South Africa, thereby encouraging it to be more daring in the perpetuation of its heinous acts of aggression against Angola." The statement appeals to the international community, "particularly to those countries which have the necessary means to bring pressure" on South Africa, to help Angola by taking urgent measures to halt the aggression and illegal occupation. [Text] [OW181254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 18 Sep 81]

YUGOSLAVIA, U.S. REAFFIRM TIES--Belgrade, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia and the United States reaffirmed today that the principles for independence, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, that had been established between the two countries and tested by time, would remain the basis for permanent cooperation between them. This was stated in a news bulletin here this morning on U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's 2-day visit to Yugoslavia. Haig made it clear that the U.S. would respect Yugoslavia's independent, non-aligned status and policy in world affairs. The two sides said that they would promote their ties of equality in various domains. On international developments, the two sides explained their respective views and exchanged ideas on the forthcoming North-South dialogue to be held in Cancun. They maintained that peace, security and development require all countries to contribute greater efforts so as to peacefully settle the current disputes and problems in the world. Haig left here for Bonn this morning. [Text] [OW131536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 13 Sep 81]

DPRK PAPER ADVOCATES REUNIFICATION CONFERENCE--Pyongyang, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--The holding of a conference for the promotion of national reunification, a new proposal of the North, is the most realistic means for unifying Korea, the Korean newspaper NODONG SINMUN reported today. Reaffirming that the North cannot hold dialogue with Chon Tu-hwan clique, the article points out: "The conference for the promotion of national reunification would be a theater of a nation-wide dialogue for tiding over the difficulties lying in the way of reunification and accelerating the cause of the reunification. Its door is open to all parties, groupings and personages of all circles desirous of the reunification, but only the Chon Tu-hwan group is not qualified to attend it. "If such splittists [would] be allowed to participate in the dialogue for reunification, the venue of dialogue will become a club dragging on time arguing pro and con over the reunfiication question, not a site of consultation for a practical solution of the reunification question," it declares. [Text] [OW221720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 22 Sep 81]

INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST PLANS--New Delhi, 20 Sep (XINHUA)--India will continue to carry out nuclear tests if necessary but will not manufacture the atomic bomb, said Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in an interview with a correspondent of the magazine AGE of Australia, according to a press report here today. India exploded a nuclear device in the Rejasthan Desert at Pokharan in 1974. Gandhi stressed that India has developed nuclear energy for agricultural and industrial purposes. She said India might have a peaceful explosion as it had before "if we think it is in the interests of our science or development." It was not necessarily connected with what Pakistan was doing, she said. Gandhi regarded India's transition from peaceful to military use of nuclear power depends on "what the real danger is" to India's national security interests. How long it will take from peaceful to military uses of nuclear power is a question for scientists to answer because things are getting more and more sophisticated all the time, she said. [Text] [OW200938 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 20 Sep 81]

PAKISTAN OFFICIAL REAFFIRMS DRA STAND--Islamabad, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--The Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi expressed surprise and disappointment that Mrs Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, should have chosen to question Pakistan's bona fides for the settlement of the Afghan problem, according [to] an official handout here today. The foreign minister was commenting on the Indian prime minister's recent interview with LE FIGARO in which she alleged that Pakistan was not interested in the solution of the Afghan problem but was exploiting it for its own purpose. He said that Pakistan was committed to a peaceful political settlement of the Afghan problem which would ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country, safeguard Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status, permit its people to decide their own future free of foreign intervention or interference, and enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. This has been Pakistan's principled stand from the beginning and has been endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the international community in the UN General Assembly. India had sided with a small minority, but Pakistan had not questioned India's motives for doing so. It was not appropriate for India to attribute false motives to Pakistan. He said that he was looking forward to the discussions at the UN with the secretary general acting as a channel for negotiations, and hoped progress could be made towards a political settlement based on principles. [Text] [OW200118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 20 Sep 81]

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT URGES USSR WITHDRAWAL--Islamabad, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Xiaulhaq said today that Pakistan would not accept anything less than the withdrawal of Soviet troops, restoration of Islamic and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and the return of over 2.4 million Afghan refugees to their homes in an honourable way. Addressing councillors, noted personages and the general public in Kharan, 250 miles away from Quetta, the president said that the Afghan people should be allowed to have a government of their own choice without any foreign intervention. He said that the Pakistan Government had informed the world opinion through international forums as to what was going on across its western borders where a superpower was trying to change the character of an Islamic country. The president said that today it was Afghanistan and tomorrow Pakistan might be the next target. He said that it was the moral duty of the people and government of Pakistan to protest against foreign aggression against a Muslim neighbouring country. He stated that the people of Pakistan were fully prepared to defend their freedom. [Text] [OW211928 Beijing XINHUA in English 1912 GMT 21 Sep 81]

SOLIDARITY CITED ON SELF-MANAGEMENT--The Presidium of the Polish Soldarity Trade Union's National Consultative Committee met in Gdansk in September. One document on the Solidarity Union's stand on the question of workers self-management was adopted at the meeting. Managers of state enterprises should be appointed or dismissed by the workers' councils of the enterprises or by the higher administrative organs, the document says. After consulting with the trade union, the Council of Ministers will draw up the namelist of key enterprises whose managers should be appointed or removed by the higher administrative organs. Managers of public utility enterprises, however, should be appointed or removed by the higher administrative organs. [Text] [OW271146 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 Sep 81]

JILIN DELEGATION BACK FROM DPRK--The Jilin Provincial CCP Committee delegation headed by Zhang Gensheng, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, having completed its visit to Yanggang Province and Pyongyang, the DPRK, at the invitation of the Yanggang Provincial KWP Committee, returned to Changchun 18 September. Li Diping, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, and Deputy Governor Wang Guangchao greeted the delegation at the railway station. During its stay in Yanggang Province, the delegation met and was feted by Yin Su-man, responsible secretary of the Yanggang Provincial KWP Committee. Kim Yong-nam, Political Bureau member and secretary of the KWP Central Committee, received and feted the delegation when it visited Pyongyang. [SK192256 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/1

WANG RUOWANG'S VIEWS ON LITERATURE CRITICIZED

Changsha SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CONTEMPORARY REPORT] in Chinese No 1, 15 Mar 81 pp 169-172

[Article by Liu Zhihong [0491 1807 3163], Department of Chinese, Zhongnan Minority College: "Upon Reading Wang Ruowang's [3769 5387 2598] 'Jottings'--Thoughts on 'Do Not Bluff and Bluster' in 'Jottings' Column, WENYI BAO"]

[Text] Editor: We welcome Comrade Wang Ruowang's "Do Not Bluff and Bluster" and all other comments on the comment of "Files" in our inaugural issue, and we look for more arguments. The "Ideological Comments" column of the editorial department of this publication strictly upholds the four basic principles, firmly follows the double hundred policy and strives to truly attain "a hundred schools of thought contending," permitting both criticisms and countercriticisms. Our goal is to join the comrades on the new long march of the "four modernizations" and search for the truth, clarify the right and wrong, fight shoulder to shoulder with them and advance together.

This writer had the good fortune to read Comrade Wang Ruowang's "Do Not Bluff and Bluster" in the "Jottings" column of WENYI BAO, No 11, 1980. The article is a comment on the views on the film "in the Files of Society" (hereinafter referred to as "Files") written by a commentator in No 1 of CONTEMPORARY REPORT. Among the stern denouncements of the commentator's article, Comrade Wang Ruowang's article can be considered "unique." Reading it deep in the night, I cannot but wish to express some thoughts which may be unfashionable.

Originally, it is not a bad thing for there to be criticisms and countercriticisms of a published literary or artistic work (such as the film "Files"). Naturally, in regard to the countercriticisms of any literary criticism, one may comment on the method and the style as well as the viewpoint and standpoint. However, if the method and style of the writer of a countercriticism are incorrect, such as "Do Not Bluff and Bluster" now under discussion, how should it be handled? It is easily done. We have to reason it out once more.

There must be a mystery for the one comment and the dialogue of the two young readers in CONTEMPORARY REPORT to cause such repercussions throughout the north and the south (the lively countercriticisms now underway). This writer feels that CONTEMPORARY REPORT should uphold what it feels to be correct and publish its arguments. If there are indeed mistakes or improprieties, there is no harm in rectifying them and accepting the correct criticisms.

This writer also read "What Are the Issues Brought Up by 'in the Files of Society?," the article by the commentator in No 1, CONTEMPORARY REPORT, and my impressions were quite different from those of Comrade Wang Ruowang. Comrade Wang Ruowang found that there were two serious "charges" or "characteristics" against the commentator's article: "Concentrating on citing Marxist-Leninist words to intimidate country bumpkins;" "empty bluff and bluster." I felt completely the opposite. Sharp and pungent and lively, the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article expressed a clear-cut stand. It was regrettable that Comrade Wang Ruowang attached two big labels of inferiority to it, because he was wrong. But this is only a small matter, and what deserves our attention is that he had always prided himself for opposing attaching wrong labels on others, yet he himself indiscriminately attached labels. One wonders just what he was up to.

In his article, Comrade Wang Ruowang wrote plainly: "'To be affected and pretentious' mentioned by Chairman Mao means to sever from the reality of China and cite Marxist-Leninist words to intimidate country bumpkins. The commentator's article on the film 'Files' in No 1, CONTEMPORARY REPORT, produced such a feeling in me."

Indeed, the "brain" is an organ belonging to the person himself, and no one can stop our Comrade Wang Ruowang from his "feeling," i.e., "conclusion," "after reading" the article in question that 'it concentrated on citing Marxist-Leninist words to intimidate country bumpkins." However, where did this"feeling" or "conclusion" come from? We had hoped that he would present the objective "facts" or "theoretical basis" which produced his "feeling," but regrettably he was unable to do so. Instead, he rendered a "judgment" from his "feeling" (whether illusory or concocted is unknown) without any factual basis: "As his (CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator) argument was too farfetched and strained, and untenable, he had to seek help from the words of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao." This judgment from his "feeling" may possibly create a misconception in the readers who have not read the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article: It may seem that the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator, having no convincing grounds for his article, "extensively cited the words of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao" throughout the article. However, those who have read the article, if they are fair, cannot but point out to Comrade Wang Ruowang: Your charges are merely startling lies.

Here, I wish to bring up two issues: First, how could Comrade Wang Ruowang tell that the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article "concentrated on citing Marxist-Leninist words to intimidate country bumpkins?" I think that no reader without prejudice or malice can agree with him. Facts speak louder than words. Among the /8,000 plus words/ in the /7 parts/ of the article, the commentator only discussed what Wang Ruowang referred to as "a famous remark earnestly cited by a sensitive young reader and commentator" in /Part 6/ (under the theme "Doubts of the Socialist System"). This famous remark was from Engels' letter to

(Mina Kautsky) in 1885. However, as the young reader was not complete and accurate in his citation, the commentator supplemented it with the original text from Volume 36 of "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," thereby presenting his own proof. We want to ask: "How is this "/concentrating on citing/ Marxist-Leninist words to intimidate country bumpkins?" Is Comrade Wang Ruowang's "feeling" actually normal or abnormal? Let us borrow his self-satisfied words: "Anyone having a little knowledge of logical reason, a little knowledge of literature, can point out the arbitrariness and malignance of the above....!" Furthermore, can this be considered a sort of true "manifestation of internal emptiness?" Actually, who is "bluffing and blustering?"--Truly there is the elegant "bearing" of telling lies and practicing deception in the open; truly it is taking the tens of thousands of readers as illiterates and ignorant "country bumpkins!"

Second, was it true that the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator's argument was "too farfetched and strained, and untenable" and that he had "to seek help from the words of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao?" As discussed above, the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article contained only one citation from Engels, and no words of Marx, Lenin, Stalin or Mao were found in it. Then, a literary comment of 8,000 plus words which contained reasons and bases and which probed conscientiously, by merely completing a revolutionary teacher's statement which was closely linked with the commentator's viewpoint and affirmed by tens of thousands of readers and extremely familiar to literary commentators, was deliberately distorted as "concentrating on citing Marxism-Leninism," thereby regarded as heresy. One may ask just whose "law" was Comrade Wang Ruowang actually following?

Furthermore, another basis of the so-called "bluff and bluster" of the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article denounced by Comrade Wang Ruowang was that, upon careful counting, he found that the terms "some people said" and "no wonder some people said" appeared "a total of six times." According to him, "it became a kind of 'bluff and bluster,' as if many people echoed the views of this commentator." (Attention: What is quoted here is Comrade Wang Ruowang's brilliant original text!) Unfortunately, the argument "cited" by Wang Ruowang here was not only unfavorable to the argument advanced by him, but also demonstrated that what he advanced was a ridiculous accusation. According to my view, first, the facts were otherwise; next, most likely the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator was not interested in Wang Rruowang's so-called "bluff and bluster."--I believe that this has been proved by the facts--and will be further proved in the future.

If you do not believe me, let us look at the facts. The fact was that the CONTEMPORARY REPORT article was not exclusively the "echoes" of the commentator's viewpoint. The article, for instance, pointed out: "/Some people/ defended the work by saying that the author was not affirming Wang Hainan, but merely described in a tender tone that he had nowhere to turn." "/Some people/, with an understanding spirit, said that 'Files' and 'Flying to the Heavens' contained flaws to a certain extent, but the issue of resisting special privileges brought up by them deserves serious attention." "/Some people/ felt that the author wrote with pain, anger and reflection," etc. One may ask the person who criticized the commentator for "bluff and bluster" whether all these "/some people/" did not also "form a kind of 'bluff and bluster,' as if many opposed the views of this commentator." Reading an article with one eye open and one eye closed, the writer of "Jottings" for WENYI BAO seemed a little too casual! We rather admire the style of the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator. He had the courage to present "/some people's/" viewpoints which were sharply opposed to his as well as those which were identical with or close to his own, and to express his own viewpoints. Isn't it a most fair and correct attitude of discussion? How could it be called "an intimidating attitude" of "bluff and bluster?"--When I come to this point, a thought comes to my mind: The sudden emergence of Wang Ruowang's "Jottings" without any factual basis alerts us to watch out for and combat the high-handed arrogance reflected by it! Such high-handedness disregarding facts and reason is an extremely harmful pollution of the fresh air of literature and detrimental to the party's literary enterprise.

In addition, to "prove" the crime of "bluff and bluster" committed by CONTEMPORARY REPORT, Comrade Wang Ruowang carefully "selected" and quoted "five sentences in the first part" (actually it was one sentence) of the commentator's article, in order to elaborate on his "Jottings." The sentence in question is: "Just when some comrades in literature sincerely proposed that literature is not a tool of the class struggle, 'in the Files of Society' (film script) and 'Flying to the Heavens' emerged successively--such works are like uninvited teachers, volunteering to participate in the 'discussion on the relationship between literature and politics!'"

Light and smooth, witty and descriptive, and avoiding platitude, the sentence, which opened the article, was well-written and afforded much food for thought. Nevertheless, for reasons unknown, Comrade Wang Ruowang was extremely annoyed by "the above-mentioned five sentences," and found that CONTEMPORARY REPORT, by these words, "triumphantly declared: Literature is inevitably a tool of the class struggle; literature must serve politics!" He rendered his judgment: "Anyone having a little knowledge of logical reasoning, a little knowledge of literature, can point out the arbitrariness and malignance of the above five sentences!" Wrong! Comrade Wang Ruowang, the words on "arbitrariness and malignance" in your "Jottings" precisely proved your extraordinary "arbitrariness and malignance!" Is it conceivable that, by citing "Files" and "Flying to the Heavens" as illustrations, the commentator triumphantly declared that "literature is inevitably a tool of the class struggle; literature must serve politics?" Wrong. Are the "illustrations" limited to "Files"and "Flying to the Heavens" which the commentator had come across? Does it mean that there should be an endless list of books as "illustrations?" Rudimentarily speaking, it was excellent that CONTEMPORARY REPORT cited several new typical "illustrations" showing that "literature cannot be separated from politics." Furthermore, precisely as stated by Comrade Wang Ruowang, "the spokesman of a publication may frankly express different viewpoints." Then, isn't it strange that the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator alone is not permitted to "frankly express different viewpoints?" And the moment he did so, it became "arbitrariness and malignance." Just whose "law" was Wang Ruowang upholding and just what was the reason?

Was Comrade Wang Ruowang's impressive "Jottings" a "lecture" and a "lesson" to one commentator? No. He was "lecturing" "/a group of people/, a contingent:" "This commentator... actually represents /a group of people./ Indifferent to the deterioration of China's Great Wall, these comrades, the moment they hear that there is something wrong with a certain work, they flock to it like ducks to join the nitpickers and condemn the field of literature as utterly hopeless." Just because the CONTEMPORARY REPORT commentator frankly expressed a somewhat different view on "Files," he was accused by Comrade Wang Ruowang, by "logical reasoning," for representing "/a group of people,/ a contingent," actually "waging a class struggle" ferociously. Wasn't this intolerable "arbitrariness and malignance?"--Was this the warm breeze of the springtime of literature, or a small gust of ill wind?

Such "jottings" can be put aside! We advice Comrade Wang Ruowang to study, at his leisure and convenience, his own "jottings" to determine whether, besides the impressive "bluff and bluster," it has any truth in it!

The truculent literary "jottings" represented by Comrade Wang Ruowang have indeed made clear the nature of the debate launched by them. At the same time, they have also unequivocally explained the kind of method and pattern of "courage and skill in contending." Here I wish to send word to the writer of "Do Not Bluff and Bluster:" We will carefully study and discuss your comment and, besides answering your arguments, we will carefully determine just who is "bluffing and blustering," and not just "bluffing and blustering" either!"

Revised 7 December 1980, Wuhan.

6080
CSO: 4005/889

BRIEFS

YUNNAN DELEGATION IN NEI MONGGOL--The Mongolian delegation from Tonghai County, Yunnan Province, held a farewell forum on 17 September to express its thanks to the Regional CCP Committee and government for their warm welcome. Ting Mao, second secretary of the Regional CCP Committee and Kui Bi, chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee, attended the forum. Ting Mao addressed the forum. He expressed hope that the Mongolian people living in border areas will strengthen unity between nationalities and make new contributions to safeguarding and building the frontier. [SK210442 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Sep 81]

NEI MONGGOL BANNER CELEBRATION--Wang Duo, permanent secretary of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CCP Committee, led a regional party and government delegation to (Alihe) today to participate in the celebrations for the 30th founding anniversary of Oroqen autonomous banner, which falls on 1 October. Deputy leaders of the delegation are Chen Bingyu, vice chairman of the regional government, and (Zhao Yuping), deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the Regional CCP Committee and vice chairman of the Regional Nationality Affairs Committee. Members were Wang Haishan, vice chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee; (Man-du-hu), deputy secretary general of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee; (Men De), deputy director of the general office of the regional government; (Jin Jiudou), deputy director of the Regional Public Health Office; and (Bao-yin-da-lai), deputy director of the Regional Culture Bureau. Bu He, secretary of the Hohhot Municipal CCP Committee and municipal deputy mayor, also joined the delegation. A literary and art troupe and a medical subordinate to the delegation will give performances and provide medical services at communes of the banner after the celebration activities. [SK260824 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/2

DENG CRITICIZED FOR PLA CADRES PURGE

OW201138 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 19 Sep 81

[Text] Serious problems exist in training the army air defense units, air force units and other units with airlift capabilities and in furnishing these units with military equipment. Inevitable and serious consequences will follow if no effective measures are taken to solve such problems within a short period and if Comrade Deng Xiaoping continues to show prejudice against the broad masses of air force and naval cadres because of the Lin Biao incident.

Recently Huang Zhicheng, an examining officer of the KMT Air Force, crossed over with a fighter and landed at a certain airport on the Fujian front of his own will. This event had shocked many comrades particularly the leading comrades of the air defense units, the air force units under the Fuzhou Military Command, the general staff headquarters and the Military Commission. They openly expressed doubts about the existing military line, and held that it is necessary to make self-criticism on the erroneous policies pursued by the air force, the navy, the Nanjing Military Command and the Guangzhou Military Command in the past few years.

It should be realized that Huang Zhicheng's landing at the Fujian airport of his own will is not a simple incident. According to Huang Zhicheng, he entered China's territorial airspace twice before he finally landed. However, he did not see any plane trying to intercept him. In fact, our radar stations did not discover him in time. Even if his plane had been discovered, there was no way that this kind of aircraft could have been intercepted. However, the F-5F fighter with which Huang Zhicheng crossed over was not the most advanced aircraft. The FX fighters which the United States is going to sell to Taiwan, the F-16 fighters in Japan and South Korea as well as the Mig-25 fighters in Vietnam are better and more powerful than the F-5F fighters. From this, we are able to judge our air defense capabilities.

However, what we fail to understand is that in less than 3 months after the closing of the Sixth Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, some person in the Military Commission has already defied the resolution adopted at the plenary session about seeking truth from facts, saying: The equipment and the training of the PLA air force units and the air defense units are not so good, because during the chaotic decade, we had concentrated our main efforts on the development of political movements. We had also put forward many unrealistic slogans on building and training the naval and air force units and taken a roundabout course.

Needless to say, these remarks will never be able to solve the real problems in the PLA units. We would like to raise one question: Following the overthrow of the gang of four, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had actually taken charge of the work in the Military Commission for so many years. Shouldn't he be held responsible for anything at all? It is known to all that after rigging up the Lin Biao incident, the gang of four had ruthlessly persecuted the principal leading cadres of our armed forces, especially those in the navy and air force. Instead of redressing this most serious unjust case in the history of our armed forces, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made use of this historical issue to purge army cadres three times, subjecting our air force and naval cadres, the Nanjing PLA units, the Guangzhou PLA units and the Fuzhou PLA units to the most barbarous persecution. Even now, all such cadres are unable to completely recover from their shocking experience. Therefore, in order to formulate a correct and feasible principle in army building, it is necessary to conscientiously make self-criticisms of our past erroneous principles and line and sum up our experience in the past.

CSO: 4005/3

BRIEFS

SHANDONG ANTI-AIRCRAFT PRACTICE--The Shandong Provincial Military District recently organized the Shengli oilfield, Zibo Municipality, the (Julu) Petrochemical Company and a militia anti-aircraft regiment in Weifang Municipality to conduct an anti-aircraft firing practice with live ammunition at the shooting range of an anti-aircraft regiment under the Jinan PLA units. Zhao Feng, commander of the provincial military district, participated in the practice to give instructions. With the cooperation of naval air units, they conducted four firing practices in 2 weeks with flying colors. [SK220504 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Sep 81]

WUHAN PLA CADRES--Wuhan, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--The Wuhan PLA units are paying attention to selecting and training middle-age and young cadres. In 1981 more than 220 middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted to principal leading positions at corps, division and regimental levels. Prior to promotion most of them were given an opportunity to pursue 1-year advanced training programs at military schools. [OW231453 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0715 GMT 22 Sep 81]

YUNNAN COMFORT GROUP--Led by Meng Qi, group leader and vice governor, the Yunnan Provincial Comfort Group arrived in (Luojiaping) in Malipo County on 21 August to comfort the commanders and fighters of a certain border defense PLA unit. The commander of the Fifth Company of the PLA unit introduced the situation of their struggle against the enemies to the comrades of the group. On behalf of the masses of all nationalities throughout the province, Meng Qi thanked the border defense PLA commanders and fighters for defending the motherland. The group comprised (Zhu Youling), advisor of the Yunnan Military District; (Gu Quanming), deputy secretary general of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee; and (Deng Xiaofeng), vice chairman of the Provincial Federation of Trade Unions. [HK221455 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Aug 81]

CSO: 4005/3

NEW RULES ON PLANNED PARENTHOOD TAKE EFFECT IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 81 p 3

[Article: "Shanghai Municipality Enforces Certain Rules for Planned Parenthood"]

[Text] To keep the population increase in line with the development of the national economy, to accelerate our socialist modernization, and to raise the material and cultural living standard of our people, the following rules are stipulated especially for the actual conditions of Shanghai and on the basis of the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" Article 53 that "The state advocates and pursues planned parenthood" and the "Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China" Article 5 that "Late marriage and parenthood should be encouraged" and Article 12 that "Both the husband and the wife have the duty to practice planned parenthood."

Article 1: The basic requirement of planned parenthood is: late marriage, late parenthood, fewer and better children, and only one child per couple. Ideological education should be the principal means, to be assisted with necessary economic and administrative measures.

Article 2: Ages for first marriage: In urban areas, men above 27 and women above 25; in suburban counties (including rural towns), men above 25 and women above 23, an additional week of leave for the wedding.

Article 3: For urban women over 25 and suburban county women over 23 when they give birth to a first child (including the first birth by remarried couples without children), an additional maternity leave of 15 days, wages to be paid and workpoints recorded as usual.

Article 4: A couple to have only one child, and to pledge not to have another. Before a child reaches 16, its parents may apply jointly for an "only child certificate" with the approval of the prefecture and county office of planned parenthood. The holder of this certificate is entitled to the following benefits:

1. The only child will receive a monthly allowance of 5 yuan until age 16. This sum is to be paid in equal shares by the two units of its father and mother.

2. The only child has the priority to be taken care of by a nursery or a kindergarten, generally to be paid by the unit of the mother, and will receive free education from elementary school until graduation from senior middle school.

3. When a couple holding an "only child certificate" retires from old age, as workers they will receive an additional pension at 5 percent of their original wages, but the total amount of the pension should not exceed their wages; as rural commune members who have lost their working ability on account of old age, they will receive monthly a certain sum of living allowance in addition to the welfare benefits which they are entitled to at their units.

4. In case a worker has real difficulty in coming back to work after her maternity leave, after she has obtained an "only child certificate," she may apply for and receive, with the approval of the higher-level department, a tentative prolonged leave of absence which, together with her official maternity leave, should not exceed the maximum of 1 year, within which period she will receive 80 percent of her usual wage.

For workers and temporary workers, the above expenses should be paid from the welfare funds of the units concerned; for rural commune members, the above expenses should be paid from the public welfare funds of the units concerned, the production brigade or commune should subsidize units of real difficulty, and the local treasury should subsidize the production brigade or the commune that also have real difficulty. When both the husband and his wife are urban residents waiting for employment, the above expenses should be paid from funds for planned parenthood. Expenses of free education for an only child should be treated as an expenditure of the local treasury's education fund in Shanghai.

Article 5: When a couple holding an "only child certificate" gives birth to a second child, they should surrender the "only child certificate," forfeit all privileges under the certificate, and pay back all material benefits received previously by deducting a part of their wages.

Article 6: When either the husband or his wife receives the operation for sterilization after the couple has given birth to the first child, they will receive an allowance of 30 yuan for nourishment, the payment is made in the same way as Article 4.

Article 7: When a married couple takes a leave of absence to undergo a sterilization operation and spends time for recuperation at the hospital, they will be treated as on public vacation, wages will be paid as usual, workpoints will be recorded as usual, and the assessment of their bonus will not be affected.

Article 8: When a married couple has no child for life, or when they have not given birth to another child after the death of their only child and have not adopted any child, on retirement either the husband or his wife may submit an application which will be examined and approved by his or her organization so that a worker can receive an additional pension at 10 percent of his or her original wage, which together with the original pension should not exceed the amount of his or her wage. In case of married rural commune members having no child for life, when they have lost their ability to work on account of old age, they will be paid a certain monthly allowance for living in addition to the welfare benefits which they are entitled to according to the regulations of their units.

Article 9: When an urban family with an only child, which has obtained an "only child certificate," asks for housing facility, the family will receive the same treatment as a family with two children.

Article 10: When rural villages regulate private plots and arrange foundation land for building houses, a family with an only child will be treated as a family with two children. After the enforcement of this rule, overproductive families with many children will not receive additional private plots and land for housing.

When rural commune and brigade enterprises recruit workers, under equal conditions the priority of employment should be given to families with an only child.

Article 11: The birth of a second child should be placed under strict control. Under one of the following circumstances, and with the approval of the prefecture and county office of planned parenthood, it may be arranged in a planned way to give birth to a second child:

1. The first child has a nonhereditary deformity, and cannot grow up to be a normal able-bodied worker.

2. The family of a remarried couple (including one of remarriage and the other of first marriage) has originally only one child.

3. A couple was found to be sterile by the prefecture and county hospital, and the wife becomes pregnant after they have adopted a child with the approval of concerned departments.

Under the first and second circumstances, the birth of the second child should take place generally over 4 years after the birth of the first child.

Article 12: When a second child is born not under the program of planned parenthood, the mother should pay her own hospital expenses and all medical expenses during her maternity leave, and cannot enjoy the benefits of usual wages and workpoints during her maternity leave. For a child born in excess of planned parenthood, the parents must pay the nursery fees and medical expenses (cooperative medical care) before the child gets a job. In rural communes and production brigades which have no such welfare benefits, a deduction at 10 percent of the total income of the parents should be made in 3 consecutive years.

Article 13: When a couple gives birth to a third or more extra child, they pay their own hospital expenses and medical expenses during the maternity leave, and cannot enjoy the benefits of usual wages and workpoints during the mother's maternity leave. They must pay their extra child's nursery fees and medical expenses (cooperative medical care) before the child gets a job. From the month of the extra child's birth to the time when the child reaches 16, both parents should pay an "extra child fee" at 10 percent of their respective income from wages or labor workpoints. If the parents are workers, their units should collect this fee each month for use as the units' welfare fund. If the parents are rural commune members, their units collect this fee from the year-end distribution for use as public welfare fund.

Article 14: If a woman becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child without the registration of her marriage, she pays all her medical expenses and cannot enjoy the benefits of usual wages and workpoints during her maternity leave.

Article 15: All units and individuals (scientific research personnel, medical personnel, full-time personnel, and activists at the grass-roots) with marked achievements in the work of planned parenthood should be commended and given awards. Medical personnel who have performed over 1,000 sterilization operations in succession without mishaps should be given a money award, to be paid from funds for planned parenthood.

Article 16: When all departments concerned stipulate their rules and regulations, they should facilitate the work of planned parenthood, and given benefits to families with an only child.

Article 17: Those who have committed actions of undermining planned parenthood should be criticized and educated or be punished according to administrative discipline. In abominable cases which have caused serious consequences, the offenders should be called upon to take the responsibility according to the law.

Article 18: The Shanghai Municipality's leading group for planned parenthood office will stipulate detailed regulations for the implementation of the above rules.

Article 19: The above rules become effective from the date of announcement. From the date of the announcement of the above rules, the former "Certain Rules on the Enforcement of Planned Parenthood" of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee will be ineffective.

Article 20: When the above rules are in conflict with the rules notified by the state concerning planned parenthood, the rules of the state will be taken as the standard.

28 July 1981

9039
CSO: 4005/850

GUANGDONG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLES PERSONNEL

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "The State Council Approves the Appointment of 43 Working Personnel of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government"]

[Text] According to the provisions of the "Law of the Organization of Local People's Congresses of All Levels and Local People's Governments of All Levels," the State Council has recently approved the appointment of 43 working personnel of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government, which was passed by the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress. The list of names is as follows:

Wu Nansheng [0702 0589 3932] as chairman of the Provincial Special Economic Area Administrative Commission

Yang Zhen [2799 7201] as chairman of the Provincial Planning Commission

Wang Huan [3769 3562] as chairman of the Provincial Economic Commission

Zeng Dingshi [2582 1353 4258] as chairman (concurrent) of the Provincial Committee of Economic Work with Foreign Countries

Ye Xuanping [5509 6693 1627] as chairman (concurrent) of the Provincial Science and Technology Commission

Chen Yuangao [7115 6678 7559] as chairman of the Provincial Committee of Physical Culture and Sports

Huang Kang [7806 1660] as chairman of the Provincial Committee of Nationalities Affairs

Hu Guangen [5170 1684 1869] as chief of the Finance and Trade Office of the Provincial People's Government

Li Chao [2621 6389] as chief of the Culture and Education Office of the Provincial People's Government

Wei Ji [7614 7535] as chief of the Provincial Office of National Defense Industry

Li Mouxuan [2621 5399 5503] as director of the Provincial Department of Civil Affairs

Wang Ning [3769 1380] as director (concurrent) of the Provincial Department of Public Security

Ma Fang [7456 5364] as director of the Provincial Department of Justice

Lu Yisan [7773 4135 0005] as director of the Provincial Department of Commerce

Gu Jie [7357 2638] as director of the Provincial Grain Department

Sun Yi [1327 3015] as director of the Provincial Department of Machine Building

Cao Jie [2580 2638] as director of the Provincial Department of Metallurgical Industry

Qin Defu [4440 1795 1133] as director of the Provincial Department of Coal Industry

He Shiyong [0149 0013 1661] as director of the Provincial Department of Petrochemical Industry

Wang Yaning [3769 0068 1380] as director of the Provincial First Department of Light Industry

Li Mu [2621 3668] as director of the Provincial Department of Communications

Qu Diankui [2575 3013 7608] as director of the Provincial Department of Agriculture

Yang Zijiang [2799 1311 3068] as director of the Provincial Department of Education

Zhang Qin [1728 0530] as director of the Provincial Department of Public Health

Li Cheng [2621 6134] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Goods and Materials

Wu Zhengzhi [2976 2973 0037] as director of the Provincial Seismological Bureau

Lin Chuan [2651 1557] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Higher Education

Huang Wenyu [7806 2429 0205] as director of the Provincial Administrative Bureau of Publications

Liao Wei [1675 0251] as the director of the Provincial Bureau of Urban Construction

Wang Biting [3769 1732 1656] as director of the Provincial Administrative Bureau of People's Communes' Enterprises

Liu Tieping [0491 6993 1627] as director of the Provincial Meteorological Bureau

Zhou Kai [0719 0418] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Building Materials Industry

Luo Ting [5012 2185] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Surveying and Cartography

Jin Yang [6855 7122] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Environmental Protection

Tian Yumin [3944 5148 3046] as director of the Provincial Administrative Bureau of Medicine

Feng Xueyan [7458 1331 1750] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Foreign Trade

Liu Yin [0491 0936] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Building Construction

Guo Ling [6753 0407] as director of the Provincial Statistical Bureau

Cheng Li [4453 6849] (female) as director of the Provincial Labor Bureau

Ye Wobo [5509 5257 3134] as director of the Provincial Bureau of Electronic Industry

Xie Yongkuan [6200 3057 1401] as director of the Provincial Department of Aquatic Products

Hou Cailing [0186 6846 5376] as director of the Provincial Department of Agricultural Machinery

Wei Linji [7614 7792 1015] as director of the Provincial Department of Water Conservancy and Electric Power

9039
CSO: 4005/850

SHANDONG PROVINCE MAKES PREPARATION FOR CENSUS WORK

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "To Strengthen Leadership and Make Good Preparation for the Census"]

[Text] Recently an on-the-spot meeting for the provincial third census was held in Jining City.

At the meeting, the members of the provincial census leading group, the leaders of census leading groups of various prefectures, cities and counties, and the responsible comrades of public security, statistics and concerned departments earnestly studied the documents of the Party Central Committee and the State Council concerning the census, heard reports from the experimental points in Jining City and Jining County, made an on-the-spot inspection of the census registration work in Jining City, and discussed the views on making arrangements for the census work in our province.

The meeting drew up plans for the preparation of the census work in the whole province. All counties and cities are required to set up experimental points in the first quarter of next year, to prepare necessary goods and material in May and June and carry out activities of propaganda, and to start the work of the census on 1 July according to the standard time for the census as specified for the entire country.

The meeting held that we can do a good job of census-taking by accomplishing the following work: (1) Setting up a strong commanding organ with a working group. Census leading groups of various levels should be organized by responsible comrades of concerned departments, with leading comrades of party committees and governments as group leaders and deputy leaders. Under the unified planning of the census leading groups of various levels, all concerned departments of public security, civil administration, grain, labor and birth control must take an active part, work in close coordination, and make a concerted effort. (2) We must earnestly do well the work of checking up and consolidating the registration of households and population to lay a good foundation for the census. All prefectures, cities and counties must do well the work of setting up experimental census points level by level, organize and train working personnel, gain some experience, and create favorable conditions for the formal general census. (3) We must carry out energetically the work of propaganda, explain in many ways the significance of the census, and make it known to every household. (4) We must prepare necessary goods and material for census work by adhering to the principle of diligence and frugality and practicing economy to get more done on less money.

9039
CSO: 4005/850

NINGXIA HUI AUTONOMOUS REGION STRENGTHENS POPULATION REGISTRATION

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Autonomous Region People's Government Calls Regional Meeting To Strengthen Population Registration and To Establish or Improve Household Administrative System"]

[Text] Recently, the Ningxia Autonomous Region People's Government held in Yinchuan a regional conference on strengthening the work of population and household registration. The meeting earnestly studied the instructions from the Party Central Committee and the State Council concerning the upcoming census and the reorganization of the work of population and household registration, and discussed and planned ways of strengthening the work of registration in the entire autonomous region.

More than 70 people attended this meeting, including the responsible persons of census leading groups of the region's prefectures, cities and counties (wards), the department of public security and other departments.

The meeting held that the registration of the number of households and total population is an important administrative system of the state, which plays an important role in building socialism, maintaining social order and safeguarding the rights and interests of the citizens. However, the 10-year turmoil had seriously undermined the work of household administration, created a lot of confusion in the administration, not only impaired social order and the accuracy of population statistics, but also brought about very great difficulties to the third national census. Therefore, it is exceedingly necessary to check on the population registration and establish or improve a regular household administrative system.

The meeting stressed that checking up on the registration of households and population is a very extensive, complex and difficult work of the national policy, which involves thousands upon thousands of families and households as well as all quarters of society, and is related to the close interests of the broad masses of the people. Therefore, it can be accomplished only by mobilizing and organizing the forces of all quarters under the unified leadership of the party committees and governments [at all levels]. All citizens, especially leading cadres of all levels and members of the Communist Party, should show concern for and give support to this work, and observe strictly the related stipulations of the "Regulations for Household Registration." Those few who violated the system of household registration should be urged to rectify their mistake, and each case should be handled appropriately according to the degree of seriousness. Those who have committed felonies by perverting justice for a bribe should be dealt with seriously by finding out the facts for final prosecution.

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CSO: 4005/850

BRIEFS

JIANGSU EDUCATION--The Jiangsu Provincial People's Government recently issued a circular on classes for paying students established by some universities and colleges. The circular points out that some universities and colleges in the province are still planning to run such classes for the children of their own faculty members who have failed to pass entrance examinations. The circular calls on universities and colleges to discontinue these classes and not to open new ones. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Sep 81]

LIAONING OVERSEAS CHINESE GATHERING--The Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Liaoning Provincial People's Government, the Returned Overseas Federation and the Overseas Chinese Work Group under the Provincial CPPCC Committee held a gathering in Shenyang on 27 September to mark the 32nd National Day. Attending the gathering were some 1,000 persons, including responsible comrades of departments concerned and representatives of returned overseas Chinese and their dependents. The provincial branch of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League and the China Democratic National Construction Association also held a joint art and literary reception on 27 September to mark National Day. [SK281114 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 81]

GUANGDONG FORUM ON 1911 REVOLUTION--The Guangdong Provincial Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee held an academic forum in Guangzhou on 19 September to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. The 30 participants included history workers, professors and former high-ranking officers of the Kuomintang. In connection with their personal experiences and fruits of research, they held serious discussions on the great historic significance of the 1911 revolution and the tremendous merits of Sun Yat-sen in leading it. They pointed out: Mr Sun Yat-sen's testament. The Taiwan authorities must move with the tide of history, effect KMT-CCP cooperation for the third time, and follow the broad and brilliant road of peaceful reunification of the motherland. This is the only way out. [Text] [HK210638 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 20 Sep 81]

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 224

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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 224

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PARTY AND STATE

CORRECT PRACTICE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM REVIVED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 81 p 1

[Editorial: "We Must Conscientiously Carry Out Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] The practice of earnest criticism and self-criticism is our finest tradition, it is one of the remarkable features that distinguishes our party from all other political parties. During the long term revolutionary struggle, the reason our party was able to endure hardships and dangers and to achieve victories was due to the fact that the practice of criticism and self-criticism was regarded as the party's best weapon for remolding themselves, thus preserving the party's progress and the soundness of the leadership. In the decade of internal unrest, this traditional work style of the party was seriously undermined and is just now being revived and carried forward. In his speech at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The contradictions between proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology, and between correct and erroneous thinking within our party, require that we make more effective use of the best weapon Communists have for remolding themselves, namely, the practice of criticism and self-criticism." Clearly, only if we take up this weapon in earnest and constantly cleanse ourselves of impurities can we keep our revolutionary spirit young.

It is worth keeping in mind that at the present time, the negative influences of the decade of internal disorder are still a grave problem for a number of comrades. They still have a confused understanding and erroneous views concerning the regular practice of criticism and self-criticism within the party. Indeed, their vulgar practice of "keeping on good terms with everyone" is of some concern. For example, some know perfectly well this is wrong but, thinking it is best to say little, adopt a liberal attitude toward erroneous tendencies; others believe in the philosophy of "seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle," in burning more joss sticks, in zealous kowtowing and in cultivating more flowers and fewer thorns; still others, even though they practice some criticism, they do so in a perfunctory manner, keeping silent about major charges while admitting minor ones. In particular, it should be stressed that some people have denounced the normal practice of criticism as a "bludgeon" and will not let others criticize their errors and shortcomings; others think that upholding stability and unity is incompatible with the practice of criticism and self-criticism and therefore reject and deny criticism and self-criticism. In the ideological and cultural sphere there is a tiny minority opposed to criticism and self-criticism who essentially want to get out from under the leadership of the party, to break away from the path of socialism and to engage in bourgeois liberalization. These erroneous tendencies are extremely destructive in that the elimination of the powerful Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism leads to the breakdown of discipline, the disruption of popular support and the spread of evil trends and noxious influences. In short, it basically runs counter to the interests of the party and the people. We must clearly define right and wrong and deepen their understanding.

Why do some people speak of others' criticism as a "bludgeon"? The reasons are many-sided. Among these comrades the majority are unable to discern the dividing line between criticism and a "bludgeon." For a long time Lin Biao and the "gang of four," under the pretext of criticism, carried out bludgeonings to usurp the party and seize power. They ruthlessly attacked and injured the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and vast numbers of cadres and people. This type of evil influence made many comrades fearful of criticism, they saw criticism as a "bludgeon." Although this is understandable, it is, nevertheless, mistaken. There is still a small group of people who either present various problems or have rigid ways of thinking: they still persist in supporting the mistaken stand of the two "whatevers," which is incompatible with the party line and general and specific policies, or they have been influenced by bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies. They have deviated from the party's four fundamental principles and have engaged in bourgeois liberalism etc., therefore they fear and oppose being criticized by others. They frequently denounce criticism as a "bludgeon" and furthermore seize on some small point to counterattack. Obviously they have made "No Bludgeoning Allowed" an excuse to oppose becoming the object of criticism, it acts as a shield to protect their own errors. This lets them bring charges against others but does not allow others to criticize them. This clearly is even more erroneous, it is also extermely dangerous. It should again be mentioned at this point that carrying out criticism and self-criticism is part of the normal practice of democracy. Those who engage in criticism must strive to be fair and just. Those comrades who are the objects of criticism should not demand that others be 100 percent accurate, rather, they ought to adopt the approach of "correcting mistakes if you have made any and guarding against them if you have not." Even if the criticism is not sufficiently pertinent or apropos and may even be wrong, they still should not condemn it at the slightest provocation as a "bludgeon." It is difficult for anyone to avoid committing errors. This is not too worrisome, what is worse is concealing one's faults for fear of criticism, refuting criticism and not rectifying one's mistakes. We should keep the instructions of Chairman Mao firmly in mind: "Chinese Communists, taking the interests of China's broad masses as their starting point, believe that their cause is entirely just, they do not hesitate to sacrifice their all. They are ready at all times to offer their lives for our cause. Could it be that they are still those reluctant to discard ideologies, views, opinions, and methods that do not conform to the demands of the people?"

To think of the practice of criticism as being incompatible with the preservation of stability and unity is a mistaken metephysical concept. The state of stability and unity is not easily attained, we must treasure it dearly and resolutely safeguard it. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee called on the whole party, the whole army and all nationalities throughout the country to raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to rally closely around the Party Central Committee, to continue displaying the spirit of "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved the Mountain," to make resolutions to overcome all difficulties, to exert themselves in the struggle to gradually build our nation into a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized, powerful socialist country. We must respond to this call and, uniting as one to look forward, concentrate our energy on carrying out the four modernizations. It should be stressed that the four fundamental principles constitute the common political basis for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the entire people. If we fail to criticize and put an end to opinions and deeds that violate and oppose the four fundamental principles, it will shake the foundations of this unity. How could this unity be consolidated then? Comrade Mao Zedong summed up a well-known formula for solving contradictions among the people, that is, to start from the desire for unity, undergo criticism or struggle, then arrive at a new unity on a new basis. Put more succinctly: unity--criticism--unity. From this it can be seen that unity and criticism are mutually supplementary and mutually complementary; they are linked closely together. The entire history of the party and countless facts all show beyond all dispute that if we do not start from the desire for unity and do not stress the goal of unity, we will be unable to engage in correct criticism. If we do not have well-founded criticism and self-criticism we will not be able to achieve true unity. At present, because we must safeguard stability and unity, we must carry out the necessary criticism against certain erroneous tendencies that run counter to the four fundamental principles and criticize other incorrect ideologies and work styles.

At the present time there exist all sorts of incorrect tendencies within the party and in society, particularly in the ideological and cultural sphere. We should make a concrete analysis of each different situation. However, the major problem at this time is the ideological state of party organizations at all levels. It should be noted that when confronted with all the various incorrect ideological trends and tendencies that violated the four fundamental principles, a number of party organizations did not seriously promote criticism or actively wage a struggle. Rather, they found themselves weak and powerless, in a state of disunity. If we do not date to criticize and struggle against incorrect ideas and tendencies, what kind of fighting force are we? Party organizations at all levels must take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism which means taking a clear-cut stand in the face of erroneous tendencies and carrying out criticism in a bold manner. We absolutely must not be weak and powerless, letting things go unchecked. Of course, leading comrades at all levels should be strict with themselves and have the courage to criticize themselves and accept the criticism of others. As our forefathers put it: "when others pointed out his faults, he was pleased," "to hate excellent wine yet love good words" and "everyday I examine three aspects of my character." A person who can only criticize others and can't criticize himself does not make a good leader either.

"The Resolution On Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" which was passed unanimously by the 6th Plenary Session, established a way of realistically evaluating merits and mistakes, rights and wrongs, and set a glorious model for carrying out criticism and self-criticism. Today it is not only imperative, but also a prerequisite that we develop and broaden the party's traditional style of criticism and self-criticism to an even greater degree than at any time in the past. In carrying out criticism we must start with reality. This means rectifying existing mistakes without hiding contradictions or magnifying them. Criticism should be well-reasoned and instructive so that it can help comrades raise their level of political awareness. It should not be based on speculation. We should pay attention to attitudes and methods and under no circumstances should we engage in excessive struggle. In sum, criticism and self-criticism must be carried out without exaggeration, the mistake of excessive struggle must be avoided at all costs. All this will ensure that our party is healthy through and through, that each CCP member will keep his revolutionary spirit forever young and that the party plays an even stronger leading role in the establishment of socialist modernization in our great country.

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CSO: 4005/888

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO CRITICIZE, ELIMINATE RIGHTIST, LEFTIST IDEOLOGIES STRESSED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by HUBEI RIBAO commentator: "The Weapon of Criticism Cannot Be Abandoned"]

[Text] Criticism, including self-criticism, is a powerful weapon for the people in resolving their contradictions and overcoming various erroneous ideologies and unhealthy tendencies. This theory, which has been verified by our party's practice during 60 years of struggle, is frequently mentioned in the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Comrade Mao Zedong. Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used "criticism" as a form of punishment, thus distorting its original meaning, its value as the party's heirloom will be appreciated by the people as soon as its positive aspects are distinguished from its negative aspects.

Ever since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were criticized for using criticism as a form of punishment against the cadres and masses, some people have demonstrated a lack of understanding of the vital significance of the development of criticism. They have failed to distinguish the correct form of criticism from the stick, thus treating the two things in much the same way. Some people are afraid to criticize others for fear of being accused of wielding the stick, while others who should be criticized have rejected criticism under the pretext of struggling against the "threat of the stick." There is another group of people who have expressed sympathy and support for those being criticized, without investigating whether the criticism is correct or not. This is indeed an unhealthy tendency. Although the factors leading to this tendency are numerous, it has resulted mainly from a lack of well-organized and strictly executed ideological work. Our leading bodies at all levels must first pick up the weapon of criticism in order to make their life more exciting. We are in a period of historical transformation. During this period, one newly emerging force after another has emerged, along with many healthy elements which are growing in strength. In the face of these forces, however, some erroneous ideas and ideologies and even reactionary forces have also reasserted themselves. This is something seemingly dictated by history—a point which has been verified by social practices since the party's Third Plenum. Although the party's line in calling for seeking truth from facts and emancipating the mind has been instrumental in bringing prosperity to our nation, some trends of thought which represent a departure from and are detrimental to the four basic principles have gained momentum in some localities. For example, some people have expressed doubts and misgivings about Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; a bourgeois laissez-faire tendency to depart from the party leadership and from socialist orientation on the literary and artistic front has appeared, along with ultraindividualism and anarchistic trends of thought. Some even have gone so far as to make reactionary statements. What attitude should we adopt toward these erroneous ideas and unhealthy tendencies? Whether we can criticize and struggle against them in a well-reasoned way is a matter of great importance to our endeavor to uphold the four basic principles and to unify the thinking of the entire party and all our countrymen behind the goal of the four modernizations, and it is a test of our party's militant power.

The reason that we must first emphasize the need to put the weapon of criticism to good use has to do with the current situation, in which our party's ideological work seems in disarray and is on the verge of steadily weakening. Doing so does not imply that we are no longer concerned with the method of criticism and its application. After setting forth the line and principles, our revolutionary teachers always gave prominent place to the study of tactical and strategic problems. Comrade Mao Zedong always graphically likened the study of methodological matters to seeking ways to cross a river, such as building a "bridge" or a "ship." Our emphasis on the need to pay attention to the method of criticism stems not only from the fact that the application of improper methods of criticism has produced results contrary to our intended objective, but also from the fact that some people who are unskilled in the application of the weapon of criticism still tend to put the "leftist" methods of the past to use in the course of criticism. As one example, some people suddenly became too noisy and too demogogic as distinguished from their earlier quiet attitude after being criticized for being too timid to make criticism. In this way, they have disrupted the orderly process of criticism and struggle. Certainly, attention must be paid to preventing the development of this situation. Without paying attention to the study of the method of criticism, we may repeat our past mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In an ideological struggle, which is unlike any other struggle, we can use only the meticulous method of reasoning and persuasion instead of crude coercion." We must remember this teaching. In the course of criticism, we must first seek truth from facts and strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. In the course of criticizing defective literary and artistic works, we must also put reasonable and appropriate methods to good use, emphasize good will, and put this good will in print. Only by emphasizing the good method of criticism can we develop criticism in a better way and bring the process of criticism to a successful conclusion. Under no circumstances should anyone be allowed to reject or avoid criticism.

What must be further pointed out is that efforts must be made to prevent one tendency from covering up another. In real life, some comrades have frequently applied metaphysical viewpoints and methods to observe and handle problems and have followed a radical approach to them. When rightists are criticized, they jump to the conclusion that the "leftist" view they hold is correct. They even used such a view to challenge rightist ideas. When "leftists" are criticized, they preach that the farther one moves to the right, the better. They have also applied a rightist stand in opposition to the "leftist" tendency. By repeating this process endlessly, they should be held responsible for failing to eliminate various erroneous ideologies and for sharpening the contradictions. Our principle is to seek truth from facts and to oppose both the "leftists" and the rightists whenever they assert themselves. In the course of struggle against the "leftists" or rightists, we must adopt the correct stand of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and display determination to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology on certain operations. At the same time, we must consider it necessary to criticize and even to struggle against the laissez-faire trend of thought prevailing in our society. When coming to grips with one end, we should never forget to grasp the other end. It is clear that if we fail to stand up solemnly to those erroneous trends of thought in our society today, and if they are allowed to spread, they will place our cause in jeopardy and will hand a victory to the proponents of the "leftists" ideology who would say: "We told you that this wasn't going to work and that it would get you in trouble!" In the course of eliminating laissez-faire trends of thought, if we fail to focus our attention on eradicating the remnant influences of "leftist" guiding ideology, bureaucracy, special privileges, and other unhealthy tendencies, we will find it difficult to get the job done.

Our leadership at all levels and Communist Party members on the ideological and other fronts must make every possible effort to learn to apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in our endeavor to achieve unity and improve our work.

9574
CSO: 4005/899

CONSIDERATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES SAID IMPORTANT IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Wang Guiwu [3769 2710 0063]: "Law Enforcement Must Consider the General Situation"]

[Text] A short time ago, the Political and Judicial Work Committee of the Central Committee called a working conference on public security work at five large cities, which were Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hankou, to discuss and determine some principles and policies in current public security work. This was followed by the standing committee of the National People's Congress passing three statutory decrees, one of them being a "Resolution on the Treatment of Escapees From Corrective Labor, Repeat Offenders and Reeducation Personnel." The correctness and the impact of these principles, policies and legal provisions have already become evident in actual practice; the number of criminal cases has gone down and public security is much improved.

This stage of our struggle for the consolidation of public security again shows up the importance of strengthening the party's leadership in political and judicial work. Strengthening the leadership of the party can effectively guarantee the implementation of the law. During this period, mobilization of the masses, carried out under the leadership of the party committees at all levels and implementation of the "Resolution on the Treatment of Escapees From Corrective Labor, Repeat Offenders and Reeducation Personnel" induced many escapees from corrective labor and reeducation personnel to return voluntarily to the reform institutions, which is a vivid illustration of the effectiveness of the policies.

An important aspect of the party's leadership in political and judicial work is to put forward correct principles and policies according to the needs that the present situation of our struggle demands and to direct and guide the struggle at every stage. The five-city public security conference put forward different policies, based on the prevailing situation and aimed at the different conditions of the criminal cases. In cases of murder, arson, robbery, rape, crimes committed with explosives and other serious flagrant crimes, our policy shall be one of severity and prompt punishment carried out according to law, taking vigorous action to counter the blatant insolence of the criminals. Toward young people who have committed light offences our policy is one of emphasizing education, reform by persuasion and redeeming these persons, the way that parents treat their sick children, care for them and nurse them, thus striving to get most of them to reform themselves and become useful elements in our work of the four modernizations. Since these policies were put forward on the basis of actual conditions, they played an effective role in law enforcement and in the appropriate handling of criminal cases, striking hard in a small number of cases and using education in the majority of cases.

In determining policies and laws, one must start out from the actual conditions, and in enforcing policies and laws one must also start out from the actual conditions. The so-called actual conditions are of two kinds, one is the concrete circumstances of the cases and one is the situation of the struggle at a particular time. The facts are the basis, the law is the guideline. In dealing with criminal cases, we must first of all clarify the concrete facts of the crime and the circumstances of the case, but we must simultaneously consider the needs that our current struggle demands. Within the sphere of our laws, we must handle urgent cases with urgency and deal slowly with cases that deserve slow handling, deal harshly with serious cases and deal leniently with light cases. We must never deal with cases behind closed doors and disregard the overall situation. The conditions of our struggle at a certain time do not determine culpability, but they are necessary preconditions to decide whether to punish severely or leniently. We know that the basis for measuring out lighter or heavier penalties is the degree of harmfulness to society, and the degree of harmfulness to society is not only decided by the sum total of all the various elements constituting the crime of a case, but is also influenced by extraneous conditions. Fabricating and spreading rumors during times of war and thereby disturbing the minds of our soldiers is in its harmfulness greater than doing the same in peacetime. Engaging in speculation and profiteering and driving up prices when the market is short of supplies and commodity prices tend to go up is in its harmfulness to society greater than doing the same when commodity prices are stable. Waylaying women and committing rape at times when conditions of public security are bad and have deteriorated so that a woman cannot venture out alone at night, is in its harmfulness to society greater than the same action under normal conditions. Since the harmfulness to society differs, the penalty for a crime must of course be measured out differently; it cannot be the same everytime and in every situation. Consequently, to punish criminals caught in the act of a serious crime severely and speedily is not only a need in view of the situation of our struggle at the time, but also a demand of the law itself.

The firm stability of the law can under certain conditions combine with an adaptability of the law. Our country's criminal law contains a rather wide range of various penalties. On the one hand this is out of consideration for the fact that cases differ in a thousand ways, so that there is now not one penalty that has not some latitude to be rendered lighter or more severe. On the other hand this is because of the necessity to adapt it to the different needs of our struggle under different circumstances. It is precisely because the law is endowed with this adaptability to varying circumstances and different cases that it can preserve its stability and vitality.

The reason why many comrades differ on the question of relating enforcement of the law with the circumstances of the cases is that they feel anxious lest the mistakes of the past, the "follow closely the situation," "coordinate with the movement," and the broadening of the area of attack may reoccur. Actually, that is a misunderstanding due to an insufficient clarification of the facts of the problem. The reason why the mistake of overextending the class struggle could have occurred in the past and why unjust, wrong and false chages have been made was that the situation of the class struggle was assessed contrary to the objective reality and that a political movement was launched for subjective and man-made reasons without objective foundation; it was merely the result of blind and foolhardy concepts. That "situation" everybody was to "follow closely" in the past was in actual fact only a lopsided assessment, or even only a subjective fictitious fabrication, which, objectively, did not exist at all or did not basically exist. Conducting work according to this kind of lopsided or fictitious assessment and furthermore demanding a "close following" will of course lead to mistakes. At present our party's political line has already returned to the correct path of Marxism, and the Central Committee of the party, with its objective assessment of the public security situation, has set forth correct principles and policies to guide our struggle for a rectification of our public security. This is not only vastly different from the mistaken measures of the past, but also a result from our efforts in general to bring order out of chaos.

In this context we also have to discuss briefly the relationship between the enforcement of the law and carrying out political policies. We know that law is the final materialization and formulation of political policy. The spirit is the same in both, only the outer appearance and the inherent coercive power are different. If we merely give all our attention to political policies and ignore law, or go so far as to regard law as something that can be dispensed with, this would be an absolutely mistaken viewpoint. However, if we consider having laws as grounds for disregarding all our political policies, or to consider that the enforcement of our laws need not relate to political policies, this would be equally an absolute mistake. There is not the slightest doubt that we shall have to perfect our socialist legal system and act strictly according to law, but the effective policies of the party and the state must continue to be implemented and carried out. Policy and law not only mutually support each other, but the important principles and policies of the party furthermore function as guide in carrying out our laws. For instance, the policies that we have mentioned earlier, to punish severely and speedily those caught in the act of serious crimes, to reeducate and redeem young people who have strayed, and our consistently upheld policy of less arrests and more leniency toward thos who confess, all these policies play an important role in guiding law enforcement. An important aspect of our party's work of guidance in political and judicial affairs consists in determining the correct principles and policies through an analysis of the situation. If one were to deny the guiding function of principles and policies with regard to law enforcement, one would cripple or negate the guiding function of the party.

What has been said earlier on the relationship between the situation, the policies and law actually refers to the relationship between law and politics. Law is part of politics and is also to serve politics. However, once a law has been decided upon, it possesses a relative independence and a relative stability and furthermore commands utmost authority. It must not be changed from one day to the other and must even less be allowed to be willfully abrogated. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have already engaged in a refutation of legal nihilism, which is an ideology that mainly manifests a denial of the relative independence and relative stability of the law, replacing law with the dictum of men and disregarding the legal system. It is absolutely necessary to refute this mistaken ideology. Up to the present, disregard for the legal system has not at all been completely overcome, and the need to liquidate such thinking remains with us. However, when we criticize and refute legal nihilism, we must be wary not to go to the other extreme, namely to regard law as omnipotent and as everything there is. This viewpoint turns the relative independence of law into an absolute one, and asserts that it can exist independently and divorced from politics. This viewpoint is wrong and harmful. It is therefore necessary on the battlefront of political and judicial work, as it is necessary on all other fronts, to grasp the weapon of party criticism and self-criticism and correctly launch the struggle on two fronts to ensure that political and judicial work will advance in the correct direction.

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PARTY AND STATE

EXTIRPATION OF FEUDALISM AVERRED INCOMPLETE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 p 86

[Article signed Gong [1562]: "Was the Democratic Revolution Thoroughgoing? What is the Core of the Evil Legacy of Feudalism? Philosophical Circles in Chongqing Discuss the Evil Legacy of Feudalism in Our Country"]

[Text] November last year, the Philosophical Society of Chongqing convened a symposium to discuss the evil legacy of feudalism. A comprehensive introduction of the proceedings appeared in the third issue of this year's GUONEI ZHEXUE DONGTAI [PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS IN CHINA]. The following are selected excerpts: Some people believe that the feudal influence in our country is not a mere "vestige," but actually a kind of "force." Apart from the extended history of feudalism, there is another reason for this, namely the "two not-thoroughgoings," one being the bourgeois democratic revolution of Sun Yatsen and the other "not-thoroughgoing" was the New Democratic revolution led by the communist party. Some people do not agree with this formulation, asserting that following the socialist revolution and the socialist transformation, there was nothing else left of feudalism but mere "vestiges," not a "force." If we would make an assessment to the contrary, we would be obscuring the dividing line between the old and the new societies and committing the error of "magnifying antifeudalism." As to the two "not-thoroughgoings," the first one was indeed not thoroughgoing, the second "not-thoroughgoing" is non-existent; that revolution successfully solved the core problem of revolution, the question of political power, overthrew the "three big mountains," established a proletarian dictatorship, therefore was a revolution of considerable thoroughness. People who hold this view believe that any revolution in its time can concentrate only on solving some problems, but not all problems, and can even less solve with one stroke the problem of the old ideological influences since ideologies are relatively independent. If one were to adopt such a strict standard in judging whether a revolution is thoroughgoing, then there would have never been a "thoroughgoing" revolution in all history. There are also some people who believe that considering the realities of our country, the formulation "evil legacy of feudamlism" is most appropriate.

Most participants at the symposium were of the opinion that there is a common core in all aspects of the evil legacy of feudalism in our country, which can serve as an explanation for all feudal influences. Views differ as to what this common core is and there are three opinions on that point: 1. The core consists in special prerogatives, concretely manifested in a leadership system with an excessive centralization of state power in the hands of one individual, many concurrent posts held by one individual, life tenure of offices and a system of special privileges. In the managerial organization: too much interference in the administration of enterprises, no consideration for the initiative of the production teams, no respect for objective rules, arbitrary coercive orders, etc. 2. The core consists in autocratic despotism. Due to the following conditions, autocratic despotism played an important role in our country. For instance, our revolutionary victory was won as the result of an extended war. War demands concentration of power and obedience. This fostered in certain groups of cadres a workstyle of individual decisions in all important questions. Furthermore, Europe has had several instances of the nobility sharing power in "republican" systems and also "theocratic" systems where the religious power was above monarchical power, so that autocratic despotism suffered restraints. However, none of the above conditions occurred in our country, the monarchical powers ruled high above everything else. Moreover, the CCP was for a long time under the guidance of the Communist International. Among the various national communist parties within the Communist International, there was a general trend of ignoring democracy and toward concentration of power in the hands of individuals. This had a strong influence on the CCP. After the establishment of our government, the organizational structure was imported from the Soviet Union and with it came deep-rooted vestiges of the Russian feudal autocratic system. In this way the autocratic despotism in our country was linked with the autocratic despotism of foreign countries. 3. The core lies in the vestiges of the ancient clan system, which comprises blood lineage, patriarchical rule, hierarchical stratification, rule by women, clan responsibility for criminal acts, a natural economy of self-sufficiency, etc. The participants at the symposium were of the opinion that it will be a long-term task to clear up the "evil legacy" and that it will require an equal effort in the three aspects: ideological education, reform of the organizational structure and a vigorous development of the production forces.

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TAIPING EGALITARIANISM EVALUATED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 15 Jun 81 pp 77-90

[Article by Rong Shen [2051 4563]: "How Are We To Regard the Egalitarianism of the Taiping Regime"]

[Excerpts] The theory and practice of egalitarianism of the Taiping regime is a most outstanding case not only in Chinese history but in the history of the world. The bold experiment that they carried out is a record of the failure of absolute egalitarianism, and as such a valuable lesson bequeathed to us by the heroic men of the Taiping regime. Subjecting this record of failure of the Taiping regime to an earnest study and summing up is the best memory that we can bestow on the revolutionary Taiping movement.

Historical Study of Egalitarian and Equal Concepts

For a thorough analysis of egalitarianism, it is necessary to make a historical study of the concepts of egalitarianism and equality.

The earliest and also fairly explicit expression of the egalitarian idea is to be found in the following passage from Confucius: "...are not troubled lest their people are few but are troubled that they are not equal; are not troubled with fear of poverty but are troubled with fear of tranquility. For when there is equality, there will be no poverty; when there is harmony there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is tranquility, there will be no rebellious upsettings." ("The Analects, Chapter Li Shi") The core idea of this passage is that if only there is an equal distribution of wealth, there will be none of the difference between rich and poor, and this in turn will result in social stability. As to the general state of material wealth or poverty, this is of no concern at all. Later, we find in chapter Li Yun of the Book of Rites, which came into being as a book about the time of the Warring States, the Qin or the Han Dynasties, a passage attributed to Confucius: "When the Great Doctrine shall prevail, the world is shared by all, the ablest men are selected for office, the rulers will strive for sincerety and harmony. Then, people will be affectionate not only to their own parents and have parental love not only for their own children. They will ensure an untroubled end for their aged, all necessities to the mature, all needs to the children to develop. The socially unfortunate, the sick and disabled will be cared for. Men will find work and women families to marry into. Nothing shall be wasted, but none should hoard. Everyone shall be eager to work, but not solely for himself. Evil plots will never by executed and there will be no robbery, thefts, uprisings and banditry. There will be no need to close the outer doors of houses. This will be a state of universal harmony."

Where do these dieas originate?

A society's existence determines a society's consciousness. "At all times, consciousness can only be an awareness of existence and man's existence is his actual life process." ("Collected Works of Marx and Lenin," Vol 3, p 29) No ideology is produced in the human brain out of a vacuum. Thinkers with even the most extraordinarily rich imagination derive their doctrines without exception from the objective existence, possibly an objective existence that has already become remote past. Thinkers can draw support from ideological material that has been transmitted from the past, in writing or orally, and will then set forth their own new doctrines. The new doctrine will necessarily be deeply rooted in the material and economic realities. The political theories expressed in the Confucian Analects and in the Book of Rites in some way reflect the primitive society of the past, these reflections having of course been embellished because the primitive society of the early human history was extremely poor, and that is when the means of livelihood were distributed equally.

Owing to the fact that the productive forces in the primitive society were extremely weak and the means of livelihood extremely poor, men were socially of equal status and the means of livelihood were distributed equally. When the productive forces became more developed and surplus products began to appear, that was the end of egalitarian distribution in human history. Even though a number of people have in the past proposed the equal distribution of wealth in society, it has never again been possible to realize an egalitarian distribution. In a class society, political equality and equality of distribution completely disappear and in its stead comes cruel political suppression and economic exploitation. When facing their reality full of contradictions and struggle, many ancient thinkers frequently embellished the egalitarian and equal systems of the clan communes and painted them for their contemporaries as pictures of paradise on earth. The "great harmony on earth" in the Book of Rites is a typical example. This has later become ideological material for many a thinker over the past 2,000 years to borrow and work over. Needless to say, the thinkers of the landlord class did so, even bourgeois revolutionaries, such as Sun Yatsen and leaders of peasantry, such as Hong Xiuquan [3163 4483 0356] have done so. In his "Precepts of Original Principles To Awaken the World," Hong Xiuquan quoted from the Book of Rites the passage on the great harmony on earth and held it up as the highest ideal for a society to look forward to.

In general, the landlord class had no thought of political equality and even less the slaveholder class. Both these classes relied on ownership rights over the working masses, or a relationship of dependence, to extort surplus labor. Their laws and morals are brazenly unequal. They enjoyed all kinds of privileges, that tolerated no encroachments, and they also made no secrets of it in explicit stipulations at great length.

The bourgeoisie is out to exploit the surplus value through an exchange at equal value of capital and labor (a special commodity). They demand therefore equal rights for all owners of commodities in order to carry out exchanges on an equal basis. The economic conditions of the capitalist society determine the equality concept of the bourgeois class. The concept of equality of the bourgeoisie means equality in trade and equality in exploiting the hired workers. Millionaires and paupers may be financially worlds apart, but are equal before the law. Since the feudal privileges hindered capitalist development, the bourgeoisie fought the feudal system and demanded abolition of feudal privileges.

The proletariat proposed an equality that was not merely abolition of the feudal privileges, but elimination of classes, of exploitation and of oppression, they demand public ownership and a system of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and furthermore, for the time when the production forces will have been highly developed, abolition of all class distinctions and the realization of a system of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The peasantry's demand for equality is the spontaneous resistance against extreme social inequality, it is pure manifestation of revolutionary instinct. However, the concept of equality of the peasantry is blended with egalitarianism. The equality that they demand is an equality of distribution. As the small-farm producer sees it, if everybody's wealth is equal, that would make everybody equal. The economic position of the small producer determines how he can see the world and transform the world, namely only according to the viewpoint of the small producer. Egalitarianism, also called absolute egalitarianism, is their highest ideal. When egalitarianism was used to attack feudal exploitation, it was revolutionary and progressive. In this point, and only in this point, we affirm that it had a positive significance in the fight against feudal exploitation.

The Ideal of Egalitarianism and Equality at Its Climax

The first manifestation of the Taiping regime's ideal of egalitarianism is its system of the sacred treasury. In the "Records of the Taiping Uprising" by Hamberg we read: Before the uprising at Jintian "Hong Xiuquan notified all followers of the God Worshipper Societies of the different districts to assemble promptly in one place. Already for some time prior to this, the worshippers of God felt the necessity of uniting together for common defense against their enemies. They had commenced to convert their property of fields and houses into money and to deliver the proceeds thereof into the general treasury. Their needs of food and clothing were all paid from the common fund on an equal basis. The circumstance that they shared all in common greatly added to their numbers and thus they were prepared to abandon their homes at a moment's warning." Under this system of the sacred treasure, the abundant properties of the landlords and of the despotic gentry was not taken over and equally redistributed, but the followers of the God Worshipping Societies sold their property and contributed the proceeds to the sacred treasury to have a common sharing of all property and equal consumption. This kind of egalitarianism expresses the aspirations of the small-scale agricultural producers to unite for mutual assistance and joint defense against the enemy. The desire for unity and mutual assistance had become evident to varying degrees in peasant uprisings or secret societies of the past. In this sense it may be said that the system of the sacred treasury carried on and developed a tradition of small-scale agricultural producers to unite for mutual assistance and common defense, but the concrete methods were obviously following the "Bible." In chapter 2 of the Acts of the Apostles of the New Testament it says: "And fear came upon every soul; many wonders also and signs were done by the apostles, and all they that believed were together and had all things common. Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all according as everyone had need." In chapter 4 it says: "And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul; neither did anyone say that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but all things were common unto them. ...For neither was there any one needy among them. For as many as were owners of lands and houses, sold them and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the apostles. And distribution was made to every one according as he had need." In this connection the "Bible" also records a story: a certain man sold a piece of land, handed over the full proceeds and nothing happened to him. Another man and his wife fraudulently kept back part of the proceeds of their land and both were punished by God; they suddenly collapsed and died. All this shows that apart from creating the name "sacred treasury," the Taiping system basically conforms with the record in the "Bible."

After the Jintian uprising, the system of the sacred treasury was expanded into the field of military discipline, where it was stipulated: "All gold, treasures, silk and valuables captured when 'demons' were killed and cities captured, must not be kept as private property, but must all be turned in into the sacred treasury of the Heavenly Dynasty." This prohibition was repeated by Hong Xiuquan at Yongan and Changsha. It was first expressed as: "violaters will be considered for punishment," which was later changed to a sterner: "when a violation has been ascertained, the guilty party will be beheaded and his head displayed in public." Among the troops, the system of not allowing any private property and of distributing equally clothes, food and daily necessities was strictly observed. This was an absolutely sound method and effectively strengthened the solidarity between officers and men, soldiers and civilians and among the soldiers, ensured that the troops were properly supplied, prevented greed for booty and pillaging and as a consequence raised the fighting strength of the Taiping army. The sacred treasury system played an extremely important role in the development of the Taiping army. Later it was extended into the social sphere and what was first a military discipline became law, which was the first step on a path of mistakes. Along this mistaken direction, things were carried on in a foolhardy way: people were not allowed to have private property, all property was to belong to the sacred treasury of the Heavenly Dynasty. As the next step, money was abolished and the interflow of commodities stopped. After establishing their Heavenly Capital, the Taiping regime issued a document called "Regulations Governing the Treatment of the People," the main points of which were: 1. There shall be no land tax in money or kind. 2. All the people's land and the annual harvests belong to the Heavenly King. 3. As sustenance, every adult shall receive one dan of rice, every child half that amount, per month. 4. The capital and profits of all shops and stores shall be the Heavenly King's capital and profits. The people shall not be allowed to use it for their private purposes, all are the Heavenly King's property. In some writings the term Heavenly Father is used instead of Heavenly King, but within the scope of our discussion the two terms are essentially the same and this question need not be discussed.

The heroes of the Taiping regime gave their egalitarian ideals a courageous test at the Heavenly Capital. All workers in various handicraft shops and handicraft factories were collected into groups according to their skills. These groups were called "craftsmen's camps" or "official workers agencies." This kind of organization had been set up soon after the Jintian uprising, but then it had only been a rear service logistic department for the troops. The organization had been simple and producing only for the needs of the army; influence on social production and product exchanges had been minimal. The "craftsmen's camps" and "handicraft factories" set up at the Heavenly Capital, however, were quite different. They broke up the handicraft shops and handicraft factories that had been beneficial for the development of production. They nationalized the means of production, abolished individual handicraft industry, had government officials manage them and instituted collective production. At the same time they abolished private trade, abolished currency, and the Taiping government supplied the people uniformly with all their daily necessities. Families were broken up and men, women, older and younger people were separated into groups by sex and age and allocated to different centers. Life in the Heavenly Capital was made uniform for all and the social organization was transformed on military lines.

Toward the end of 1853, the Taiping regime printed the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty." This document is an elaboration of the "Regulations Governing the Treatment of the People." Although the whole document is only about 3,000 characters long, it comprises all aspects of social life. Mainly eight points in it relate to the problems discussed in the present article:

1. Based on theological principles and supported by administrative powers, all private economy was abolished. "No man shall acquire private property and all things belong to the Lord." All land was converted into common property. It was classified into nine categories according to its productivity and was distributed with proper consideration of its quality, to have the people form the land on an equal basis.

2. All agricultural production and all by-products production are common property.

3. A great reorganization was effected throughout society. Every 25 families formed one unit called "liang." The liang was the lowest organizational unit; it was an administrative as well as economic unit. Its power structure was that of the feudal patriarchial system. The liang sergeant was the patriarch in charge of administration, production, distribution, religion, education, public security, jurisdiction and all other affairs of his unit.

4. In this "small but complete" natural economic setup, every house had to plant mulberry trees in front and in the back, the men were to work in the fields, the women to raise silkworms, spin hemp and sew clothes. Every family was to have 5 hens and 2 sows. In the slack seasons on the farms, people were to engage in handicraft production in emulation of the farmer-soldier system of antiquity.

5. As to the means of livelihood, there was an egalitarian system of distribution. Life was made uniform for all, everybody ate the same and dressed the same. Apart from clothing and food, all special needs were also provided in an absolutely egalitarian way.

6. Widowers, widows, orphans, childless, disabled and sick, the six categories of people who had lost their full capacity to work, were all to be cared for by the Taiping government. Children were to enjoy free education and were to go to church every day to study the Old and New Testament and the Book of Truth-Commanded Edicts.

7. To realize equality in consumption: if there was abundance in some places and poor harvests in others, a method to equalize the situation was to be adopted to level out availability of supplies in abundant and poor localities.

8. The major objective of all these measures was to have "everyone enjoy equally the great happiness given by the Heavenly Father, Supreme Lord and August God. Land shall be farmed by all, rice eaten by all, clothes worn by all, money spent by all. There shall be no inequality and no person shall be without food or fuel."

Whether in the egalitarian ideas described in the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty," or in the egalitarian measures implemented for a time in the Heavenly Capital, egalitarianism reached a height never before experienced in peasant uprisings of the past. In the feudal society, the small-scale agricultural producers suffered cruel exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and their state, and their economic position and level of livelihood was extremely low. They hated the great disparity between the rich and the poor and were filled with a strong desire to change this unreasonable situation. However, they can conceive the world and transform the world only according to the standards of small-scale producers. What they can think of and what can achieve is precisely only an equal division of the wealth of society. The egalitarianism of the Taiping regime is a typical example for the ideals of the agricultural small-scale producers, as such developed to its greatest height in all Chinese history and rare throughout world history.

Criticism of Absolute Egalitarianism

When commenting on the egalitarianism of the Taiping regime, many comrades called it utopian socialism; it is worthwhile giving this some consideration. Utopian socialism has come into being in the wake of the capitalist production methods, as something in line with immature capitalist production conditions and immature class conditions and as an expression of the early desire of the immature proletariat for a reform of society. Outstanding representatives of utopian socialism already sharply criticized the bourgeois system and pointed out that capitalism will not exist forever and must be replaced by socialism. Their descriptions of the future society contained much that is positive and correct. The doctrines of three great utopian socialists are one of the three sources of Marxism. However, due to their lack of understanding of the developmental laws of capitalism, they laid plans for the transformation of society only on the basis of subjective desires. They had no eye for the great historical role of the proletariat and therefore wanted to bring about socialism not through class struggle but through propaganda and persuasion among the bourgeoisie and through experimental demonstrations.

The egalitarianism of the Taiping regime was quite different. Their ideas of a kind of equal division of all wealth had come into being on the basis of a small-scale agricultural economy and their intention was to change the entire society into a small-scale agricultural economy that is uniform, equal and without differentiations. They indended to abolish commodity exchanges and to stagnate for all times to come in a natural economy where men farm and women spin, an economy which is self-sufficient without the need for assistance in anything. One of their ideas, namely to divide up the land equally according to the number of people, expresses the desire of millions of peasants under feudal oppression for an equal division of land; this is of positive significance and is to be approved. The Taiping regime's overall plan for the reform of society followed the idea of an absolute egalitarianism. It does not represent a historically progressive movement and does not reflect a demand for any further development of the productive forces. These ideas of absolute egalitarianism should be studied, analyzed and criticized from a Marxist viewpoint.

In the early stage when the Taiping army instituted their system of the sacred treasury, the source of their wealth was contributions from their followers and war booty, or obtained in "vanguard actions," but not the product of work in any production process. The equal distribution carried out by the troops was not an egalitarianism of the distribution district, but a system of supplying military needs quite unconnected with any remuneration for labor. As such it was fully justified and the results prove that it was effective. However, extension of the sacred treasury system to the society in general, advocating that people have no private property and that "everything belong to the Supreme Lord," touched on the various ownership rights of the landlord class, but also of the merchants and handicraftsmen. Even the pitifully small pieces of land and property of the small-scale peasants were also declared as belonging to the Heavenly King (or Heavenly Father). Even if we understand it as being taken over by the state, the character of it is the same. The demand by the small-scale peasants for the equal distribution of wealth is revolutionary and justified if it is directed against the landlord class, but it is reactionary and retrogressive if it is directed against merchants and peasant handicraft industry. They actually planned that "aside from the new grain each may receive, the remainder must be deposited in the public granary," even chickens and dogs had to be turned over to the treasury, and the workers were left with nothing at all of any surplus products. That is egalitarianism in the domain of distribution; it is a completely different thing than the sacred treasury system practiced in the early days among the troops. Now they believed blindly in administrative powers to control all economic life; hard-working peasants must be promoted and rewarded, lazy peasants punished and fined. These punishments and fines are still a kind of coercive measures beyond economics. As to the remuneration of labor, no consideration was paid to whether a man was hard-working or lazy, whether physically strong or weak, whether the job was light or strenuous, whether experience was required. The quantity or quality of the product were also not taken into account. The means of subsistence that were given each worker were of an equal average figure. This method of distribution may appear reasonable to small-scale agricultural producers who are oblivious to the fact that such methods dampen enthusiasm and allow one section of the workers to grab away without compensation the fruits of work of another section of the workers. The starting point of their method was a reasonable aspiration, but they ended up with a most unreasonable result. Their plan went even so far as to take complete care of the livelihood of every kind of person in their society, to have them all "enjoy the great happiness given by the Heavenly Father, Supreme Lord and August God." Since they wanted to ensure equal distribution to every member of the whole body of their society while their production forces were at a low level of development, they had to reduce the consumption of each person to the lowest possible level. Egalitarianism, we therefore find, is naturally accompanied by ascetism. Equal distribution without differentiations of the limited supplies of means of subsistence can only result in a state where all can eat only if there is rice and everybody goes hungry when there is no rice.

The leaders of the Taiping regime obviously did not understand that production and life in human society show thousands of differences. They intended to employ simple methods to solve the immense variety of intricate and complex problems. They drew up an ideal pattern which was geometrical and had the special features of being tidy, symmetrical, uniform and monotonous. In the said document of around 3,000 characters, the character "fan" [all] was used 30 times. The provisions that follow the character fan in the text fully display the above-mentioned special features. The leaders of the Taiping regime did not understand that in a country of such vast dimensions, each district has its own peculiar natural conditions, its own ethnic peculiarities, different customs, different production departments and products of these departments that differ widely. Taking agriculture alone, crops, domestic fowl and animals are of a wide variety and there is an immense variety in cropping systems and customs of raising livestock. When they made an earnest effort to abolish the difference of rich and poor, they also intended to obliterate all differences in society. They distinguished nine categories of land throughout the whole country according to the quantity of a certain crop per mu of land. This made it very difficult to even take the first step in an equal distribution of land. The document also stipulates: "Everybody throughout the empire shall plant mulberry trees along the walls; every woman shall raise silkworms and sew clothes; every family throughout the empire shall have five hens and two sows, which must not be allowed to miss their proper season for procreation." They were oblivious to the fact that not all localities are suitable for mulberry trees and not all localities are suitable for raising pigs. People in different families and households are very different and not all without exception want to raise pigs and chickens. It was even stipulated that the number of animals to be raised had to be absolutely the same.

The sources for the egalitarian ideas of the Taiping regime go back to ancient times. However, judging from the many mistakes in the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty," this document seems like a careless "Ji-jiu bian" [title of an ancient primer, could be literally translated as "hurriedly put together"]. We are here not pointing to the various mistakes of a fundamental nature which could not be avoided in view of the narrow outlook of the peasantry. What we point to here are things which were within their scope of knowledge and skills, such as requiring each family to raise an absolutely equal number of hens and sows, etc. These are mistakes caused purely by negligence; with a little thought they could have found out that certain items were impossible of execution. However, in a new edition of the same document, 7 years later, the mistakes had still not yet been corrected. Perhaps after the manuscript of the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" was sent to be printed, nobody read it over again carefully. Otherwise why should spots of coarse neglect have been left in it?

For hundreds of years, the peasantry stagnated in the use of outmoded tools of production of a low level of efficiency and went about their work of farming in dispersed and individual manual labor on small plots of land. In their narrow view, all they could see all the time were the small plots of land and the many families of individual farmers. Many peasant families were organized into a large number of villages, and a countless number of villages constituted the whole world. The whole world was an aggregate of countless numbers and concrete numbers. Men farm, women spin, plant mulberry trees and raise silkworms; this has been so for countless generations. Not only did they not think of changing these traditional production and life patterns but they even intended to use administrative powers to consolidate this state and promote it to the extreme. All surplus production exceeding the average figures had to be turned in to the state. The production unit of 25 families could retain only what was needed for consumption, but no material could be retained for an expansion of reproduction. Under the best possible conditions, it was only possible to maintain the reproduction at the original level of production. Maintaining this level of reproduction was also very difficult. In that case isn't it merely idle talk to say "everybody will have food and fuel"?

In the eyes of the agricultural small-scale producer a national economy of self-sufficiency where men farm and women spin, seemed a most reasonable economic system. For this reason, the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" abolished commodity production and exchanges; every worker was working to satisfy his consumption needs, and as to the means of sustenance, a form of direct distribution of products was followed. Although the word "money" appears in the text of the document, it was only by a negligent oversight of the writer, because all surplus production was to be turned over to the state treasury and there was to be no commodity exchange, so of what possible use could money be? Every economic unit was to produce almost the entire quantity of all means of sustenance needed by the 25 families of the production unit. There was in this system no social division of labor. Agrigultural and handicraft industry were solidely a part of the "liang" unit. Only an utopia could be a basic unit in this kind of a production system, capable of self-sufficiency and of closing itself off from the outside world. The citizens of such an utopia would have to rely mostly on barter in kind for their means of livelihood and not on social exchanges. Just as Marx had described it: "The area on which they carry on production, that is, the small plot of land, will not allow the peasants to engage in any division of labor during the time of cultivation, or to apply any kind of science. They will therefore not have any development of any kind or sorts, or have any other skills, or a full measure of social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 693) It is absolutely clear that in describing their plan for the ideal society of the future, the leaders of the Taiping regime wanted to use the economic standards of the small-scale peasant economy to transform the whole world into a uniform, egalitarian small-scale peasant economy. This cannot and should not be done. To proceed foolhardily according to this kind of absolute egalitarian ideology would mean abolishing social division of labor, destroying commodity economy and destroying the seeds of capitalism. When destroying the ownership system of the landlords, the land ownership system of the peasants who cultivated their own land was also destroyed. The workers could not possibly derive any benefit from a system of "no one shall take anything as their own, all things belong to the Supreme Lord," and the objective of "equality in everything, every person to have food and fuel" would also have remained unattainable forever. At a time when production forces were at a very low level and social production extremely poor, the implementation of equality in everything could have only devastated the production forces, with the result that there never would be "every person having food and fuel," but rather a universal poverty. The practical experiences in the Heavenly Capital fully proved this point.

Did the small-scale agricultural producers welcome the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty"? In the past we answered without hesitation that they welcomed it of course, but so far we cannot find any actual basis for this assumption. Historical material on the Taiping regime is immense, but there is not one paragraph that would indicate a small-scale peasant support for the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty." There is also much material on the peasant support for the Taiping regime and on the peasants welcoming and supporting the Taiping troops, however, all this was not because they were inspired by the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty." "On receipt of certificates, all leased land shall belong to those who cultivate it;" "The fact of who actually cultivates the land shall be decisive, no one else may claim to own the land and collect rent;" "Once grain tax was paid to the 'long-haired ones,' no more grain tax is due to owners of fields." These are the measures that filled the peasants with great joy, but what inspired the great joy was still not the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty," but land policies that differed from those of the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty." The peasants certainly supported equal distribution of land, but the peasants were not likely to support measures that first split up the land and distributed it in an equal basis and then did not make it the property of the peasants, but the property of the Heavenly Father (or Heavenly King or the Heavenly Kingdom). They would also not have supported that the harvest from this land, which had been equally distributed to them, was not to belong to the peasants but to the sacred treasury. The peasants would of course have been very happy if there were equality in all things and everybody had food and fuel, but the result of the great equality did not really bring "food and fuel" for the peasants and that was not what could make the peasants happy. The peasants will have found it difficult to go along with the new social organization, economic life and coarse ascetism, which are all things that demanded of them that they abruptly abandon the life style to which they had been accustomed.

Asceticism practiced in the military units was highly effective. It helped the Taiping troops overcome their material deficiencies, defeat a strong enemy that blocked their advance and pursued from the rear, and finally helped win victory in their revolutionary war. After establishing their Heavenly Capital, which the Taiping regime termed "after entering the small paradise," not only did they not relax their ascetism, but on the contrary, stepped it up and extended it from the military to the society in general, thereby arousing strong dissatisfaction among the citizens of the Heavenly Capital. In April 1854, Yang Xiuqing [2799 4483 3237] made this point the subject of an imperial proclamation, using "Heavenly sentiment and reason" to persuade the people. He said: "...having received an indication of the divine will, we have separated men and women to impede all licentiousness. This is only a temporary separation. After the 'sinful province' (meaning Zhili Province) will have been chastized, all will reunite. There is still among you people great lament about the dissipation of family circumstances, separation from blood relations, complete loss of all property and sudden dispersion of wives and children." The Eastern King had consented that after the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, ascetism would be given up and the people would be permitted to reunite in family life. This ascetism aroused dissatisfaction at the court and among the military. Finally, the Eastern King decreed that some counts and ministers urge and admonish everybody time and again: "Illicit schemes bring brief, but not real pleasure. The momentary happiness hurriedly snatched is not real happiness." He preached at length the "Heavenly sentiment and reason" for not allowing husbands and wives to live together and cited cases of punishment by Heavenly law for husbands and wives who had secretly reunited, in order to deter anyone from committing the same sin. He said: "At present, when the remnant 'demons' have not yet been exterminated, time has not yet come for happy family life." He admonished everyone 'to endure steadfastly to the end, to combine our strength and be of one mind," in the hope of "dispersing the 'demonic' atmosphere and create a unity in universal peace." He strongly emphasized that the separation of men and women in separate camps must be strictly enforced, even "visiting parents or enquiring after one's wife" "may only take place in the form of asking questions at the door at a distance of several footstips. Voices must be loud and clear, no one must enter the camp of our sisters and there must be no free mixing of men and women." ("Books Published by the Taiping Regime," Jiangsu People's Publishing Company, 1979, Vol 2, pp 529-533) These calls for asceticism are closely linked with the egalitarian ideology. The Taiping regime pushed egalitarianism to its highest point and did the same with ascetism to even split up and disperse the families of the people.

The leader of the peasant uprising toward the end of the Ming Dynasty, Li Zicheng after entering Beijing, was still able to maintain his original style of hard work and plain living, eating coarse food and dressing simple, share weal and woe with his soldiers, but he had no control over his underlings who were indulging in sensual pleasures and creature comforts. With the leaders of the Taiping regime, the opposite was the case. All the kings who had first risen in the revolt were indulging in sensual pleasures and creature comforts but dictated ascetism to restrain their underlings. The situation was different in these two cases but the consequences were the same. These facts show us that if the peasantry is without the leadership of the proletariat and relies only on its own strength, it will not accomplish a transformation of the objective world, nor a transformation of the subjective world.

Another Climax in Deviation from the Egalitarian Ideology

The "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty," which was full of egalitarian ideology, has never had a wide circulation, and the propaganda material that was widely circulated seldom had an egalitarian content. Egalitarian ideology found expression in only a few propaganda items that were not widely distributed. The propaganda items that were widely distributed were ardently devoted to propagating autocratic monarchism and a system of feudal hierarchy. In their actual practice, the leaders of the Taiping regime in the main did not carry out egalitarianism and egality, but rather a system of autocratic monarchism and a strict hierarchical system.

The "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" was actually never implemented and seemingly never intended for actual implementation. However, the heroes of the Taiping regime carried out in their Heavenly Capital a one-time experiment in social reform according to the world view of the small-scale peasant. They performed a major operation, opening up chest and abdomen, on the social chronic and stubborn disease of the great difference between rich and poor, but with the unexpected consequence of utter chaos in the social and economic life. The sources of food supply were cut, free-of-charge eating from "the big rice pot" made nobody have enough food, so that everybody had to sip equally some watery gruel. The result of "equality in everything" was not "food and fuel for everybody." The soldiers did not have enough to eat, the sacred treasury was empty, the regime needed taxes to maintain itself, so finally they could not but order "to deliver up grain and pay taxes as of old." The term "as of old" in paying taxes in grain and money signifies that ownership of land was also "as of old," and everything else slowly changed back to "as of old." This is a historical law which the peasantry has no power to resist.

However, the first things that reverted to "as of old" were not at all the taxes in kind and in money but autocratic monarchism and a feudal hierarchical system.

Before the uprising at Jintian, when Hong Xiuquan was first possessed with a revolutionary, anti-Qing Dynasty ideology he created on a big scale the public opinion of his being the Son of Heaven by Heavenly command. An omniscient, almighty deity that had created the world had come personally to escort Hong Xiuquan to Heaven where he conferred on Hong the title "Quan, the Heavenly King of Universal Peace and Sovereign of Fundamental Truth," and personally sent him back to earth to be Truth-Commanded Son of Heaven. This public opinion about his being a Truth-Commanded Son of Heaven, even though it is the display of something old in a new guise, was in substance to the effect that his monarchical powers had been bestowed by God. The purpose of proclaiming that the source of his monarchical powers is the Supreme Deity is to strengthen the monarchical powers with the prestige and authority of divine power and to emphasize that this monarchical power, supported by the Supreme Deity, must not be violated. This is the common form of the theory of autocratic monarchism.

After Hong Xiuquan ascended the throne at Dongxiang, he issued his first imperial proclamation in which he emphasized autocratic monarchism and made the Heavenly Father say: "I dispatch you to earth to be Heavenly King. These words are a Heavenly order and must be obeyed by you." In this proclamation Hong Xiuquan depicts himself as representative on earth of God and insists that every word of his conforms to a Heavenly command.

When the Taiping army seized Wuchang and thus had just captured its first industrial and commercial metropole, Hong Xiuquan was in a great hurry to select his imperial concubines. Before the capital was established, he, too impatient to wait, built in advance a seraglio of considerable dimensions. To protect the honor of his concubines that had grown to large numbers, he issued a law of unparalleled sternness, in which decapitation without pardon is ordered in four cases: 1. All in the imperial harem shall be addressed as imperial concubines, anyone mentioning their personal or family names or their ranks will be decapitated without pardon. 2. No one is to ever look at the face of those in the imperial harem, you should lower your heads and cast down your eyes; anyone who should dare to raise his head and look will be decapitated without pardon. 3. Nothing that is said in the harem must be spread outside, anyone who dares to spread such talk will be decapitated without pardon. 4. Any talk by my subjects must not be transmitted into the harem; anyone who dates to transmit such talk will be decapitated without pardon. He furthermore proclaimed emphatically that this is "the sacred will of the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Brother," evil ones are to be beheaded, righteous ones shall survive. May the Heavenly Dynasty and Heavenly Kingdom live on forever and generations to come observe its rules. Anyone violating the honor of the imperial concubines was declared an "evil one" and therefore to be decapitated without pardon according to the above principle. This really reminds of something in the "Poems for Children" written earlier: "Life and death emanate from Heaven's Son; let every officer avoid disobedience." It is frightening to think that autocratic despotism could have developed at such a rapid pace in the short time of about 2 years from the time of the Jintian uprising. After having established himself in the Heavenly Capital, Hong Xiuquan stayed deep inside the Palace of the Heavenly King. All military and political affairs were handled by Yang Xiuqing, but as to the supreme power of monarch, Hong Xiuquan did not relax his grip the least bit.

The powers of the Heavenly King were limitless, and he had of course spread among the public that his wisdom was also superhuman and divine. "Whatever he utters is an imperial decree, is a Heavenly command." "Every word, even a half-word of his is an imperial decree." That was to mean every word that he said, even half a word, is to be taken as a sacred decree which corresponds with the intentions of Heaven. "When a decree of the Heavenly King comes to us, we sound the gongs, we immediately go down on our knees to receive it and voice our approval. Anyone who would not accept it, disobeys Heaven, and to denounce and censure him would not be harsh." ("Collected Material on the Taiping Regime," Vol 2, p 464) When the imperial decrees were transmitted down, the people had to sould the gongs immediately and shout their joyful welcome, and anyone not doing so would suffer censure and reprimand. In the "Poems of the Heavenly Father," it is repeatedly emphasized that every person must obey the decrees of the Heavenly Father unconditionally; no disobedience or delay would be condoned and punishment for such would be decapitation. Hong Xiuquan proclaimed: "Mistakes are only made by my officials, never by your Lord," to indicate that the ruler can never be mistaken. If mistakes should occur, responsibility rests with his officials. His officials fawned on Hong Xiuquan: "The mouth of the Heavenly King is the mouth of Heaven, his words are the words of Heaven." ("Collection of Material of Contemporary History, The Taiping Empire" Vol 1, p 303) Hong Xiuquan did not have command of a great army. The men in command of great armies, such as Yang Xiuqing, Wei Changhui, Shi Dakai, and in later years Chen Yucheng, Li Xiucheng, served subserviently under Hong's autocratic rule. Even a man like Yang Xiuqing with his "great power and prestige spread far and wide and not afraid to do anything" was eager to get a title of nobility bestowed on himself by "His Majesty." Although he pursued this with some pressure, he still wanted Hong Xiuquan in his capacity of monarch to issue the decree that would bestow the title. The only "magic weapon" that Hong Xiuquan held was that the monarchical power was bestowed on him by Heaven, that is, that he was "Heaven-born, Truth-ordained Lord." Even though men like Yang Xiuqing may have seen through the "mystery of that "divine right." no one dared, or rather, no one wished to puncture this mystique.

The Taiping regime also developed to the highest perfection a system of feudal hierarchy and a whole set of ceremonial rules in connection with its autocratic monarchism, to demonstrate the exalted position of the monarch. When we read the books published by the Taiping regime itself, we gain a clear sense of how utterly at variance with the historical reality it is if some comrades praise that regime at great length as a "peasant democracy!" First of all, read "The Taiping Ceremonial," of which there exist two editions, one dated the first year of the Taiping regime [1852] and a later a blockprint of 1858. If you leaf through these writings you can see what an extremely serious matter the feudal ranks and ceremonies were. The various kings who were the earliest to join the uprising were to call each other brothers and were to be equal before the emperor, but not equal in other mundane affairs. As for instance, Yang Xiuqing, "the most important and prominent man of the dynasty," must be only addressed as "jiu qian sui" [may you live 9,000 years] and all the other kings 1,000 years less, downgraded according to their specific ranks. When Yang Xiuaing asked for an audience, the Heavenly King would determine the date and time. Yang would then come in at the head of a long line of kings and marquises, call out "wan sui" [may you live a 10,000 years] three times and kneel. During audiences with the Heavenly King, Yang was exempted from kneeling, but had to stand at the foot of the flight of steps to the throne. All other minor kings had to kneel at the foot of the throne. Even if it was only a written procedure, there was no exceeding the rules as to who was to "stand in front of the throne" and who was to "kneel in front of the throne." It seems on this point Hong Xiuquan knew better than Liu Bang when Liu ascended the throne. Although Hong had nobody like Shu-sun Tong at his side, he had a full and detailed ceremonial to demonstrate the exalted position of the monarch and to determine according to rank the different ceremonial guards, carriage horses, costumes, forms of address, etc. Different forms of address were regulated according to the different ranks, even for the children of the kings and for children from ministers down to "liang" sergeants, from generalissimo down to the wives of all ranks of officers and for all relatives of the kings. The provisions of the "Forms of Address for Nobility and Officials of the Heavenly Dynasty" determine that in making a report to a special nobleman or official, the writer must use the term "bing xiang" [report in full], refer to himself as "xiao guan" [this minor official], the document must end with "jin an" [golden peace] and the term "favor" must be written "jin en" [golden favor]. In submitting reports to the regular noblemen and officials, the writer must use the term "bin bao" [full report], refer to himself as "xiao guan" [this minor official], the document must end with "rui an" [auspicious peace], a decree must be referred to as "rui yu" [auspicious decree] and the term "favor" must be written "rui en" [auspicious favor]...The forms of address to all other noblemen and officials was strictly determined according to their different ranks. The colors red and yellow were highly valued by the Heavenly Dynasty, as noble only noblemen and officials of various ranks could have themselves made various costumes in these colors according to their higher or lower ranks, the common people were not allowed to make themselves dresses of this kind and violations would be punished without fail with decapitation. The elaborate detail and the great and strict stratification of ranks as in the hierarchical system of the Taiping regime is very rare in history.

The Taiping regime instituted a system of hereditary posts for officials. For the various kings, the hereditary nature of their positions was already clearly determined in "Taiping Ceremonial" of 1851. In the same year the Heavenly King decreed at Yongan a confirmation of this institution of hereditary posts in emphatic terms and even extended the sphere of its application. "All those meritorious officers who together with us conquered the hills and rivers shall on the higher level be invested with the titles of chancellor, senior secretary, commander, general or imperial guard, or at the least with the title of corps general. These titles shall be hereditary, and those who bear the titles will be permitted to attend the Heavenly Court in dragon robe and horn-encrusted girdle." In the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" it is again clearly stipulated that "all meritorious officers shall receive emoluments from the Taiping regime for all generations to come."

The officials of the Taiping regime enjoyed a great variety of special privileges depending on their rank. They did not consider this a shameful betrayal of their egalitarian ideals. On the contrary, they considered the enjoyment of special privileges as honor and furthermore considered it a "principle of heavenly nature" to strive and struggle for such special privileges when they exhorted all brothers and sisters to "do the very utmost to uphold the Lord, show determination in support of our Sovereign." The "Book on the Principles of Heavenly Nature" instructed the brothers and sisters: "However, our younger brothers and sisters often say that we have not enjoyed happiness. But let me ask you something. When with worldly sentiments you were still at home, whether you were farmers, craftsmen or merchants, you worked day and night with callouses on your hands and feet, and you tasted all the bitterness of life. How does that life compare with our life today, now that we uphold Heaven, support our Sovereign, and each receives the mercy of the Eastern King and other kings, and shares in their glory? When we drive out in our chariots splendidly dressed, with many servants and attendants, there are those who attend to our horses and those who move fans for us. With shouting attendants before and behind, our pomp and glory can be said to be beyond this world. Think of it, did you, in your former worldly circumstance, have such glory?" There is no sign of egalitarian ideology, they rather vied with each other for the enjoyment of feudal privileges. The first to enjoy these privileges, and to enjoy them most abundantly were of course those in the highest positions, that is, the kings who had joined the uprising earliest. After entering the Heavenly Capital, each had himself built a luxurious palace, and if there were not enough skilled workmen, they would even order to recruit them from other places. On the Heavenly Kings's birthday, the Eastern King issued an order to all "great and small officials and officers within the court and within the army, royal relatives and imperial kinsmen, soldiers, sailors, brothers" to prepare "rare and valuable gifts for presentation to the Heavenly Court." On his son completing his first month, there was another order from the Eastern King to "imperial clansmen and all deputy generals to transmit to all officials and the people to prepare a good quantity of rare and valuable articles and have them sent to the capital by trusted messengers." The "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty," printed only a short time before, prescribed that the grandchild on reaching his first month shall be paid from the treasury "a 1,000 pieces of coin and 100 jin of grain." Isn't there a big difference between this and the "rare and valuable items"?

The special privileges of the Taiping leaders are evident everywhere. If a man had a high court position, his underlings and relatives could also enjoy special privileges. A certain horse farmer met an uncle of the Eastern King, of the same age as the Eastern King, but the farmer failed to pay his respects. Several people were implicated in this case and the farmer was condemned to be torn asunder between chariots. A certain councillor by the name of Li Fengxian insulted a secretary in the Eastern Palace by immodest speech. He was sentenced to death for this crime. The Taiping regime was not a pure peasant struggle led by a progressive class, therefore not to our surprise a regime of ranks and privileges. We only want to make it clear here that the Taiping regime did not at all act democratic and equal as some comrades have said. The feudalism of the peasantry and the feudalism of the landlord class are both feudalisms, and as such left-over poison which deserves our criticism and rejection.

The reader may already have noted that this article has not adduced much important material, for instance the "Zeiqing huizuan" [Collected Material on the Conditions of the Rebels] by Zhang Dejian [1728 1795 1017] and other writings of literati of the landlord class. This is because many comrades as soon as they hear that a peasant uprising has engaged in monarchism and hierarchic stratification, will immediately without hesitation say that this is slander. By adducing as little as possible material from opponents of the revolution, we hope to avoid complicating the issue.

If there is talk here of slander, it shows a misunderstanding of the version from the peasantry's point of view. That is, that the Taiping regime, which arose in the preparatory period of the bourgeois revolution, did not regard autocratic monarchism and rank stratification as a shameful and ugly thing, even though they developed egalitarianism and equality to its highest perfection in all the old-style peasant wars. This point becomes very clear if we read the documents of the Taiping regime itself and see how they sing the praises of the Heaven-born, Truth-ordained one and repeatedly emphasize "the difference between noblemen and lowly-born and the necessity to differentiate between the respectable and the mean."

Some comrades have said that this was so because a small number of leaders had become addicted to nepotism, and that the problem was not related to the peasantry as a class; the peasantry as a class was still showing peasant democracy. This comment is worth discussing. Although the concrete acts that were performed as a result of autocratic monarchism and the stratification by ranks contain a strong element of individualism and even elements of individual character and intellectual resourcefulness, the reasons for the fact that autocratic monarchism could prevail for a time must be sought in the social sphere.

At the time of the Taiping regime, feudal autocratic systems had existed for over 2,000 years. The small-scale agricultural producers were by far the dominant sector of the population and agricultural production forces had stagnated at an extremely low level for a very long time. Stuck in the rut of old conventions and practices, the agricultural small-scale producers relied on manual operations (including animal and water power), working in units of one family or one household in a small-scale farming economy, scattered and isolated without any or only little relation with the cities. Within his family, the head of the family was the highest authority in all matters. This system of patriarchal authority was upheld and protected by public opinion, general ethics and the laws of the entire society. The small-scale peasants, having lived for ages under this feudal patriarchal system, acquired a world view that incorporated a limitless adoration of individual power. They adored and exalted, lofty authority that protected their interests and blindly believed in that authority as a savior who grants favors and bounty. However, there is no such authority or savior in the world and therefore could only be manufactured by manipulating public opinion. A Truth-ordained Son of Heaven with all the trimmings was created in a multifarious manipulation of the public opinion. The authority of a human ruler assumed superhuman forms. Divine authority became the indispensable pillar of support for the monarchical authority. Only by being ordained by God would monarchical authority become one that would cow everyone into submission. This authority with its direct links to Heaven and God is one that the small-scale peasants are ready and delighted to accept and that they will gladly worship and believe in. Only when days of complete darkness will arrive and life becomes an unbearable misery, they will feel compelled to rise in revolt and will then of necessity raise and support a new Heaven ordained authority. Marx made an extremely penetrating analysis when he discussed the French peasantry: "They are not able to be their own representative but must have someone else represent them. Their representative must also be their dominating master, an authority that stands high above them, a governmental power without restraints. This power is to protect them from infringements by other classes and will also bestow from above all bounties and favors. In the last analysis, the political influence of the small-scale peasantry is therefore manifested in having administrative power controlling society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 693) The history of the Taiping regime provides a great number of examples which prove that this analysis by Marx is of universal significance and fully applicable to China. It is therefore absolutely impossible to regard the autocratic monarchism practiced by the Taiping regime as the mistake of a small number of its leaders.

Try to find in the history of the Taiping regime any proponent of "peasant democracy" who had come forward to oppose their autocratic monarchism and stratification by rank? It is true that during the Taiping regime there had been some popular resentment and opposition, but not one item of all the material can prove that this resentment and opposition was directed against the system of autocratic monarchism. Some of it was directed against the extremes of egalitarianism practiced in the Heavenly Capital, some against the tenancy system in territory under the control of the Taiping regime. There was even less opposition among the officials of the Taiping regime. Even Hong Rengan [3163 0088 3771], who in Hong Kong had been influenced by some Western democratic ideology, sung the praises of autocratic monarchism and with not even one word voiced any dissatisfaction. Li Xiucheng expressed many complaints against the depostism of Hong Xiuquan; he mainly blamed him, not for the reason that Li was opposed to autocratic monarchism, but for Hong "trusting fully in Heaven and being unwilling to trust any man." Li Xiucheng was a loyal supporter of the monarchical system. In the most critical moment of breaking out from an encirclement, he paid no attention to his old mother, but rushed to protect the heir to the throne--a stupid, weak infant, a Heavenly King. Among the first to criticize the autocratic monarchism of Hong Xiuquan and his men were not any proponents of "peasant democracy," but the bourgeois revolutionary democrat Sun Yatsen. When he elucidated the democratic rights of the people, he criticized the autocratic monarchism of Hong Xiuquan and his men. ("Selected Works of Sun Yatsen," Vol 2, pp 675-676)

The ideology of egalitarianism and equality is an expression of resistance by the peasantry against feudal exploitation; it is an ideological weapon of the peasantry, but not an effective weapon. With this primitive ideological weapon the battle against a feudal tradition of several thousand years is immediately lost as soon as swords are crossed. Isn't it a clear illustration for the fact that the peasantry as a class lacked rearmament with a modern ideology when they so willingly implemented in those days that system of autocratic monarchism and hierarchical stratification?

The theories and practices of the Taiping regime provide us with a typical example for the study of egalitarianism. In 1944, Comrade Mao Zedong said that to this day we have not yet made an earnest start in the study of the experiences of the Taiping regime.

The present article cannot claim to be a study. I have only taken the opportunity of the 130th anniversary of the Taiping uprising to raise this question, to invite instruction from scholarly circles. Please let me have the benefit of your criticism of all my mistakes.

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8453
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HUBEI UPHOLDS SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO 26 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] The Hubei provincial conference of representatives of the CCP convened in Wuhan from 13 July to 25 July, 1981. The spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was conveyed by Comrade Chen Pixian [7109 0012 7359]; the congress studied and discussed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," which was adopted by the 6th Plenum, the plenums "Communique," and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech given at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the CCP.

The conference of representatives unanimously felt that the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a continuation and a great development of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and that it was a meeting of paramount importance in the history of our party. The Sixth Plenum adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," and elected new and old important leading members of the Central Committee, thereby completing the historical mission of bringing order out of chaos under the guiding ideology of the party. This enabled the entire party to forge ahead united, to concentrate its main energies on socialist modernization, to carry the national economy further ahead, and to effectively build the spiritual civilization of socialism. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," which was passed by the Central Committee, went through a fairly long period of complete deliberation. With the development of democracy and the pooling of the wisdom of the masses as a basis, our historical experience was realistically summed up, drawing a clear line between merits and faults and pointing out clearly the direction in which our nation's socialist cause and our party's work is continuing forward. This has had a profound significance on the unifying of the entire party's thought and in the struggle to accomplish, with one heart and one mind, the historical mission of this new age. The conference of representatives ardently supported the election of new and old important members of the Central Committee by the Sixth Plenum. It unanimously endorsed the election of Comrade Hu Yaobang as party chairman, Deng Xiaoping as chairmand of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and Zhao Ziyang as vice-chairman of the CCP: endorsed the Sixth Plenum's approval of Hua Guofeng's resignation from his post as chairman of the CCP and chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and his election as vice-chairman of the CCP; endorsed the order of names for chairman and vice-chairmen of the standing committee as follows: Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, and Hua Guofeng; and endorsed the election of Comrade Xi Zhongxun as secretary of the Secretariat of CCP Central Committee. The conference of representatives felt that this election of old and new members strengthened the collective leadership and the uniting as one of the party Central Committee's core of leadership on the basis of Marxism, implemented the party's correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Committee, and restored and developed the traditionally extremely important organizational guarantees of the party. In order to earnestly transmit, study and implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenum among the party members and broad masses of the entire province, the following resolutions were especially made:

1. Earnestly study and propagate the "Resolution of Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." Provincial party organizations at all levels must make the study of the "Resolution" one of the Central tasks of the second half of this year, and, based on the demands of related documents of the Central Committee, go a step further in making concrete arrangements and in earnestly paying attention. With study of the "Resolution" as the key, integrate study of the "Communique" of the plenary session with Hu Yaobang's speech made at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP.

Every party organization and party member must earnestly study, and carefully and thoroughly read these documents repeatedly, integrate them with reality, and acquire a deep understanding of them. Responsible comrades of party committees at all levels must set an example and lead in studying. First we must pay close attention to the studing done by cadres at all levels, especially that of leading cadres above the county level. Party committees at all levels must adopt the running of study classes, lecture courses, and other methods, and organize cadre study by turn, which nonparty cadres of the same grade can also attend. United Front work departments at all levels should organize study for non-party people and should conscientiously provide guidance. Party and cadres schools at all levels should make appropriate adjustments of educational plans based on the requirements of this study. Political education, in schools of all levels types, should in the second half of this year take this resolution as one of the principal points.

After study we must have a realistic understanding and grasp of the spiritual essence of the documents, and have a correct understanding of comrade Mao's historical role and of Mao Zedong Thought; we must realistically evaluate the achievements and mistakes of the past 32 years since the establishment of our nation; we must achieve unity in knowledge and unite as one to look forward. In dealing with key questions we must have a correct understanding of the effect on the party of the guiding role of comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and of Mao Zedong Thought. Certainly it must be clear that comrade Mao's achievements are primary while his mistakes are secondary. We must distinguish between Mao Zedong Thought and the errors Comrade Mao committed in the later years of his life. The fundamental tenets and the basic viewpoints of Mao Zedong Thought have been and will remain the guiding ideology of our party. We certainly should earnestly study and apply its positions, viewpoints and methods in studying the new conditions which arise as a result of practice, and in solving new problems, guaranteeing that the work of our party advances victoriously along the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, we must correct our style of study and continue to earnestly study the major works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, as well as the major works of other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

We must have a led and planned implementation of wide-ranging, profound propaganda and education aimed at the entire party membership and the broad masses. Leading cadres at all levels must go down to the grass-roots level and personally explain and publicize the "Resolution." In addition, they should train the propagandists and lecturers and launch wide-ranging publicizing activities. The higher level comrades must strengthen the guidance and examination of the study of the lower level comrades; lower level comrades must periodically report to the higher level comrades on the situation concerning their study. We must grasp this study in a down-to-earth manner, have a common understanding among all the provincial party members and people concerning the basic conclusion of the "Resolution," unite and look forward, work as on and struggle side by side.

2. After a thorough implementation of the spirit of the Sixth Plenum we must energetically strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," concerning the positive and negative experiences following the establishment of our country, especially in the lessons learned from the "Cultural Revolution," summed up the 10 experiences of the correct path of the socialist modern construction best suited to the conditions of our country, of which one crucial one was doing a good job of the building work of the party. Comrade Hu Yaobang in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the party's 60th anniversary, aiming at the present actual conditions of our party, put forth six basic demands for the strengthening of the building of our party. Provincial party organizations at all levels must adhere to the spirit of both the "Resolution" and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech. With a high level of awareness, we must work hard to make the building of party organizations in this provice an adherance to the party's correct line, rally closely around and lead the masses of this provice in carrying out the socialist modernization of a powerful fighting force.

We must make a serious study of the "Resolution." We must raise the theoretical level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought of each cadres in this provice. All members of the CCP must politically hold together with the Central Committee, consciously carry out and enforce the line, policy and guiding principles determined by the party since the Third Plenum, further continue in thought and practice the vigorous effort to eliminate the mistaken influence of leftism, get rid of all other mistaken obstructionist tendencies, support the four fundamental principles of the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletarian) the Communist Party's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, be qualified CCP members, consciously serve the people wholeheartedly and contribute their all for socialist modernization.

We must actively choose and foster middle-aged and young cadres who have both ability and political integrity, and appoint them to leading positions at all levels, step-by-step, in a planned way. Under the premise of revolutionizing we should progressively make the leading groups at all levels younger, well-educated, and professionally competent. Meanwhile, we must respect and make adequate arrangements for older cadres, and bring into full play their important role in passing on their experience, giving help and setting examples. We must further strengthen the democratic life of the entire party organization, adhere to and uphold democratic centralism, and strengthen party organization and discipline. Party committees at all levels must put into practice collective leadership and the division of labor with individual responsibility. Members must comply with decisions made by the party committee. The work that each person shares a responsibility for must be done seriously and conscientously. We must have a deeper understanding that the sytyle of work of the party in power is a matter of life or death for the party. The actions and words of every party member must comply with the resolution "Concerning Several Standards for Inner-Party Political Life." Those members holding leadership positions should take part in the regular activites of the organization, just like ordinary members, comply with party discipline and national law in an exemplary manner, maintain close ties with the masses, both in and out of the party, strengthen investigation and study, listen attentively to the opinions of the masses, and consciously accept the supervision of the masses. They must resolutely overcome being divorced from reality, divorce themselves from the evil tendencies of the masses, and overcome all types of mistaken thought which deviates from the principles of the party. They must enhance party spirit, eradicate factionalism, oppose bourgeois, liberal tendencies, anarchism and out-and-out egotism, and correct all unhealthy tendencies. The model deeds of fine party members must be vigorously commended, and the party's three important styles of work-integration of theory with practice, forging of close ties with the masses, and criticism and self-criticism-should be genuinely restored and developed, bringing into full play the vanguard and exemplary role of members of the CCP.

3. Provincial CCP members, and above all leading party cadres at all levels, must set an example, resolutely answer the solemn call of the the Sixth Plenum, hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, rally even closer around the central Committee, continue to develope the revolutionary spirit of the Foolish Old Men who moved the mountain, be determined, surmount every difficulty, and exert themselves in the struggle to gradually build our nation into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist nation.

At present, the political and economic situation in this provice is comparable to that of the rest of the country. Provincial party organizations at all levels together with the broad masses have resolutely implemented the further economic adjustment, and politically, the further bringing about of stable policies which were advanced by the line of the Third Plenum and last December's Central Committee Work Conference, already achieving great successes. However, we absolutely cannot be satisfied with the present situation, but should forge ahead and advance on the crest of victory.

We must certainly regard the spirit of the Sixth Plenum as a powerful moving force, concentrate our main energy, further grasp firmly all aspects of economic adjustment and political stability, and especially, try every possible way to increase industrial and agricultural production. In industry we must do a good job of tapping potential and reforming and improving existing enterprises. We must do a good job of specialized cooperation, reorganizing and combining, put into practice an economic system of job responsibility, actively strive to apply the achievements of scientific research, increase production and economize, bring econonomics results into play, and, under the premise of the right product for the right market and improving quality, work hard to increase the industrial value of gross output by eight percent this year. In agriculture we must go a step further in implementing each of the party's policies in the villages and in promoting joint production and calculation of payment, gradually perfecting all types of production responsibility systems, without a slackening in the production of food stuffs, while at the same time actively developing many kinds of management, vigorously spreading scientific agricultural technology, actively resisiting all kinds of natural disasters, paying attention to current agricultural production, and seizing the entire bumper harvest. We must do a good job in finance and trade, promote the development of industrial and agricultural production, further stimulate urban and rural markets, strengthen the administration of markets, stabilize prices, serve better the livelihood of the people, and in addition, ensure the completion of the task of finance; we must regard family planning as an important item of the nation economy and earnestly pay close attention to it; we must pay attention to the development of small cities and towns, and, under the leadership of the state-run economy, energetically develop a collective economy, and give seroius assistance to the development of the non-agricultural industrial economies of the cities and towns, encouraging them to engage in such small-scale trades as handicrafts, retail, food, repair, service, ect; we must further strengthen and improve the ideological and political work of the party, continue to implement all policies, and pay close attention to the completion of the concrete task of bringing order out of chaos; we must further strengthen and improve the leadership of the party in science, education, culture, health, physical fitness and all other undertakings, and pay close attention to the education and cultivation of young people. We must further develop the five stresses and four points of beauty movement; we must fully develop socialist democracy, strengthen unity between the army and the government and the army and the people, strengthen the work of the people's militia, and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship. We must severely punish according to law the sabotage done by counter-revolutionaries and Lin Biao, and the remnants of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutuonary clique, and resolutely attack those criminal offenders who seriously jeopardize society, closely integrate the work of strengthening specialized organs with reliance on the broad masses, get the entire party to work, coordinate administration, do a better job in public security, and consolidate and delvelop a stable and unified political situation.

Party committees at all levels throughout the province must immedialtely go into action and lead together CCP members, Communist Youth League members and the broad masses on all fronts, under the guiding spirit of the Sixth Plenum, unify knowledge, strengthen unity, brace up, go all out, struggle hard, and cautiously and conscientously make an even greater contribution to the building of a socialist economy and the building of a lively spirit!

9686
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

END TO ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFERENCE IN SCIENTIFIC WORK DEMANDED

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1981 pp 10-13

[Conference Report: "Who Should Evaluate Scientific Achievements and Talent? A Conference Sponsored Jointly by the Chinese Dialectics of Nature Association and the JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE"]

> [Text] Editor's note: A debate has developed over the question of the evaluation of Comrade Liu Yuguang [0491 0068 0342] and his work. On 6 November 1980, the Chinese Dialectics of Nature Association and this journal jointly invited scientists and science administration cadres to a conference to discuss the issue of appraising scientific and technical achievements and assessing scientific and technical talent and to introduce the experiences and lessons learned at home and abroad; to analyze the important issues that still exist in this area in China; and to discuss the fundamental principles of the direction that work in this area should follow in the future. We herewith publish summaries of the speeches given by the participants.

He Zuoxiu [0149 4373 1652] (Deputy Director of the Institute of Theoretical Physics; Research Fellow): I am not a biologist and have no right to speak on Comrade Liu Yaguang's research, nor do I wish to comment on his work. But I would like to address the issue of ways to deal with this kind of matter. Situations like Liu Yaguang's exist in physics. They exist in China and abroad and are not rarities. The thing is, these matters should not be resolved outside of science. Matters of right and wrong in science should be resolved by science itself, and outsiders should not flagrantly interfere.

There is also a matter of principle here. Just how should China's scientists be treated? I think that it would be hard to find intellectuals anywhere else in the world who are as ardently patriotic or socialist-loving as China's scientists. They have worked hard at building an enterprise, have put their shoulders to the wheel, have been willing to bear the burdens of office, and have shared the joys and sorrows along with the nation and the people. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as a representative of the party Central Committee, was at the China Science University rehabilitating scientists, he gratified people by saying that scientists are members of the working class. This being the case, why can't we act like scientists in the matter of evaluating scientific and technical accomplishments and talent? Whether or not the right of evaluation is handed over to scientists is an issue concerning whether or not we have confidence in scientific workers or science.

Li Peishan [2621 0160 3790] (Deputy Director of the Institute of the History of Natural Sciences; Associate Research Fellow) (Entire text published separately).

Bao Wenkui [7637 2429 1145] (Deputy Director of the Institute of Crop Breeding of The Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences; Research Fellow): We who are engaged in agricultural science have suffered enough from administrative cadres. During the Great Leap Forward, when the satellite of high yields was launched, we did not have faith in it, but whoever dared to speak the truth was dragged out onto the stage and criticized. After the fact, they said they had committed the error of "exaggeration," when in fact there was no "exaggeration" at all, just outrageous lies! In breeding work they talked big about distant hybridization and propagandized its results, but scientists did not open their mouths and thus there were no reliable results to be seen. Interplanting of peas and wheat had been reported in the past but had never stood up to testing. Recently it was reported again in the papers, but there was no scientific attitude. This sort of work has no scientific basis and wastes manpower and resources; yet people keep on doing it and supporting it. Recently I heard that someplace they reported the successful crossbreeding of wheat and oats, and soon the sum of several hundred thousand yuan was appropriated for it. This is a misuse of money, especially when scientific research funds are hard to come by.

The attack on Li Senke [2621 2773 4430] not only struck a blow at experimental methods in our agricultural science research, but it also overthrew the management methods of agricultural science research. Accurate experimental data cannot be produced, statistical methods are criticized as hairsplitting, and statistical agricultural output is a big problem because figures are unreliable. Furthermore, this has had a great impact on our study style. Some people have a "way of thinking," but not a "way of doing." They have glib tongues and a great capacity for activity. There are many such people, and they can make weeds grow in the garden of science. We should certainly seek truth from facts, and important results should yield data. We are not being obstinate; if you have resources to persuade us to the contrary, we can believe. The foundation work of some people has not passed the test, but still they aim high: today they do this, while tomorrow they will do that and claim that their general direction is correct. It seems that the significance is great, but they cannot distinguish it very well. Leadership organs also want to believe, and the money they appropriate is just as good as thrown down a hole.

Shen Shumin [3088 3219 2404] (Director of Information Office of the Institute of Biophysics; Associate Research Fellow): The situation in science today is good, but scientific imposters still objectively exist, and it is necessary to attract everyone's attention to this point and not evade the issue. The Liu Yaguang "incident" demonstrates that some leaders do not have faith in scientists and do not understand scientists. It should be understood that those who truly engage in science have their morality. If you are always engaged in scholarship and use the results to obtain the faith and support of science, why go looking for support among writers and important people? When we talk about leadership work and propaganda work, we do so in dialectical terms, but when we start to do [the work], we prefer absolutist terms. They say to respect the elders, so famous people cannot be touched; they say to take young people seriously, so young people cannot be criticized, for criticism is "oppression" and that's bad. Science needs criticism. In evaluating scientific achievements and talent, it is unscientific to spare sensibilities when criticizing. But real life often tells us that speaking the truth hurts. As a result, some people are all friendliness on the surface and say that they're both alright, but behind each other's backs they cannot stand each other. In the process of compiling an encyclopedia, there was a discussion about which scientists in a discipline could be included, but because there was no agreement, not one scientist was included--just to keep the peace. How can this do? I propose that we set conditions and make demands regarding the matter of evaluating scholarship. You cannot report results as soon as an essay is written, or even report results before an abstract has been written. The thesis should be appraised or at least examined for half a year. If there is a mechanism and an organization for appraisal, there should be confidence in it and an admission of its authority to make resolutions, and it should approve revisions of the resolutions and not be easily denied by outside forces.

Qiu Renzong [6726 0088 1350] (Director of the Office of Dialectics of Nature Research, Institute of Philosophy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Associate Research Fellow): Scientific achievements can be compared to the variations which appear in an organism. Variations in an organism advance the organism through natural selection by preserving favorable variations and eliminating unfavorable ones. Appraisal of scientific achievement plays the role of selection and plays an important regulatory function in the forward progress of the health of science. Appraisal of scientific achievement should obey the developmental laws of science itself. Historically, interference from outside science has never had good results. Soviet medicine is backward even today because early on, administrative methods compelled the reform of medicine, using the Pavlovian theory. We have had similar lessons. Administrative orders or the press propagandized and promoted the ideas, before [these ideas] were appraised by science, that acupuncture cured the deaf and dumb and that bittern flakes cured illnesses, etc., with disastrous effects. These issues have not yet been resolved.

One should rely on scientists for an appraisal of scientific achievements. First of all, this means appraisal by peers. Peers can always carry out an appraisal that is more in conformity with reality than can outsiders. This principle is very simple, but the trouble caused by outsiders leading insiders, or the mistaken idea that Marxism can substitute for natural science, comes about because we have forgotten this principle. Secondly, evaluation by peers means collective appraisal. It is still not good to rely on only one or two scientific workers for an appraisal of scientific achievement, but one must rely on the collective strength of scientific workers. This collective is not simply the adding on of individual scientific workers. At appraisal meetings, scientific workers freely express their views. This exchange of views produces a "chemical change." Thus it isn't replaced by an individual search for opinions. Thirdly, and more importantly, this method of appraisal itself has a mechanism for correcting mistakes easily. Although mistakes can occur in scientific appraisal, it is far easier for mistakes to be committed in the other methods, and the mistakes are not easy to correct. The true scientific worker can respect practice and fact, and thus it is easier for him to correct mistakes.

Mao Guizhen [3029 2710 7201] (Deputy Head of the Vocational Office of the Institute of Microbiology): During the time he was part of my shop, Liu Yaguang reported "breakthroughs" four times. Not one of them was genuine. But he had the ability to manipulate. Once he had reported, someone would comment on it; once the report was commented on, we would undertake it. I was called to meetings at the academy over 20 times to evaluate his results and study his work or to fix up and respond to his reports. The leaders of the Academy of Sciences and the leaders of the Central Committee have many times commented on similar reports from who knows how many people. We who are working personnel in basic-level scientific research units normally have much work to do. If he really had made achievements which were beneficial, it would have been worth the time and energy spent. But he had made no achievements, and just because he could make a fuss he made us go around in circles, so how could our energies be devoted to the four modernizations? The affairs of the party and nation are piled as high as mountains, but leadership comrades insist on getting into things they don't understand. This makes it very hard on us and causes great anxiety.

Xu Liangying [6079 5328 5391] (Institute of History of Natural Science; Associate Research Fellow): There are many lessons which should be drawn from the Liu Yaguang matter, but the question is, can we absorb them? If we rely on the leadership to evaluate scientific and technical achievements and talent, and if the leadership is clever, our lives will be easier; however, if the leadership is muddleheaded, our lives will be a little harder. Science cannot be conducted this way.

If the evaluation of achievements is managed by administrative leaders, then it can become increasingly chaotic. A nation which is politically democratic and academically free cannot do things this way. For a time in the past, the Soviet Union spread the notion of the principle of science's part nature. Actually, science belongs to all mankind, and since it has no class nature, it is impossible to talk about its party nature. Historically, however, scientific research has formed some common principles that all classes must observe: practice is the sole criterion of truth; everyone is equal before the truth; scientific concepts and theories must be logically correct and stand up to analysis; research achievements of predecessors must be respected, experimental facts should be able to be replicated; and plagiarism and falsification are recognized as unethical behavior. If an individual has willfully violated these principles, his scientific career is finished. Evaluation of scientific achievements and talent can rely only on peer evaluation, because scientists have a common language, common standards of right and wrong, and common ethical demands. Sometimes they make mistakes in their appraisals, but peer evaluation has a feedback and a self-regulating function, so that errors in understanding are not difficult to correct. But outsiders cannot participate in peer evaluation, for if they make a mistake it is hard to correct easily. There are limits to each person's understanding, and it is impossible to judge all scientific rights and wrongs. Einstein said it well: "Whoever wants to be the judge in the realm of truth and knowledge will be drowned in the laughter of God."

If we want to develop science, then we certainly should separate scholarly leadership and administrative leadership, certainly should study the good things that have appeared in the process of capitalist development, should eliminate outside interference in science, and should not engage in official favoritism or in hoodwinking by means of administrative and public opinion. We should give science some right of self-government.

Yang Yiwen [2799 2496 2429] (Head of the Second Office, Bureau of Science and Technology, Ministry of Public Health): We should treat the Liu Yaguang matter conscientiously and get right and wrong clarified. The research units subordinate to the Ministry of Public Health have very limited expenses. Some new medicines have been developed and evaluated and are urgently needed, but because there are no funds to distribute them, they cannot be put into production. Yet in a short time, Liu Yaguang can get 2 million yuan. Where is the justice in that?

We should be careful aboxt disseminating information concerning medicines--a matter of human life. If medicines are not tested on animals and are not evaluated, then reporting them and promoting their use can become a real problem. Take curing infantile paralysis, exploding bladderstones, or treatment with magnetic eyeglasses. Once they had been reported in the newspapers, specialists with different views had no place to express their opinions, and these questions should have been reviewed. All fields now have newspapers, and so, since we accept the importance of science, we call for a scientist's newspaper to reflect freely the opinions of scientists.

Meng Zhaowen [1322 2507 2429] (Academic Office, Chinese Academy of Sciences): I would like to discuss the flaws in leadership work from another angle. For scientific leaders to be the only ones to evaluate results is far from adequate. Leaving aside the matter of Liu Yaguang's work, and speaking only of Chinese medicine in molecular biology research, in the past people generally approved of it, but some scientific leadership agencies had never paid careful attention to this work before. For example, there was the use of molecular biology to carry out research in Chinese medicine, the direction of the research, and whether we should stress it; furthermore, if we stressed it, how should we stress it, where should we start, how should we select the scientific leaders, should we establish a research agency, and so forth. Scientific leadership agencies should take the initiative in grasping this work and should have the right to implement the plans they decide on themselves; they should not have to be led around by the nose by the endless letters and petitions sent up and down, as they do now.

This kind of autonomous, positive, effective scientific leadership has experienced success. The wholly synthetic bovine insulin and the straton model produced by the Basic Particle Theory Group of Beijing in the 1960's were both outstanding. Their outstanding feature was that the administrative leadership provided strong support and coordination and did not run things by itself without consulting others. Those academics chosen to take the lead were very active.

The direction chosen was correct and the measures just right. A group of outstanding and creative young people were trained and chosen. Because they insisted on tackling key problems, and because they dared to and were good at taking the offensive, in the end they produced outstanding achievements. So why now in basic research is there this situation in which each person works only on one small topic? One reason probably is that, over the years, scientific leadership agencies have formed many conventions in thinking and administering, and if things are not resolved within the bounds of these conventions they cannot really develop fully the scientific leadership agency's role. Now, one reason is not entirely that there is no money, for Liu Yaguang's 2 million yuan in expenses was approved just like that! The second reason isn't that there is no outstanding talent, for we have much talent now but have not used it well; otherwise how could large numbers of students go abroad for advanced training? The key is that we require vigorous and highly effective scientific leadership agencies, and in these agencies we need bold and knowledgeable leaders, and we need to let them have authority so that they will unify people from all areas and use their efforts in the key points.

Furthermore, we should resolve the question of information channels not being clear. A great many people could comment on the Liu Yaguang matter, but in actual work at lower levels there are many urgent matters that cannot be reported to the upper echelons. I propose a periodical that can publish different views on scientific questions extensively. It is now very difficult to publish opinions and articles. Page limitations, editorial intent, and especially not going beyond limits set by the administration have all had an impact on the publishing of opinions. If periodical opinion would let different views be fully published, it would add a restriction to administrative interference.

Written speech by Liu Shuzong [0491 6615 1350] (General Office, Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, Ministry of Metallurgy): The evaluation of scientific achievements and talent should rely on peer evaluation and verification of experiments. This should be very clear. But why can't it be carried out? Since the Liu Yaguang "incident" has appeared publicly in the press, we must be clear about it. Right and wrong in science and right and wrong with regard to the incident should both be clarified. The question of principle and the specific instance should both be resolved. Now that the country is stressing science, the suppression of talent should be regarded as a major issue, but at the same time we should emphasize the fact that some people are swindling and bluffing by wearing the label "talent." Such people are not few in number. They engage in psuedoscience and cause damage to the country and the people. Science explores the unknown, it permits fancy and hypothesis, and in conducting experiments it permits errors; however, it absolutely does not permit falsifying data, plagiarizing other people's achievements, or lying about achievements. Such people and such behavior should be dealt with after thorough examination. We should develop legislation regarding science, and establish conditions for rewards and punishment. If an architect makes an error in design, he goes to jail. There should be a way to deal with the creation of data and the plagiarizing of achievements. We should now establish an overall system of assessing talent and achievements, and set up agencies that have authority.

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HEEDING OF LESSONS OF HISTORY REGARDING SCIENCE URGED

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese
No 1, 1981 pp 13-16

[Article by Li Peishan [2626 0160 3790], Institute of History of Natural Sciences, Chinese Academy of Sciences: "Firmly Bear in Mind Historical Experiences and Lessons"]

[Text] In the debate over the question of Comrade Liu Yaguang [0491 0068 0342], after more than 5 years of debate, many comrades in science have finally come to a rational conclusion. I think that this is because, in terms of the general situation, democratic principles have gradually come to be realized in political life since the smashing of the "gang of four" and, in terms of the situation within science, comrades have not only called on the leaders to pay serious attention to the opinions of scientists, but have themselves dared to fight for their democratic rights. This is thoroughly delightful.

The evaluation of scientific achievements and scientific talent is actually a two-sided issue. Around this question, in the history of science, there are no small number of experiences and lessons from which we could learn.

First, let me cite successful experiences which are acknowledged by the world. In the entire 80-year history of the Nobel Prize for science, from 1901 to the present, there have been 339 scientists who have received awards (including 3 persons who have received awards twice). Because the awarding of this prize is decided by a committee of scientists of very high level and according to strict selection methods, almost all of the scientific topics which have received awards have undergone a period of testing and are important achievements recognized by science. Thus the prize enjoys great esteem in world science and, at the same time, the scientists who win the prize gain great honor. Examining the topics which have won the prize in the past 80 years, [we see that] the overwhelming majority of topics occupy important positions in the history of the development of modern science. Thus, science acknowledges that this prize plays a progressive role in the development of science. From the materials I examined, what has been most discussed about the Nobel Prize is that some important scientific achievements have not been selected, and in some essays there have even appeared lists of scientists and scientific work which "have not yet been awarded the Nobel Prize." The only one we could argue with is the award of the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1926 to the Dane, Johannes Fibiger

(1867-1928), for discovering hyperplasia in malignant tumors, but for 40 years after this discovery, no awards were made for tumor research until 1966, when the prize for medicine was awarded to two scientists who did research on tumors. (For one of them, F. P. Rous, the runner-up for the prize in 1926, it was the result of 60 years of experimentation and observation.) Apart from the Nobel Prize, there are other foundations which have accumulated much useful experience in selecting scientists and providing support for their scientific research.

There are also some world-acknowledged lessons which are the opposite of those discussed above. In the 1940's, the Soviet Union supported Lysenko with all its might and repudiated wholesale the achievements of Mendel and Morgan. This is a classic case of the use of political power to interfere flagrantly in academic matters. Also included here is the erroneous evaluation of scientific achievements and talent. The basic lesson is that the criticizing of a question of scientific right and wrong, which should have been resolved through debate among scientists, as a "reactionary," "capitalist," and "racist" political issue and as "idealism and metaphysics," and in addition the direct intervention by the Central Committee of the CPSU and Stalin, created an opportunity that Lysenko's school of scientific imposters could exploit--and they used this opportunity to make an erroneous judgment which turned right and wrong upside down.

In the mid-1930's, Lysenko skyrocketed to the top during the political attack that was launched against scientists who had dissident scientific viewpoints. Though this was already very abnormal, it was still a local matter. Later on, Lysenko's crude workstyle was publicly criticized by Yuri Zhdnov, head of the Science Office of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the CPSU. But by 1948, before the All-Union Conference of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the situation had taken an abrupt turn. After the victory in the Fatherland War, the Central Committee of the CPSU passed a series of resolutions in the realm of ideology "criticizing bourgeois thinking." Representative of this was the meeting convened at the instigation of Stalin and the CPSU Central Committee to criticize "The History of Western European Philosophy," written by Aleksandrov. In June 1947, A. A. Zhdanov, who was made responsible for ideological work by the CPSU Central Committee, gave a speech at that meeting. The speech made the issue of natural science a constituent part of this "comprehensive attack" carried out against domestic "bourgeois ideological remnants" and foreign "hostile ideologies." He called on the philosophical front to participate in related criticism and "propel natural science forward" in the Soviet Union. After this, a series of meetings was held to criticize idealism in natural science. The All-Union Conference of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, held in August 1948, was a conference which had the highest political standards as well as the greatest influence. Nearly 1,000 persons attended this conference. Lysenko's report at the meeting, "On the Present Situation in Biological science," had been approved by Stalin and the CPSU Central Committee. The report labeled "Michurin Biology," proposed by Lysenko, as "progressive" and "materialist"; but it tagged the genetics of Mendel and Morgan as "reactionary," "bourgeois," "idealistic metaphysics," proclaiming: "We should expunge Mendel, Morgan, and Weismannism from our science." Before and after the meeting, considerable political pressure was exerted on persons who held dissident views.

Before the meeting, Yuri Zhdanov, who had criticized Lysenko in the past, had to submit a self-criticism to Stalin and admit that he had made a "fundamental error in guiding the two conflicting trends in biology to a reconciliation," that "sharp public criticism of Academician Lysenko was a mistake," and that he "had not dealt this antiscientific view (i.e., the scientific viewpoint of Mendel and Morgan) a mortal blow," etc. This self-criticism was published in PRAVDA prior to the conclusion of the conference. Afterward, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR especially convened a meeting to make a self-criticism and made a series of decisions on dismissals, closing laboratories, changing the editorial committees of journals, and revising research plans so as "to expunge" Mendelian genetics. At the time, the Soviet Union considered this conference a definite step in its "thorough victory" gained by dialectical materialism in genetics.

Apart from genetics, the scientific community of the Soviet Union made a series of erroneous decisions. For example, in the summer of 1950, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Academy of Medicine of the USSR jointly issued a resolution vigorously praising Pavlovian biology, inappropriately elevating it to the height of "reforming medicine and psychology," and pointing the spear of criticism against the cytopathology of Weierxiao [phonetic] [7614 1422 5135-Welch?] and a group of Soviet scientists. After May 1950, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Biology Section and the Higher Education Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR held several conferences resolving to support vigorously Lebaixinsikaya's [phonetic] [0519A 2672 6580 2448 0595 1246-Lebaishinskaya?] theory of cellular huozhi [3172 6347] (later proved to be unscientific) and criticized Weierxiao's cellular theory. At about the same time, the Biology Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR also announced its support for the theory of Boxiyang [phonetic] [3134 1585 2254], based on falsified experiments, that bacteria could turn into viruses and vice versa. In 1951, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR convened yet another large all-union symposium on the theory of chemical structure and criticized the resonance theory proposed by the American Pauling, which plays an important role in research on molecular structures, etc. This series of conference resolutions departed from the laws of scientific development and from the fundamental principles which scientific research should follow and, as a result, considered major, internationally recognized scientific accomplishments as "bourgeois," "reactionary" "pseudoscience," and vigorously supported and publicized all pseudoscience which was wrapped in the cloak of "materialism" as "major, materialist, progressive scientific accomplishments."

If we examine these questions against the historical background of contemporary scientific development, they are truly unthinkable. In 1948, when Morgan's theory was being "expunged" in the Soviet Union, it was making great strides internationally. The "genetic theory" was proven through repeated experimentation by scientists in many countries. While in today's terms their work was somewhat imperfect and had its limitations, this was unavoidable (any achievement acknowledged by science as great today will, after a certain number of years, be considered imperfect and to have limitations). Molecular genetics dawned in the 1940's: the theory of "one gene, one enzyme" which was proposed in 1941 was universally accepted by biology by 1946. That DNA is the stuff of heredity had already been proven in an experiment in 1944. All these important scientific advances were very clearly understood by true biologists in the USSR, and in "criticism meetings" some scientists cited these accomplishments and raised these questions. But all these scientific facts could not prevent genetics in the USSR from suffering this disaster.

If we do not discuss these matters in isolation, but consider them against the background of the political history of all of Soviet society at the time, we then can understand that this is the inevitable outcome of the special historical conditions of the time. Comrade Stalin, the supreme leader of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU, who led the Soviet Union's socialist revolution and construction after Lenin passed away, made great achievements and had very high prestige both at home and abroad. But at the same time, he established his personal "absolute authority" in a series of political struggles and in the expansion of the battle against counterrevolutionaries since the 1920's. Worship of him had already become common practice inside and outside the party, reaching its highest peak after the victory in the Fatherland War. "Worship of the individual" severely damaged the democratic principles of the political life of the party and nation, and many things were decided on his personal say-so. Under such conditions, the laws of scientific development and the democratic rights of scientists were of little importance. Stalin's interference in scientific questions became an irresistable political pressure. As a result, this period in history significantly complicated the history of science in the 20th century.

This "struggle" of the Soviet Union in the realm of academe directly affected science in China, disturbing in particular China's work in biology, medicine and agronomy, with the greatest damage done to genetics. Under similar "political pressure" in China, much genetic research was halted and many geneticists were constantly "examined ideologically." Professor Bao Wenkui [7637 2429 1145], who is attending this conference today, was conducting research on polyploid breeding at the time, and the wheat seedlings in his experimental fields were forcibly dug up. In 1956, great changes took place in the Soviet academic world. At the end of 1952, someone wrote an essay criticizing Lysenko's preposterous thesis concerning species and their formation. In March 1953, after Stalin passed away, this academic discussion began to broaden. Over 200 articles were written, including some which not only criticized Lysenko's mistaken scientific viewpoint but also exposed the fact that the evidence Lysenko had used to support his theory of the formation of species was untrue. At the end of 1955, over 300 scientists signed a petition demanding Lysenko's dismissal as head of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. In April 1956, the Soviet Council of Ministers accepted Lysenko's resignation. The development of this stage of affairs caught the attention of China's party and government. China's geneticists reacted to this violently. The Science Office of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the CCP carried out a conscientious study of this "struggle" in the Soviet Union and its influence on China. In the spring of 1956, our party put forth the hundred flowers direction for science, and in August of the same year it convened the Qingdao Conference of Geneticists; free discussion in academic questions took a turn for the better. Before long, however, the antirightist struggle began, criticizing the thinking that "outsiders cannot lead insiders" and criticizing the so-called "antisocialist scientific program." Later, with the continuing development of frequent "academic criticism," the hundred flowers course frequently encountered [illegible] representations. The ubiquitous criticism of "bourgeois academic authorities" and of "reactionary viewpoints in the natural science theoretical front" during the 10 years of chaos brought unprecedented devastation to scientific work. Looked at today, China for a long period of time has had a background of political history similar to that of the Stalin era. "The cult of personality" was in vogue, and for a long time there was a blurring of the lines between politics and philosophy on the one hand and science on the other. This made it impossible for us to learn the proper lessons from events in the Soviet Union.

In evaluating scientific achievements and talent, we must do things in accordance with the laws of scientific development and the fundamental principles which scientific work should obey. The development of science is founded on the constant accumulation and acceptance of experience and knowledge, and thus we must conscientiously study and respect the scientific accomplishments of our predecessors. The development of science is also a process of constant creation. Thus there are no taboo areas in science, no absolute authorities, and even less are there any eternally irrefutable, final conclusions. Scientific work must be based on fact; all plagiarism and resorting to deception constitute immoral conduct. Deciding the right and wrong of science must conform to the principle of "practice is the sole criterion of truth." It can be resolved only through free discussion and debate among scientific workers and must eliminate the obstacles of interference from outside and the force of custom. Here, political democracy and academic freedom are the necessary guarantees of the thriving and prospering of science. Lessons and experience, whether of the Soviet Union or of our own country, show that the interference of political power cannot resolve the issue of evaluating scientific right and wrong, but that it can smother science and obstruct the development of scientific work. In all the support of political and economic forces and the management of science by state agencies, only by following the laws of scientific development and obeying the principles of scientific work can science be effectively advanced.

These principles appear to be very simple, but in practice they are frequently departed from quite far. In the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, scientific work has followed a tortuous path. After the smashing of the "gang of four," party committees at all levels vigorously stressed the work of implementing policy and, whether dealing with individuals or affairs, vigorously set things to rights and mobilized the initiative of intellectuals in general. However, we still have not conducted specific examinations of classic cases that have taken place in different historical stages, nor have we scientifically analyzed the social causes that gave rise to these questions. We hope that concerned leadership sections will, through study and analysis of some classic cases, summarize the experience and lessons of scientific work in the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China and draft a resolution concerning certain historical questions related to China's scientific work, in order to thoroughly reform our leadership and management of scientific work.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SCIENTISTS SEEN AS BEST JUDGES OF SCIENTIFIC TALENT

Beijing ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA TONGXUN [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE] in Chinese No 1, 1981 pp 16-18

[Article by Shi Xiyuan [4258 1585 0337]: "On Distinguishing Persons With Scientific Talents"]

[Text] Persons with scientific talent are the foundation of science. For many years, due to the crisis in talented people that was created by the ultraleftist line, there has naturally been a general social concern about people with scientific talent. But talent not only has distinctions of superiority and inferiority, it also has distinctions of truth and falsity, so, while valuing persons of talent, how to distinguish persons who have scientific talent is something which should attract our special attention.

[The term] persons with scientific talent refers to persons who can make creative contributions to the development of science. The objective standards for evaluating talented persons should consider scientific achievements. A person without scientific achievements may have talent in other areas, but he still cannot be considered a person with scientific talent. A quick mind, hard work, modesty and prudence, and unity and mutual aid are unquestionably qualities and merits which many persons with scientific talent should have, but having them does not mean a person has scientific talent. Having studied at a famous university, having worked at a certain scientific research agency, having been the assistant of a famous scientist, or having been recognized by a leading personality also should not be the basis for being appraised as a person with scientific talent. On the other hand, political mistakes, arrogance and self-satisfaction, offending the leadership, and an undisciplined lifestyle should not be the basis for denying that people have scientific talent. A great scientist must have excellent academic morality and the intention to serve the nation and all mankind; a scientist with important achievements must have a spirit of energetic exploration in his field of science, a keen ability to discriminate, or ingenious experimental methods. In the final analysis, however, it is still concrete scientific achievements that count.

A scientific achievement is generally revealed in a research article. At the same time, we should understand that the article is not the same thing as the achievement. Because an article contains a certain amount of true knowledge and a certain amount of new information, it has its differences in degree of new and old, truth and falsity, and level of excellence. At present, the mechanisms for discrimination in the world of science are still imperfect. Scientific research has undergone a long period of disruption, and in recent work to assign academic titles, the quantity of articles has frequently been made an important standard of assessment. We have had no alternative but to do it this way, but we cannot go on considering this the correct method. Otherwise, important subjects which are of great significance, considerable difficulty, and a highly exploratory nature will be investigated by [only a] few persons, and important groups of topics which are already being explored will daunt the morale of the troops. Among some workers there had already appeared a tendency toward superficial pursuit of a quantity of articles. Many people think only of getting hold of a small topic in pursuit of "keeping the news pouring out," and still others intentionally break up an article into smaller pieces, or even do not hesitate to resort to falsification or giving false information about achievements. Following along with this, in the name of opposing "sharing the work of others" (I do not approve of "sharing the work of others"), the tendency to carve out one's own sphere and seal it off from others is becoming increasingly popular. These petit bourgeois workstyles which are reappearing in scientific labor are diametrically opposed to the demands of scientific and academic modernization.

Talented persons are hard to come by, and persons talented in science are naturally hard to come by. To stop the "devaluation" of talent, it is necessary to eliminate the disruption of unscientific standards and to develop, train, use and protect talent correctly.

Whether or not an individual has made a creative contribution to the development of science cannot be determined by a subjective evaluation of that individual. Persons of talent are a social phenomenon, and distinguishing persons of talent is a social distinction. Judgment can be made only by linking up with the specific circumstances within branches of science. The people who have this ability to distinguish are the "experts" who are pursuing scientific research in the same or similar fields. This is why it is necessary to implement peer evaluation. In the past, scientists were deprived of, or crippled in, their position in evaluation work because the line calling for criticism of experts "gave prominence to politics." For a time, some "achievements" and "persons of talent" appeared by means of "individual boasting--leadership verdict--periodical propaganda," which in the 10 years of chaos during the "Cultural Revolution" caused us to experience in science a time of brilliant "heroes" with very few true achievements.

New discoveries in science should be evaluated by experts collectively, because scientists also suffer from limitations in their individual abilities to understand. Scientists in the same field and same period may make mistakes in evaluation because of their limitations, but generally speaking, these mistakes are not only fairly easy to correct through scientific experiments, but in comparison with those of nonexperts, their mistakes are much less serious and much fewer. In 1973, the American scientist Summerlin announced that onto a white mouse he had grafted a piece of black mouse skin which had been preserved in a culture, and that it was not rejected. Others could not replicate his results, and later his assistant revealed that the black skin had been colored. This sort of situation is not hard to expose in science and cannot have a very great impact on science or society as a whole. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union in the 1940's, out of political needs and philosophical concepts, Stalin used politically coercive methods to promote the pseudoscience of Lysenko and (Lebaishinskaya) with the result that science suffered a disaster for an entire "camp." Since liberation, the academic criticism which has been carried out in the field of natural science in China has for the most part been started by outsiders and used political and philosphical standards. Major instances have been criticism of the theory of relativity, the second law of thermodynamics, genetic theory, cytopathology, and psychology (though this does not mean criticism within academic discussion). Minor instances have included the accusation that considering nutrition to be a cause of Keshan disease is "an attack on the socialist system"; condemning as a "vicious attack on the great leader" the view that there are black spots on the sun; condemning as "opposition to the supreme directive" the view that the history of mankind is over 3 million years old; etc. On the other hand, things with no scientific basis whatsoever have been welcomed into the halls of science: the high-output "satellite" of 100,000 jin per mu, the glossy ganoderma research of respectful "devotion," the modern passion for perpetual motion and the elixir of immortality have all been praised by those outside the field; even though they failed, there has been the consolidation of saying that the general direction is correct!

Facts show that the laws of nature and the laws of scientific development cannot be changed by the influence or prestige of anyone. "Every field has its specialty." Not only political scientists, military specialists, economists, and literary specialists, but scientists, too, cannot be proficient in all scientific knowledge. As Mr Lu Xun said, "We should observe that what makes famous people famous is because they are in one field, but we should be wary of free talk concerning anything outside that field."

In recent years in China, public opinion and propaganda have discussed justice for scientists and science, and this is a good thing. But not enough attention has been paid to the weaknesses and dark sides of science. Actually, only by rewarding the good, helping the deficient, and exposing the false among those in science can healthy trends be fostered and the development of science be promoted.

Science should have an excellent atmosphere. Science tolerates failure but not deceit. There is the individual's pursuit of fame, the pursuit of truth and a high regard for publicizing results, and even a high regard for scientific value. But practicing fraud and blowing one's own trumpet cannot stand the scrutiny of science and must seek the help of forces outside of science. If our journals and propaganda do not conduct conscientious research and investigations and do not rely on scientists to evaluate scientific right and wrong, they depart from science and pursue news and artistic results, painting the sores of science as blooming flowers. Isn't that being more of a hindrance than a help to science?

Under a system where the level of scientific education of all the people is not high and where there is highly centralized authority, abuses also affect scientific management. On the one hand it is unfavorable for the training, discovery, and use of people with talent, while on the other hand there are many opportunities in which those who boast, deceive, and have an improper workstyle can take advantage. Some leadership comrades who have a feudal, special-privilege mentality, a heavyhanded workstyle, and a deficient ability to discriminate in scientific matters insist on controlling many things they shouldn't. They frequently observe and handle scientific matters by the same standards they have used to handle administrative matters for decades. They support certain persons or projects largely on the basis that "such and such a central government cadre had commented on a report," "this work has great significance." "It conforms to the basic principles of materialism," "the general direction is correct," "a famous and friendly foreign scientist is very interested in this," etc. Once they have made up their minds, they do not want to hear different opinions. Today, leader A indicates he supports this; tomorrow, leader B indicates he supports that. This method of selecting persons with talent and determining research plans, as far as those who work hard are concerned, is "heaven is high and the emperor is far away," and as far as those who are opportunists are concerned, it is frequently "get it without wasting effort." This way of doing things departs from the scientific path, with the result that unprincipled study style and bureaucratic workstyle get together and severely damage the development of science.

Socialist democracy should guarantee that there is interaction between each member of society and not a relationship of absolute obedience. Society is a complex system made up of many strata and many sections, and members of society should attend to their duties and fully develop their creative abilities at their posts. The political scientist has his own important mission to undertake; he can rely on the scientist to evaluate and choose scientific talent. He need not rely on his subjective, unscientific standards to select scientific talent. In terms of cybernetics, if higher agencies are the direct specific regulators of internal processes of a subsystem, the entire system will be thrown into disorder.

To really resolve the question of persons of talent, it is necessary to be much more flexible in systems and policies, to give scientific workers more freedom, to make them genuflect less, and to give their "talent" an opportunity to be displayed and developed so that their scientific thinking, research papers, technical inventions, and work proposals will have an opportunity to be published and exchanged and thus be evaluated and verified by the people. In this sense, though the article is not equal to the achievements, it should create the conditions for scientific workers to publish more. And only by publishing can achievements be distinguished. Knowing the "talent," one can then "use" it. To do this, it is necessary to vigorously develop scientific publishing and a healthy science appraisal agency and system. In this way we can move ahead step by step. But what most urgently needs to be resolved now is to give entirely to scientists the authority to evaluate scientific achievements and talent.

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WRITERS URGED TO STUDY SOCIETY IN DEPTH

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 81 p 5

[Article by Liu Jianjun [0491 1696 6511] and Meng Wanfu: [5536 8001 1133]: "Writers Must Voluntarily Plunge Into the Thick of Life"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai many times called on literary and art workers to go into the thick of life, to voluntarily plunge into the fiery struggles of the masses. In the new historical period of the four modernizations of our country, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out: "Voluntarily derive source material, subject matter, plots, language, poetical feelings and pictorial effects from the life of the people, nourish ourselves with the aspiring spirit people use to create history--this is the fundamental path for the thriving development of our socialist literature and art." The masses of the people have diverse demands regarding the forms and subject matters of literature and art.

The paths of life taken by writers using different forms and subject matters for their creative work are also diverse. But each writer must, in accordance with his own conditions and possibilities, choose his own way of going into the thick of life. Every writer must voluntarily go among the masses and expand his vision. There should be no exceptions. Guided by Chairman Mao's "Talks" at Yanan, many of our writers such as Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo, Liu Qing and Du Pengcheng had, after serious consideration, chosen the same path of life, that is, to sink roots in a permanent base for a long period of time, make investigations and research there, live and write there. This had laid a solid foundation for their subsequent creative work.

Both Zhao Shuli and Zhou Libo left for the countryside soon after they had entered the city. Liu Qing settled down in the countryside of Changan. Du Pengcheng, after completing "The Defense of Yanan," went to experience life in depth at the construction site of the Baocheng Railroad. For a period of time little was heard of them in the literary and art circles. Some comrades in the literary and art circles began to have doubts about the path they had chosen, wondering whether a writer can produce good works if he did not travel to many places, gather materials of all kinds, and view things on an extensive scope, but limited himself to a relatively small world. Practice is the only yardstick to testing truth. "The Builders," Great Changes in a Mountain Village," "Sanliwan'" "In Days of Peace" were born. The answer to whether these writers had chosen the right path was there for all to see.

Would a writer's long residence in a village, a factory or an armed force unit affect the breadth and depth of his observation of life? Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There are two ways of investigation. One is to look at flowers while riding on horseba one is to dismount from the horse and look at the flowers." These can al be regarded as the two ways for writers to get into the thick of life. All writers, especially young writers who have not yet accumulated a great deal of life experience and whose contact with society is yet narrow, need to "look at flowers while riding on horseback," utilizing all kinds of opportunities to expand their contacts with life as much as possible. But just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, "It is far from enought to just take a look and move on. It is also necessary to use the second method and that is to dismount from the horse and look at the flowers, to look carefully, to analyze one 'flower,' to dissect one 'sparrow.'" Dismounting from horseback and looking at flowers, and dissecting a sparrow--these are the principal and basic methods for writers to go into the thick of life, to study society and people.

Whether young writers without much experience of life or accomplished veteran writers, they must adopt this method if they are to make a breakthrough in getting into the thick of life. Only when a writer has dissected a sparrow can his fleeting impressions of life gained from "looking at flowers while riding on horseback" truly become a part of his accumulated experience. Even writers with a fairly rich store of life experience, if they do not continue to dissect the sparrow with regard to the ever advancing life, will be unable to create works portraying the new world and new people and possessing new levels.

Comrades Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo, Liu Qing and Du Pengcheng spent a relatively long time to settle down and observe and study society in one place. This, from the viewpoint of method, is a way of dissecting a sparrow. They believe that gaining a lot of second-hand materials alone is not enough to help a writer discover the essential qualities of life. The key lies in the depth of a writer's understanding of life. As far as a writer's work is concerned, the relationships in an ordinary village, factory or armed force unit are complex enough, whether internal or external, whether between superiors and subordinates, or between people on the same level, all embodying a wealth of content of life in society. Therefore, to truly understand a village or a factory through dissecting a sparrow often means understanding the entire society.

Life in society is rich and many-faceted. Any writer, even when equipped with all kinds of conveniences in a lifetime, will be unable to come into personal contact with all facets of life, to personally observe the course of all the events that happened in life. This is neither possible nor necessary. While in the thick of life, writers do not concern themselves with gathering a great volume of matters and events, or finding averages, but with uncovering the essential qualities of matters and events. Always they will try and understand the universal essential qualities of matters or events, even the entire picture of life, through analyzing and studying individual matters or events. In depicting the life story of Xianglin's Wife, Lu Wun presents in a nutshell the tragic fate of all working women in feudal China. Fadeyev in his "Destruction" portrays the Soviet people's fearless revolutionary fighting spirit through the activities of a tiny band of guerrillas. When writing the works mentioned above, these writers only came into limited contact with life, but it did not prevent them from understanding and portraying life in breadth and depth. "There may be a great many sparrows, but it is not necessary to dissect every one of them. Dissecting one or two will be enough." The basic form of contradictions of a matter or an event, and the essential qualities and evolutionary laws determined by it, exist in all similar individual matters or events. When a writer observes and dissects a village, a factory or an armed force unit against the social background of a given historical period, he will be able to understand certain essential aspects of life in the society of that given historical period.

Socialist literary creations, especially full-length novels, must possess historical breadth and depth. Depth is the soul of breadth. The depth of a writer's life decides the breadth and depth of the historical content of his work. Dissecting the sparrow is the fundamental way for writers to gain a deep and comprehensive understanding of life. "The sparrow may be small but it has all the vital organs." Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo and Liu Qing all settled down in places which were but a small part of a district or a county. Yet practically all the historical content and basic features of life in the Chinese countryside can be found there. As long as one does not look at a village as a flat picture but regard it in the round and study the contradictions and developments of the different classes and social strata from the view of class analysis, one will come to know the village inside out and will then gain a thorough understanding of the Chinese countryside as a whole. Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo and Liu Qing went into the thick of life in one place, dissected a sparrow there, and viewed the entire Chinese countryside through that one village. They were able to promptly capture the shock and repercussions each social movement had on different people in the countryside. They were able to understand fully the modes of contradictions and struggles of the different periods of development. A writer's work is mainly to understand people, study people, portray people. Therefore, to go into the thick of life of a specific component of society and dissect a sparrow is helpful in the task of studying people. Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo and Liu Qing's long root-sinking residence in the countryside laid a solid foundation for their effort to portray vivid typical characters and generalize in breadth and depth the birth and development of socialism in the Chinese countryside.

A part is after all not the whole. Dissecting a sparrow does not mean writers should not try to understand the whole. Liu Qing once said, "A writer in a village, factory or armed force unit is not a buyer isolated from others but an enthusiastic revolutionary activist. The party organization, party documents and party newspapers all go to help him understand the local, out-of-town and national situations." Comrades Zhao Shuli, Zhou Libo, Liu Qing and Du Pengcheng did not limit their vision to one small place. Through their own involvement in the party's work at the grass-roots level, through studying Marxism-Leninism and the party's principles and policies, they expanded their visions and linked themselves closely with our country, our nation, and the fate of our people. Writers good at learning will always be able to break the bounds of all kinds and soar freely in the wide world of life.

The way these writers voluntarily go into the thick of life, observe and study society in depth, dissect a sparrow, is of universal significance. The soil of the people's life contains all the vital juices needed for artistic creation. Our writers and artists must first sink their roots in this soil and suck up these vital juices before they can create artistic flowers treasured by the people.

9856
CSO: 4005/851

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SPIRITUAL LEVEL OF LITERARY, ART WORK DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Guo Zhigang [6753 1807 0474]: "Literary and Art Creations Demand Lofty Ideological Level"]

[Text] People often like to call literary and art works "spiritual food" and writers "engineers of the human soul." The words "spiritual" and "soul" contain in all solemnity the reader's stringent demand on the ideological level of writers and their works. A writer's ideological level, whether high or low, as shown in his works, will have a direct influence on the method of treatment of his subject matter and the depth of his treatment. It will determine whether or not the "spiritual food" he provides will contain sufficient ideological and artistic nutrients.

We have seen that some works, while reflecting acute social problems and the heavy pressures life exerts on the chief characters, still present the character's spiritual world as a noble one, and the impression given is a fine one. On the other hand, there are also works that depict such "social worries" as the housing problem in present-day life, and while the phenomena of life shown are varied and many-colored, the chief characters' spiritual world is a barren one. From a partial viewpoint, the social phenomena and the characters' thoughts and feelings depicted in these works may not be far from the truth, for they do reflect the true thoughts and moods of a fair section of the people. Yet from the viewpoint of historical development of socialist society, that is, from the viewpoint of life as a whole, the writing is not sufficiently truthful, for a highly developed material civilization by itself does not constitute socialism of universal poverty advocated by Lin Biao and the gang of four. Socialism, however, is not merely to satisfy the people's material needs but to ensure that people's talent will find full development, to establish a new kind of human relationship, to bring up a new, socialist type of people, to uplift people's spiritual world." Precisely on this point, some works are giving less stress on spiritual things. They raise the chips for material things but lower human values. Therefore, while such works may not be lacking in excellent descriptions, they cannot provide people with greater and more beautiful artistic enjoyment, because the characters show a great paucity of spiritual life.

In the same way, treatment of the same type of subject matter by different authors will produce different effects in ideological quality. Let us cite an example. Take the two medium-length novels, "On the River With No Navigation Marks" (by Ye Weilin, published in the No 3 1980 issue of FURONG [HIBISCUS]) and "When Evening Glow Vanishes" (by Li Ping, published in the No 1 1981 issue of SHIYUE (October)). As far as the artistic talent of the two authors is concerned, the latter is perhaps more outstanding. But as far as the novels' ideological quality is concerned, the former shows a higher level. Both works reflect life in society during the ten years of turmoil. "On the River With No Navigation Marks," through the legend-like Sister Bird, tells people, "Don't feel frustrated, don't be depressed." The bird's richly symbolic song appears again and again to say: "Live a good life, live a good life." In spite of the numerous disasters that befall the character in his course of navigation, the story inspires people with confidence and hope. Correspondingly, the colors and hues of life as a whole as painted in the story are consistently healthy and bright. "When Evening Glow Vanishes" is more complex. On the one hand, the author vividly presents certain social and personal life silhouettes of the 10 years of turmoil in flowing and skillful lyrical style. Especially so is his sensitive description of the emotional repercussions, changes and wounds brought on by the turmoil. Unfortunately, the author does not let his characters shake free of their despondency and trauma. Instead, with appreciative approval, he watches his characters comfort their wounded souls with religious faith. This has resulted in some irremediable shortcomings in this piece of skillful writing: not only the mood tends to be gray and passive, the descriptions of episodes too seem somewhat distorted.

What kind of spiritual level our literary and art works should have is a question to be seriously considered. All truly moving literary and art works in the history of Chinese and foreign literatures show a relatively high ideological level, all embodying the level of ideological understanding and the moral-ethical level of their own times. And the majority of readers of any period always hope to benefit from the advanced ideas contained in literary and art works and gain from them a higher level of ideological and artistic enjoyment. Since they are regarded as "engineers of the human soul," writers should arm themselves with the most advanced ideology and be able to stand higher and look farther and deeper into the complex life. Otherwise, how is he to mold the souls of his characters, and how is he to mold his readers' souls through the souls of his characters?

9856
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POOR QUALITY OF TEACHING, TEACHERS IN SHANXI DECRIED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Teaching of Politics Must Be Strengthened and Improved"]

[Text] The Ministry of Education stipulates that, starting this fall, regular middle schools will start five courses in politics and will make moral training, concept of the law, and basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism an important part of the teaching [curriculum]. This is an important measure in strengthening and improving the teaching of courses in politics.

As a course in the regular middle schools, politics is an important place for young people to get a preliminary notion of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Because middle school students are in an important period of physical and intellectual growth, there is the advantage that they are eager for knowledge, but there is also the disadvantage that they lack the ability to identify and resist mistaken ideological currents. Thus, if we fully develop the role of courses in politics so as to help them master the theoretical weapons, discriminate right from wrong, and raise their consciousness, this will play an important role in laying the foundation for the formation of their lifelong world view. The long-range impact of this is inestimable.

One problem that should be noted in regarding the teaching of courses in politics in our province's middle schools is the fact that the quality of teaching is not high and the level of the students is generally declining. One important reason is that this has not aroused the concern of school leaders, faculty, students, or parents. Leaders in some schools think that courses in politics are "snap" courses and take an indifferent attitude toward the rate of advancement and quality. It seems that as long as there is a crash effort prior to the examinations, that will do. Thus the quality of instruction is not examined, nor is public teaching organized. In teaching, what can be crammed in is, and everything else is left aside. In assigning teachers, no thought is given to background in theory or ideological consciousness; it has even gotten to the point where teachers who cannot teach anything else are named to teach courses in politics.

The key to quality teaching is the teacher. One weak link in the teaching of courses in politics in Shanxi at this time is the insufficient numbers and low quality of teachers for political courses. Educational administrative departments and school leaders in many places still rarely pay any attention to the self-development of teachers of political courses. Every winter vacation, they train the faculty in most subjects, but the training and improvement of politics teachers are never part of training plans.

To thoroughly improve the teaching of politics, school leaders and education departments at all levels must conscientiously investigate and summarize the experiences and lessons in this area and adopt effective measures so that politics will really become an important part of school education. They must do a better job of carrying out the educational direction of the overall development of body, mind, and morality.

8226
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANXI EMPHASIZES TEACHING OF POLITICS IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 1

[Article: "Regular Middle Schools Will Start Five Courses in Politics; Provincial Office of Education Convenes Conference on Use of New Teaching Materials for Political Courses in Middle Schools"]

[Text] The conference on the use of political course teaching materials in middle schools in Shanxi Province, which ended in mid-July, felt that the five courses in politics being started this fall would strengthen the scientific, systematic, and practical nature and would be good for strengthening the moral training, concept of the law, and teaching of the basic viewpoints and theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to young people.

According to the new instructional plans of the Ministry of Education, starting this fall, Self-Cultivation of Young People will be taught in the first year of junior middle schools, A General Knowledge of Law will be taught in the second year of junior middle schools, and A Brief History of the Development of Socialism will be taught in the third year of junior middle schools. A General Knowledge of Political Economy will be taught in the first year of senior middle schools, and A General Knowledge of Dialectical Materialism will be taught in the second year of senior middle schools. So that teachers of political courses will correctly understand and use these new teaching materials and be well prepared before class, the provincial office of education convened a conference of representatives of local, municipal, and county teachers of courses in politics. After 9 days of study and discussion by groups and by courses, everyone agreed that they fully considered that educating young people in moral training and the concept of the law and increasing the teaching of the basic theory and concepts of Marxism-Leninism would further improve the content and system of political courses. They said that making courses in politics an important part of the middle school [curriculum] is an important way to spread Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and an important link in training the communist moral character of young people. Those who are teaching courses in politics must shoulder the heavy task of training young people to uphold communist ideals; any ideas or methods of playing down or putting aside the teaching of courses in politics is wrong. The conference especially discussed and studied the question of how to teach students the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China."

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 225

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CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIN BIAO PLANE CRASH ANALYZED

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AEROSPACE KNOWLEDGE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 9, 1981 pp 26-29

[Article: "The Riddle of Lin Biao's Plane Crash"]

[Text] Ten years ago, on the morning of 13 September 1971, the Lin Biao gang fled in panic, traitors to their country. After their private Trident jet, No 256, crossed the border out of China, it crashed in Wendu'erhan District in Mongolia. Some readers have written requesting this magazine to give some details on the crash and its cause. Because all of the nine persons aboard were killed in the crash, the aircraft was burned, and no tape recordings were found aboard, an answer can be given to the riddle only on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Below we excerpt three relevant documents for our readers' information.

1. Lin Biao's Flight From China

The news of Chairman Mao's sudden return to Beijing was like a thunderclap awakening the Lin Biao gang from their pipe dream of an armed coup. In an instant, the conspiracy which had been painstakingly planned over 6 days and nights evaporated. The gang was thrown into an agony of apprehension, like ants on a hot skillet.

In the villa at Lianhuashi No 96, Beidaihe, an ashen-faced Lin Biao sat silently on the sofa, staring at nothing; the sound of Ye Qun's desolate sobbing was audible to attendants outside.

On the morning of 12 September, Lin Liguo made a telephone call to Beidaihe from Beijing and recovered new instructions on Lin Biao's plan to flee south.

Zhou Yuchi and Hu Ping arranged for eight aircraft for the flight to Guangzhou, and in the afternoon they set a private Trident jet, No 256, to carry Lin Liguo back to the Shanhaiguan Airport; the plane was kept there for the use of Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo.

Lin Ligou and Liu Peifeng boarded Lin Biao's jet. At about 8:00 pm the plane landed at Shanhaiguan airport. They missed the car sent for them from Beidaihe and instead hastily drove to Lin Biao's residence in Beidaihe in a jeep from the airport.

At about 10:00 pm, the security unit in Beidaihe learned that Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo planned to flee traitorously by air on the next day (the 13th) at 6:00 am; their destination was Guangzhou and their intent might be treason. Huang, Wu, Li and Qiu, who were also part of the group, had arranged to take off from Beijing at the same time.

The security unit immediately reported to Beijing.

At this time, Fujian Hall in the Great Hall of the People was ablaze with light: Premier Zhou Enlai was presiding over discussions of the draft "Report on the Work of the Government" which was to be presented at the Fourth National People's Congress. At 10:30 pm, the premier's secretary came to his side and told him in a low voice that the central security office had called and wished to make a report directly to the premier. The premier picked up the telephone and listened to the report. He knit his heavy eyebrows, then instructed the caller to tell the security unit to keep a close watch on the situation and report as necessary.

The premier immediately made a call to Wu Faxian and asked him, "Why has an Air Force Trident flown to the Shanhaiguan airport? Who was on the plane?" He then told Wu Faxian, "Order the airplane to return immediately without bringing anyone back to Beijing."

When he received the call, Wu Faxian told the premier a lie concocted by Hu Ping to the effect that this was a newly fitted-out Trident on night flying trials which had experienced a malfunction while at the Shanhaiguan airport and could not return.

The premier immediately ordered that the plane should stay where it was until repaired, than return immediately.

Hu Ping gave a fabricated excuse for not carrying out the premier's orders, then tipped off Zhou Yuchi, instructing him to call Beidaihe immediately and tell Lin Liguo to come to a decision quickly; he also telephoned Pan Jingyin, the pilot of aircraft No 256 at Shanhaiguan, in order to coordinate their story on the supposed malfunction.

When Lin Biao and Ye Qun learned that the premier was asking about the Trident jet, they were thrown into a panic. In order to cover up their plan to flee south to Guangzhou, at 11:22 pm Ye Qun called Premier Zhou to say that "Vice Chairman Lin wanted to travel."

"By air or by land?" asked the premier.

"By air," Ye Qun answered.

"Do you have a plane there?"

"No."

In reality, Lin Biao's plane, No 256, was then at the Shanhaiguan airport, in addition to an Il-14 that had been dispatched a few days earlier. Why did Ye Qun lie and say that they had no airplane? This let the cat out of the bag.

At that time, Shanhaiguan Airport was under the Navy's command, and the premier immediately telephoned Li Zuopeng: "Aircraft No 256 at Shanhaiguan Airport must not be allowed to leave unless I, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and you all give the order."

But the order which Li Zuopeng passed on to the Navy at Shanhaiguan Airport misrepresented the premier's instructions as: "The aircraft may take off only if one of the four leaders gives the order."

That night one report after another came to Beijing from the Beidaihe security unit. The telephone in the office in the East Hall of the Great Hall of the People rang incessantly, and the premier went out and returned innumerable times. The meeting in Fujian Auditorium was at a standstill.

After 11:00 pm on the night of 12 September, Lin Biao changed his plan and decided to flee north to Irkutsk in the Soviet Union, i.e., to defect.

In haste, Lin Liguo telephoned Zhou Yuchi in Beijing: "The Head is leaving immediately, so the sooner you act, the better."

At 11:40, the security guard in the villa called security group headquarters to report:

"Now he (Lin Biao) has left the house for the air raid shelter."

"Now they have gotten into a Hongqi automobile in the air raid shelter."

"Now the car is leaving."

The cadres in the security unit immediately hurried out of the headquarters. It was a pitch-black night. A senior official's bulletproof Hongqi sedan turned on its headlights and approached at high speed. In it were Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo. When the vehicle approached the headquarters, the security forces signaled it to stop. Ye Qun shouted from inside the car: "The security unit is disloyal to Vice Chairman Lin! Run them down!" The vehicle roared past at high speed. The responsible persons from the security force pursued in a sedan and a jeep.

The Lin Biao gang's sedan crossed the shore bridge at over 100 kilometers per hour, very quickly outran two carloads of security forces which just a few minutes before had received the order to go to the airfield and prevent the aircraft from taking off, and sped off toward Shanhaiguan Airport. The vehicle drove directly to the Trident, and before it could stop, Lin Biao and his gang tumbled out. Ye Qun, Lin Liguo and Li Peifeng, brandishing pistols, shouted, "Quickly! Quickly! Take off quickly!" Ye Qun with hair disheveled and Lin Biao with his bald pate shining hastily rushed to the aircraft. Without waiting for the passenger stairway to be brought up, they frantically climbed up the pilot's ladder one after the other, with Ye Qun's high heels almost treading on Lin Biao's bald head. They did not wait for the copilot, navigator or radioman to board or for the door to be closed before instructing the pilot to take off without clearance. As they taxied down the runway, the right wing smashed the filling cover of a fuel truck parked beside the runway, shattering a glass light cover and some plexiglass on the right wing. With the airport lights turned off in accordance with orders, and without all of the usual communications safeguards, they made a forced takeoff without clearance at 12:32 am on 13 September in the pitch dark and fled in panic.

At 12:20 am on the 13th, when Lin Biao's plane was preparing for the takeoff, responsible airport personnel made three calls to Li Zuopeng to report that the plane was making preparations for takeoff and asked what they should do. But Li Zuopeng did not give the order to take emergency measures to prevent the plane from taking off.

"Lin Biao has escaped by plane!" the Beidaihe security unit reported to Beijing. This was at 12:32 am on the 13th.

"Lin Biao's plane is flying north," the Air Force headquarters command and control center reported to the premier.

Premier Zhou gave the order to close all airports in the country, to ground all planes, and to search the skies with all radars.

The Air Force command and control center's radars tracked Lin Biao's plane closely, and kept the premier continuously informed as to its position and heading.

"If you call No 256 by radio will they be able to hear you?" asked the premier.

"Yes," answered the controller.

"I want to talk to Pan Jingyin (the pilot). Please put me through," said the premier.

"He has the set on, but he doesn't answer."

"Then please call No 256 and ask them to return and land at either Beijing East or Beijing West. Say that I personally will meet them at the airport."

"They don't answer," the controller told the premier.

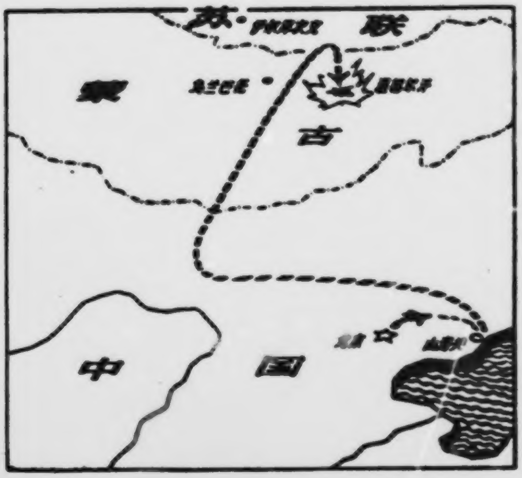
In a crafty maneuver, the plane turned westward toward the western part of Nei Monggol But when it was over western Nei Monggol it suddenly turned north.

"The plane has crossed the border into Mongolia. It's off the radar screen," the controller reported. This was at 1:50 on the morning of 13 September.

Lin Biao was defecting to the enemy! Zhou Enlai slammed down the telephone and immediately hurried by car to Chairman Mao's residence in Zhongnanhai to report. Angrily, Chairman Mao said: "Heaven wants to rain, a young woman wants to marry--let him go!"

On the 13th, from early in the morning until 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon, Premier Zhou personally called the persons in charge in the major military regions and the 29 provinces, autonomous regions and directly subordinated cities to give them instructions, and kept Chairman Mao abreast of the situation.

Everything was now in order. Premier Zhou had not rested for more than 50 hours. It was noon of 14 September. The premier lay down, but it was a long while before he fell asleep. At 2:00 pm, the telephone rang. "This is the Foreign Ministry. We have just received a telegram from the Mongolian Embassy which must be delivered immediately to the premier." When the Foreign Ministry brought the telegram, the secretary hesitated: "I've just gotten the premier to go and get some rest, and I haven't the heart to wake him up. But if I don't, I might be delaying something important." He paced back and forth before the premier's room, but finally tiptoed to the premier's bedside and awakened him. When the premier heard that a telegram had arrived from the Mongolian Embassy, he got up hastily and told the secretary to read it to him immediately. When the premier heard that Lin Biao's No 256 Trident had crashed at 2:30 am on the 13th near Wendu'erhan in Mongolia and that the eight men and one woman aboard had been killed, he kept repeating in delight, "Ah! All dead! All dead!"



Lin Biao's route as he feld the country by plane.

(From the New China News Agency broadcast "The Bankruptcy of Lin Biao's Counter-revolutionary Coup"; heading and map added by editor.)

2. A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Crash of the Trident

At 8:30 on 14 September 1971, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic made an urgent appointment with the Chinese ambassador. In the elegant phraseology habitual to diplomats, the two briefly exchanged polite observations about the weather, after which the Deputy Foreign Minister informed the Chinese representative without further prelude that shortly after 2:00 am on 13 September a Chinese jet plane had crashed 10 kilometers south of Bei'erhe Mining District in Kente Province, Mongolia. All of the passengers, including one woman, had been killed. He also lodged a verbal protest regarding the Chinese aircraft's entry into Mongolian air space.

The next day, personnel of the Chinese embassy, accompanied by relevant persons from Mongolia, visited the crash site. The wreckage of a Trident jet aircraft lay strewn about a flat, open area about 3,000 meters long with hills to the north and south. On the tail section, which was relatively intact, were the Chinese flag and the numbers 256. One of the shorn-off wings bore the words "Civil Aviation." A gust of wind brought the acrid smell of burning flesh. To the north of the plane, nine bodies lay on their backs, on the ground, with the faces burned beyond recognition, their clothing burned off and their bodies bloated like wax effigies. The comrades from the embassy took out cameras and recorded the scene on film.

But was this an ordinary civil aviation accident? None of the people on the scene realized that they were eyewitnesses to the end of an important drama in modern Chinese history.

Today, 10 years after the "September 13th Incident" was made known, when we look back over this historic event it prompts us to even greater hatred of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. Let us pull back the curtain of history.

At 1:50 am on the 13th, aircraft No 256 entered Mongolian airspace over boundary market No 414.

What were the passengers doing at that moment?

This was Lin Biao's third trip to the Soviet Union. Of the previous two trips, one was a trip to recover from wounds during the war of resistance against the Japanese, and one was a trip for medical treatment shortly after Liberation. On these two occasions we may say that he went with honor and returned with glory. But this time? Perhaps the next day, headlines on all the world's major newspapers would announce the explosive news: "China's Deputy Commander-in-Chief Appears in Moscow". But this would have been an inglorious defection. As Lin Biao gazed at the dark steppes outside the window, what passed through his mind?

Was Lin Liguo thinking about the pretty girls and vodka in Moscow, or of his lost "imperial concubine," or of the lust for power which he had not lost? As he hummed "Moscow Nights," his voice and attitude would not have produced an attractive impression.

As for Ye Qun, because she was too good at biding her time and hiding her feelings, her real thoughts on this occasion would be hard to guess.

Of course, these are nothing but ugly echoes, not worth our recounting. We have no way of knowing what buffoonish things the people on the plane actually did. Some 10 minutes after the airplane crossed the border, it disappeared even from our radar screens. We can understand what happened next from experts' analysis of the crash site and the remains of the aircraft. The description below is based on these analyses and relevant documents. But we might as well give our thoughts free rein at this point: if the events on board the plane were shown on a movie screen, they might have looked something like this:

Ten minutes after the aircraft flew over the border, Lin Liguo came terror-stricken out of the pilot's cabin and shouted to Lin Biao and Ye Qun: "The fuel! The fuel! The plane is running out of fuel!" If the plane ran out of fuel, the engines would stop, and if they could not land immediately they knew what would happen.

Lin Biao still had that unnatural composure. Ye Qun pulled Lin Liguo into the pilot's cabin, where she saw Pan Jingyin sweating profusely as he worked the control stock. The red light indicating that the fuel was about to run out was blinking on and off. For a moment Ye Qun was speechless with fear. But Pan Jingyin broke the silence, shouting: "We can make a forced landing ahead!" Ye Qun and Lin Liguo stared ahead as though, storm-tossed on the seas, they had sighted a lifeboat. Lin Liguo knew a little about flying and quickly ordered, "Go down lower and look over the terrain!"

The aircraft flew lower. Before them appeared an open grassland three kilometers from north to south with a hilly area on the south and mountains to the north. This was an ideal place for a forced landing. The aircraft turned from its original southeast-northwest course to a north to south heading for the landing. It was now 2:18 on the 13th.

No 256 had been flying 118 minutes since it left Shanhaiguan and had covered 1,080 kilometers. When it took off, the aircraft had 12 1/2 tons of fuel in its tanks. Flying at an altitude of 3,000-4,000 meters, a Trident uses 5 tons of fuel an hour. At this point the plane still had 2 1/2 tons of fuel and would be able to continue flying for more than 20 minutes. Sixty kilometers ahead was a Mongolian military airfield which they could have reached in only a few minutes. But because Pan Jingyan was fearful and there was no navigator aboard and no ground guidance, he could not determine the plane's correct position and did not know that the airfield was nearby. Now all that was before him was the hope of a forced landing.

The plane whistled downward. According to normal forced-landing procedure, Pan Jinyan opened the slots and cut his speed. But he did not put down his flaps, and the thrust reversers were not used, because normally these operations are carried out by the copilot.

The plane made a high-speed pancake landing and began to bounce and pitch. After it had slid 180 meters both wings were torn off, so that it became a pointed metal cylinder and hurtled on at an even higher speed, until the powerful friction forces ruptured its fuel tanks and tore apart the fuselage, all aboard the plane were thrown out, and the grassland erupted in flames.

All this took only a few minutes or even a few seconds. We have already described the crash scene and we will not repeat it here.

At 11:00 on 16 September, 80 hours after the fugitives met their death, they were buried on the side of a large, unnamed hill a kilometer from the site of the crash. Their bodies were placed in wooden coffins and buried side by side in a mass grave 1.5 meters deep. There was no dirge and no tears. There was only the soughing of the wind over the grassland. Lin Biao's, Ye Qun's and Lin Liguo's inflated ambition and insatiable desires were buried along with their remains in this desolate prairie. But at least one of their desires while they lived had become a reality.

Before the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Lin Biao and Ye Qun took a solemn oath to wage a common struggle to realize their abmition of usurping power. Lin Biao changed a few words in a quotation from Comrade Tian Han's famous play "Guan Hanqing" and presented the lines to Ye Qun:

"Although we have not both grown gray, our hearts are equally ardent. Although in life we have not often shared a coverlet, in death we will share a grave."

Ye Qun presented a verse to Lin Biao in response:

"I shall never forget your teaching and your kindness, and hereafter I will assuredly follow you to the Yellow Springs!"

If you were to visit the spot now, you would only see a large wooden tablet marking the crash site and a row of small grave markers atop the grave.

But let them rail at New China from their grave! Let them go down to the Yellow Springs to dream their dreams of restoration! China and the world belong to the people!

(Excerpted from "An Account of the September 13 Incident," from SHIDAI DE BAOGAO No 4, 1980; heading supplied by the editor.)

3. Analysis of the Reasons for the Crash

At 2:30 on 13 September 1971, a Trident jet carrying Lin Biao as he defected to the Soviet Union crashed in Yide'ermoge County, near Wendu'ergan in Mongolia. The nine persons aboard were killed in the black night in the wilds. They were: Lin Biao, his wife Ye Qun, his son Lin Liguo, Lin Biao's sworn follower former head of the Air Force Party Office Liu Peifeng, Lin Biao's driver, the pilot, a mechanic, a flight engineer and a special mechanic.

When did Lin Biao's plane crash? Because the nine people who could have given a authoritative answer to this question are dead and dismembered, our only course is to rely on others' investigations of the site and analyses of the circumstances.

According to investigations, the airplane was running short of fuel and crashed in an unsuccessful attempt at a forced landing. The reasons for arriving at this judgement are:

1. On the evening of the 12th, Lin Liguo and Liu Peifeng flew in Lin Biao's plane from Beijing West airport to the Shanhaiguan airport. At 12:32 am on the 13th, the airplane took off from the Shanhaiguan airport carrying Lin Biao, Ye Qun and the others. After it took off, the aircraft first flew west with the evil aim of disguising the passengers' intent to defect and giving the false impression that the plane was heading toward the western part of Nei Monggol, after which it abruptly turned north toward Irkutsk and the Soviet Union, crashing en route in Mongolia.

When the airplane took off from Bejing it had only 15 tons of fuel. Because of the Lin Biao gang's hasty escape, there was not time to refuel the aircraft at Shanhaiguan Airport. It took somewhat longer than half an hour to fly from Beijing to Shanhaiguan and consumed about 3 tons of fuel. After it took off from Shanhaiguan, the aircraft flew almost 2 hours and used up 10 tons of fuel. Accordingly, the aircraft tried to make a forced landing near Wendu'erhan in Mongolia with only two tons of fuel remaining.

2. The location of the crash was a level area between two hills. The ground was a mixture of sand, rocks and mud, with grass about a meter tall. This was the best location for a forced landing that could be found at the time.

3. The aircraft's landing gear had not been lowered. None of the bodies of the nine persons on board, who were thrown out during the crash, had on shoes or a wristwatch. Because in a forced landing an airplane always is subject to violent vibration, the passengers must take off any hard objects so as to avoid being hurt by them during the violent vibration. These facts show that a number of preparations had been made for the crash landing.

4. At the site of the crash there was a furrow several meters long produced by the right wing of the plane scraping against the ground. This indicates that the plane lost its equilibrium when it landed, resulting in a fire and explosion. The reasons that the aircraft failed in its forced landing was apparently that there were no lights and that the crew was seriously deficient, lacking the copilot and the navigator, among others. Under these circumstances it is difficult for an aircraft to make a successful forced landing.

5. Six model 59 pistols and an assault rifle were found at the crash site. But investigation of the airplane fuselage and the bodies showed no signs of gunfire, indicating that there was no struggle abroad the aircraft before the crash.

The Lin Biao gang have already sunk out of sight in Chinese history like a wrecked ship. The black night of a foreign land drew the final curtain over the ugly antics of this gang. Their stage was shifted from the vast land of China to the lonely and desolate Mongolian wilderness and only the withering grasses could tell the true story of their fall to earth; but for historians the answer to the riddle can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence.

(China News Agency illustrations by Xu Zhiyan [5641 1807 1639], Article by Pu Yan [2613 6056])

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PARTY AND STATE

'ON PROTRACTED WAR' SAID TO HOLD LESSONS FOR MODERNIZATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN in Chinese No 13, 1981 pp 3-4

[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189]: "Scientifically Analyze the Glorious Examples of China's State of Affairs—Study of 'On Protracted War'"]

[Text] "On Protracted War' by Comrade Mao Zedong is an important work on Marxist military theory, as well as being an important piece of Marxist philosophy. It offers us a glorious example of the use of materialist dialectics to scientifically analyze the national conditions of China and Japan, but especially of China, during the war years. Review of this glorious work, "On Protracted War," and study of the philosophical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong have tremendous theoretical and practical value in regards to our correctly recognizing the present day state of affairs in China and traveling a Chinese style road to modernization.

1

The 1930's was a crucial period of life and death for the Chinese people. After Japanese imperialism had swallowed up the three provinces in China's Northeast and part of northern China as well, on 7 July 1937 it abruptly attacked the military garrison at Lugou Bridge in the Beijing vicinity as a prelude to an all out invasion of China with the preposterous intention of subjugating her in one fell swoop. The Chinese people who knew well the calamity of war and who struggled to preserve the nation all thirsted for victory. But could the war be won? Could it be won quickly? This was a tremendous problem that numerous people at that time wanted to solve, but which could not be solved quickly. Prior to the war of resistance against Japan the Japanese collaborationist faction represented by Wang Jingwei promulgated the idea that "Chinese weapons are not as good as theirs. A war would be lost"; during the war, in order to make excuses for their surrender to Japan, they further said that "to fight on is certain death." The faction allied with England and America represented by Chiang Kaishek was forced to resist Japan, but on the other hand they planned to compromise with and to surrender to Japan and on the other hand they fantasized that they could rely on the help of England and America to quickly defeat Japan without exerting great effort.

This situation was reflected within the party. After the United Front in resistance to Japan made up of the Nationalist [KMT] and the Communist parties was established, part of our party members developed a tendency toward rightist opportunism. They overestimated the strength of the KMT and forgot its reactionary and decadent side. They imagined that we could rely on KMT troops to achieve a quick victory and opposed the principle of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army carrying out independent guerilla warfare. Some comrades had a tendency to belittle the enemy, believing that the Japanese could not withstand an attack. They failed to see the bitter and protracted nature of the war of resistance to Japan.

In order to clarify the confused thinking both inside and outside of the party, to let all the people of the nation correctly understand the laws determining the development of the war of resistance to Japan and to firmly instill confidence in our victory in the war, from 26 May to 3 June of 1938 Comrade Mao Zedong wrote this important piece, "On Protracted War."

2

Detailed analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism. In analyzing the national conditions of China and Japan Comrade Mao Zedong consistently manifested this scientific spirit.

Comrade Mao Zedong first analyzed in detail the general characteristics of the war of resistance to Japan. He pointed out: "The war between China and Japan is not just any war, it is specifically a war of life and death between semi-colonial and semi-feudal China and imperialist Japan, fought in the 1930's. Herein lies the basis of the whole problem." Beginning with these general characteristics, Comrade Mao Zedong separately analyzed the natural characteristics of the two sides. He generally indicated: "Japan's advantage lies in her great capacity of wage war, and her disadvantages lie in the reactionary and barbarous nature of her war, in the inadequacy of her manpower and material resources and in her meager international support." "China's disadvantage lies in her military weakness, and her advantages lie in the progressive and just character of her war, her great size and her abundant international support." It is just these characteristics that have determined and are determining all the political policies and military strategies and tactics of the two sides, and that have determined and are determining the protracted character of the war and that the final victory will go to China and not to Japan. "If anyone forgets these characteristics in studying the Sino-Japanese war, he will surely go wrong."

Both those who saw certain defeat and those who advocated quick victory made just this mistake when they examined the Sino-Japanese war. The defeatists placed too much emphasis on the contradiction between strength and weakness, exaggerating it into being the basis of the entire problem and overlooking other contradictions. They were onesided in their attention to the single comparison of strength and weakness; and they were subjective in taking their onesidedness to be the whole. Those who called for quick victory acted in just the opposite fashion. They entirely forgot about the contradiction between weakness and strength and remembered only the other contradictions; or they exaggerated China's advantages beyond any sense of reality, or took the weakness and strength displayed at one place at one moment in time as representative of overall strength and weakness. Their view was partially blocked, yet they assumed that they could see everything. The common mistake of both the defeatists and those looking for quick victory lie in the fact that they saw only one or a small number of the total contradictions and took them to be all or the most important of the contradictions. This kind of subjectivity and onesidedness is a tendency in problems of war toward idealism and mechanicalism and is the epistomological source of all mistaken notions. Therefore Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Only by opposing idealistic and mechanicalistic tendencies in problems of war and by adopting an objective and comprehensive viewpoint in examining them can we arrive at correct conclusions about these problems."

The state of affairs of a nation (political, economic, military, etc.) are determined by objectively existing factors. Seeing only factors such as that the enemy is strong and we are weak and that China is large while Japan is small we still could not draw an accurate conclusion and argue down the defeatists, because history has examples of small but strong nations destroying large but weak ones. Because of this, it was necessary to examine the Sino-Japanese war in light of a set of specific historical conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong indicated: Japan is carrying out an unjust war which is reactionary and barbarous in the extreme. Our war of resistance to Japan is a just people's war carried out under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. The retrogressive and barbarous nature of Japan's aggressive war will inevitably arouse class antagonisms in Japan and antagonism between Japan and most other countries and peoples of the world, causing her to lose support. These are the primary reasons for the inevitable defeat of Japanese imperialism. To this we must add the fact that Japan is a small country, deficient in land, resources, manpower and soldiers, while China is a large country with vast territory, rich resources, a large population and many soldiers. So along with the comparison of weakness and strength we must compare a small, retrogressive nation with meager support to a large, progressive nation with abundant support. This is the reason that China cannot be destroyed. "Although the comparison between strength and weakness means that Japan can overrun China to a certain extent and for a certain period, that China cannot avoid suffering a period of hardship, and that the war of resistance will be a protracted war and not decided quickly; still the comparison of a small, retrogressive nation with meager support with that of a large, progressive nation with abundant support means that Japan cannot overrun China forever, but will inevitably meet with ultimate defeat and that China will not be subjugated, but will inevitably achieve final victory."

After Comrade Mao Zedong had objectively and completely analyzed the connections between the basic factors comprising the national conditions of China and Japan, he proceeded to use the concepts he had developed to analyze the struggle between the enemy and ourselves. He indicated: In the course of the war the enemy's shortcomings can be aggravated and his strong points reduced through our efforts; contrarily, our own shortcomings can be overcome and our strong points increased through out efforts. Only in this way can the strengths of the two sides shift so that the advantage lies with us and not with the enemy. "When a new stage is reached, a tremendous change will occur in the levels of strength and weakness and the situation of superiority and inferiority which will result in the enemy's defeat and our victory." The defeatists, being confused by the superficial appearances of a single moment in time, failed to see that the results of the contradictory struggle between the two sides had, under specific conditions, to undergo a qualitative leap;, and those looking for a quick victory then failed to understand that in their changing things must pass through a process of quantitative change leading to qualitative change. Because of this they embraced a gambling mentality and abandoned any thought of a long, bitter struggle with the enemy.

Based on the foundation of an exhaustively detailed analysis of the national conditions of both sides, of the contradictory struggle between them and of the mutual transformations inevitable under specific conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong used the basic principles of the dialectical materialist method to scientifically forecast the entire process of development of the war of resistance to Japan; it had to pass through the three stages of the enemy's strategic offensive and our strategic defense, strategic stalemate, and strategic counteroffensive. Later, the historical course of the war of resistance to Japan was to completely fulfill the scientific forecast of Comrade Mao Zedong.

3

The scientific analysis of national conditions is not only a necessary prerequisite for correctly directing a war, it is also a necessary prerequisite for correctly directing economic construction. In a certain sense, economic construction is even more complicated than military struggle. Its scope of involvement is very broad, and it is always difficult in a short period of time to determine the correctness of principles and policy. It calls for us to use the dialectical materialist method to seriously analyze and recognize our national state of affairs and to establish correct principles and policies based on our nation's realities.

In the history of mankind, similar phenomena have often appeared at different times. Just as Marx said: "History is replete with startlingly similar circumstances." A mistaken tendency similar to that of those who called for quick victory in the early years of the war of resistance to Japan exists in the guiding ideology of our socialist economic construction. Since the founding of the nation, we have stumbled more than once in the course of our economic construction. The basic reason lie in our lack of a clear understanding of our national conditions and of the fact that we must make a formidable effort over a long period of time if we want to build our large nation which is relatively backward in terms of production into a strong, socialist nation. Because of this, in our guiding ideology we have always been anxious for quick results, and we have committed the "leftist" error embodied in the doctrine of rapid achievement. In economic construction the mistaken "leftist" tendency of this doctrine, in terms of epistomological source, has characteristics similar to those of the doctrine of quick victory in the early years of the war of resistance to Japan. They both use idealist and mechanicalist theory in place of using the dialectical materialist method to make a complete and objective analysis of the national state of affairs. Those who call for rapid achievement exaggerate the capacity of subjective initiative, relying on subjective willpower to get things done. They forget China's basic national conditions of having 1 billion people, 800,000,000 peasants and a very thin economic base. Such conditions firmly determine the lengthy and arduous nature of our nation's socialist conditions. Only by proceeding gradually and orderly with measured strength can we be sure of our national economic construction. Otherwise we will fail in our haste. We have already suffered much because of this. It is a painful lesson we should have learned.

At present, a small number of people, seeing that our socialist construction has suffered setbacks and run into difficulties, have become discouraged and have lost confidence. They believe it to be impossible for a nation backward in production such as China to realize modernization. They are pessimistic. This is a manifestation of a lack of understanding of the national situation of China today. These comrades see only the difficulties we face. They exaggerate the contradiction between our starting point and our distant goal, and view it as the whole problem, neglecting the most basic advantageous element which is the superiority of the socialist system. They only see, or they exaggerate out of all proportion, the mistakes made and the setbacks encountered in the process of our national construction. They fail to see that after the people summarize their experiences and absorb the lessons of the past they become more intelligent and wiser and are able to reduce future mistakes and setbacks. They overlook the possibility that under specific conditions contradictions change. In epistemological terms this is another tendency toward idealism and mechanicalism. From this it can be seen that only by eliminating idealism and mechanicalism and upholding materialism and the dialectical method can we correctly understand our national situation and establish correct principles and policies which will give us full confidence in our modernization construction and lead us to adopt stable procedures. This is just the realization we should come to in our study of the work "On Protracted War."

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SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S PRESENT STAGE EXAMINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 20 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Duan Ruofei [3008 5387 7236]: "The Triumph and Development of Scientific Socialism in China--Understanding From a Study of the Resolutions on Some Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the State"]

[Text] The resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Our country has already established a socialist system and entered into a socialist society. Any viewpoint that denies this basic fact is erroneous."

Observation and study of the actual conditions of our society according to the scientific socialist theory of Marxism shows that the present stage of our country is truly a socialist society; the changes since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee represent the development of scientific socialism in China.

Production Relations of Socialism in Our Country Are Based on Socialized Productive Forces

The main argument of sceptical attitudes toward the socialist nature of present day Chinese society is that we have not yet built the socialized productive forces of a socialist society. Whether we have built the socialized productive forces of a socialist society is indeed a basic prerequisite to determining whether ours is a socialist society.

What,then, are socialized productive forces as seen from the theory of scientific socialism? According to the discussion by Marx and Engles, they are the socialization of the means, process and finished products of production. In other words, the means of production are those commonly used by a large number (as Marx and Engels said, hundreds of thousands) of people; the process of production is carried out by division of labor and cooperation among hundreds of thousands of people; and the end products of production are the products of the collective labor of hundreds of thouands of people. In terms of its economic form, socialism is the production relation that mutually suits socialized productive forces. The production relations of socialism are built on the basis of such forces.

In that case, at the present stage does China have socialized productive forces that can build socialist production relations as mentioned by Marx and Engles?

As a whole, the productive forces in our country at the present stage are in a stratified state. However, in the stratified productive forces, socialized productive forces have already reached a certain level. The socialized state of productive forces can be investigated in different aspects. The following figures and materials reflect in different aspects the general state of socialized productive forces in our country at present.

The number of industrial enterprises grew from 170,000 to 348,000 between 1957 and 1978. (In 1978 our country had 500,000 forging facilities, of which 3 were of the more than 10,000-metric-ton liquid press forge type. There was a total of 21 in foreign countries. We had nearly 2.3 million pieces of metal-cutting machine tools, ranking third in the world. Between 1957 and 1978 steel output increased from 5.35 million to 31.78 million metric tons. The ratio of industrial output value to total agricultural output value increased from about 56 to about 72 percent. Electricity is already widely used. (In the 19th century, steam was widely used for motive power among socialized productive forces.) Industries have already been established for machinery-making, automobiles, ship-building aircraft, electronics, petrochemicals, plastics, chemical fibers, and synthetic rubber. Some departments have started to use electronic calculators, automatic controls, atomic power, lasers and other contemporary and sophisticated products of science and technology. Machinery, electricity and chemical fertilizers are partially in use in agriculture. In 1978, the total area in the country under mechanized farming had reached 40 percent, and that with electric pumping 55 percent. An independent and complete national economic system led by socialized productive forces has been initially formed.

These statistics and types of material are far from complete and accurate, but from them one can see that our country truly has socialized productive forces on a considerable scale. According to the scientific socialist theory of Marx and Engels, socialist production relations can be built on the basis of such productive forces. It is precisely because of this that ours is a socialist society with the significance of scientific socialism, unusual stability and strong vitality. It is groundless to assert that we have no socialized productive forces such as those on which Marx and Engels said socialist production relations can be built. Arguments that socialist production relations can be built only as long as there are certain political conditions (certainly this does not mean not wanting political conditions or that political conditions are unimportant), regardless of the state of the productive forces, are not scientific explanations of Marxism.

How To Treat the State of Coexistence of Pluralistic Economic Forms in Our Country

When we say that our country truly has the socialized economic forces to build socialist production relations we are not implying that all of our productive forces have reached the level of socialization. On the contrary, we have not forgotten that compared to the developed countries in the world, the level of productive forces in our country as a whole is lower. The level of development of productive forces within the entire nation is very imbalanced. The coexistence of simple handicraft tools with large modernized machinery and automatically controlled machinery systems means that a stratified state of productive forces has been formed.

It is precisely this kind of situation that has determined the coexistence of pluralistic forms of systems of ownership at the present stage in our country. But in any case, our socialized productive forces in the production of the whole country are already in a position of control; great socialized production is dominant in the economic lifelines of the whole country. Consequently, our socialist system of ownership (including distribution according to work, which is the realization of the socialist system of ownership) enjoys a dominant position and absolute superiority. Also, "this is a light that illuminates all things. All other colors are concealed in it, which alters their characteristics." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 2, p 109) Under the strong light of the socialist system of ownership, all other forms of ownership have changed their colors.

In that case, is this society led by the socialist system of ownership and with the coexistence of pluralistic economic forms by nature a socialist society? Or is a society considered socialist only if the entire society completely and purely achieves socialist production relations?

We can make a historical comparison.

Take mid-19th century France as an example. Because capitalist economic relations had long occupied a leading position, the nature of French society at that time was already capitalist. This point is explicitly affirmed in countless references in the writings of Marx and Engels and has been openly recognized by people then and since. Yet in the economic relations of France at that time, capitalism was far from complete and pure and did not have an absolute superiority; the proportion of individual and feudal production relations was still considerable. France at that time deserved to be called a capitalist society. Why cannot China be called a socialist society when its socialist economic relations are in the lead and have absolute superiority?

Actually, everything follows the historical process of birth and development. Social formation is no exception. It is inevitable that a socialist society goes through the course of development from being "incomplete and impure" to "more complete and pure." Today's socialist society in China is still in its childhood, but already it is one that has its own character and the ability to regulate itself. We cannot deny its nature because it is "incomplete and impure," just as we cannot deny a child being a person because he still does not possess all the characteristics and abilities of an adult.

What should be pointed out here is that the course of development of a socialist society from being "incomplete and impure" to "more complete and pure" is a development "based on itself" and not the "period of transition." Regarding the characteristics of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, Lenin pointed out: "This period of transition must concurrently have the characteristics or features of the economic structures of these two societies. This period of transition must be a period of struggle between a dying capitalism and a growing communism. In other words, it is a period of struggle between capitalism which is defeated but not yet eliminated and socialism which is already born but still very weak." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 4, p 84) However, our country's present situation is one in which the socialist economy plays a leading role and enjoys absolute superiority. Other economic forms are small in number and play a subordinate role. This basically cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the period of decisive struggle when socialism and capitalism were in a state of "who will triumph over whom." In the mid-1950's our country victoriously realized the change from the new democracy to socialism. In the present stage, confusing the two intrinsically different historical periods might lead to erroneous application of the categories in the transition period in a socialist society, such as the struggle between two classes and two paths being the main contradiction in the society, and the continued use of "class struggle as a guideline" which would lead to "leftist" mistakes. This is not only a logical deduction but also a truth which we unmistakingly understand and which the lessons of history have taught us.

The theory of scientific socialism also tells us that a socialist society is the first or lower stage of communism. In the present stage of our country's historical development it is still a newly born and completely new social formation. Of course, as Engels said, "The so-called 'socialist society' is not something immutable. Like any other social system, we should regard it as a society that is constantly changing and reforming." (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 37, p 443) However, social revolution as well as social change and reform are after all categories that are different in principle and must not be confused. The former is realized through intense class antagonism and conflict; the latter is carried out through the leadership of the socialist system itself, step by step, and in an orderly way. As a socialist society, we cannot and should not take part in that kind of "continuous revolution" of "one class overthrowing another." (Of course, in no way does this mean that our revolutionary task is complete or that we do not need to carry out our work in a revolutionary spirit. This must not be misunderstood.) The so-called "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and the viewpoint of using a new form to defend this theory (renamed the so-called "continuous revolution under the conditions of socialism") is also a viewpoint denying that the present stage of our country is a socialist society. We must criticize this kind of erroneous point of view.

In any case, we believe that our country's history has already entered a socialist society which is built on the basis of socialized productive forces and is led by the socialist system of ownership with the coexistence of superior pluralistic economic forms. The establishment of the socialist system of ownership is the most profound and greatest social transformation in the history of our country and is the basis of all progress and development in the future. Under the guidance of the lines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the practice of our country's socialism has attained further development. Any theory that takes this or that form to deny that our country's history has entered a socialist society does not accord with the real conditions in our country at the present stage.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE PRESENTS CURRENT VIEW ON CLASS STRUGGLE

Beijing BAN YUE TAN[SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese, No 14, 25 Jul 81 p 6-7

[Article by Yan Jing [3601 5464]: "Why is it Said That 'The Exploiting Class no longer Exists as a Class'?"]

[Text] In the proces of studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" some comrades have asked why it is said that after the socialist transformation of China the exploiting class will no longer exist as a class. My understanding of this problem is as follows:

Marxism believes that classes are individual social groups which are joined by specific production relationships and which exist on different economic levels. Lenin said, "The so-called classes are groups that because they occupy different positions in a fixed socio-economic structure then have certain groups which are then capable of possessing the labors of certain other groups." It is commonly said that there are two conditions necessary for the formation of an exploiting class: the first is exploitation, which means to use one's means of production to carry out economic exploitation of workers who have lost or have a shortage of the means of productions.and thus use the fruits of their labors for self-enrichment; second is for the exploiters to form a social group with common interests. The exploiting classss in history such as the slaveholder class, the landlord class and the bourgeousie are groups of such exploiters.

After the founding of the new Chinese state, in 1956 under Party leadership the socialist transformation of the private ownership system of the means of production was basically accomplished. This basically eliminated the system of exploitation and basically eliminated the economic foundation of the existence of all exploiting classes as such.

In the old China there were such different exploiting classes as the bureaucrat capitalist class, feudal landlord class, the rich peasant class and the national capitalist class. In the first three years after the founding of the state we first confiscated bureaucrat capital and changed bureaucrat-capital enterprises into socialist state enterprises.

At the same time, we completed a land reform which encompassed almost the entire nation. We confiscated the land belonging to the landlords and the excess land owned by rich peasants and distributed it among the farmers of the nation. This effectivelly destroyed the economic foundation which the bureaucrat capitalist class, the feudal landlord class and the rich peasant class depended upon. In the aftermath of the Three Great Transformations we implemented a series of state capitalism arrangements in all classes from the highest to the lowest and then finally completed the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, enabling the means of production owned by national bourgeoisie to revert to state ownership. Although those people who had owned industrial and commercial enterprises still collected their "dividends," they nonetheless lost their authority in and control over the means of production. They could no longer employ the status of capitalist to exert authority in enterprises but rather had the status of enterprise workers. Concurrently, with the victorious implementation of the socialist transformation of agriculture the production condition for rich peasants (small scale family farming economy) also was destroyed. Subsequently, correct party policies transformed the great majority of members of the exploiting classes into self-sufficient workers.

There is a saying that goes, "If the skin is lost what does the hair adhere to?" The "skin" that the exploiting classes relied upon to exploit others and to form a social class was none other than the private ownership of the means of production. After the private ownership of the means of production was transformed into a public ownership system the "skin" of the exploiting class then disintegrated and the class existence of the exploiting class then ended.

After implementing the socialist transformation we carried out a basic implementation of the public ownership of the means of production and began to carry out the principle of to each according to his labors, so that the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots all became masters of society. Although they had mutual differences and contradictions of various types they were not of an adversary nature and there was no fundamental clash of interests. Moreover, these contradictions could all be solved through the continual development of socialism. Under conditions such as these it was no longer possible for one class to exploit another class.

Since the exploiting class no longer exists as a class in China, class struggle therefore is a major contradiction in China. Of course, because of internal factors and foreign influences class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within a certain scope. If we manage things badly and make some serious mistakes it is them possible that under certain conditions class struggle will become quite acute. In society there still exists both remnant and newborn elements who look upon socialism with hatred and there might also be exploiters carrying out exploitation in secret. While participating in political, economic, intellectual and social activities they can carry out destructive acts and so we must struggle against them. Nonetheless, these elements who are enemies of socialism have already lost their various economic and political foundations of existence and economically and politically can no longer exist legally as a class. Because of this, we must "both oppose the viewpoint of broadening class struggle and oppose the viewpoint that the need for class struggle has already disappeared."

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Promote Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Today, the party organizations of the various levels in our province are in the process of intensively studying the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" and conscientiously implementing the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session. These constitute one of the central tasks of the party. Recently, the Central Ministry of Propaganda and the propaganda department of the provincial party committee successively held forums on the ideological front, proposed strengthening the party's leadership of ideological work and changing the slack and weak situation, and promoted criticism and self-criticism to overcome all kinds of erroneous tendencies. It is an extremely important issue which calls for our serious attention.

Criticism and self-criticism are the motive force of the progress of all tasks, the weapon of the Communist Party members in self-reform, and the symbol of our party's prosperity and development. Our need of criticism and self-criticism is like our need of air and water. We must use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to constantly cleanse the dust from ourselves and preserve forever our revolutionary vitality.

The Sixth Plenary Session set the example of criticism and self-criticism for the entire party, firmly and courageously conducted criticisms and self-criticisms on the party's important historical issues since the founding of the nation, and summarized matter-of-factly the basic experiences and lessons. Ours is indeed a great party; it is indeed a party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong. To study and implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session, we must properly develop the superior tradition of criticism and self-criticism, reinforce the party's unity and increase its fighting power.

Judging from the condition of the ideological work in our province, we find that there are the following attitudes toward criticism and self-criticism: One is welcoming criticisms, humbly heeding the critical opinions and conscientiously making self-criticisms. This attitude naturally deserves emulation, but unfortunately the number of comrades taking this attitude is not large. Another is being afraid to criticize. Slack and weak, the leaders with this attitude fail to express a clear stand on fundamental issues and distinguish the right and wrong. This condition is relatively widespread. The third is rejecting criticisms, especially criticisms published in newspapers. The moment criticism is encountered, those taking this attitude call it "punishment" and "hitting with a club." This condition indicates that, as a result of the serious destruction suffered by the party's superior tradition during the 10-year internal disorder, the trend of criticism and self-criticism in the party and the cadre ranks has not been properly restored and developed. It is a momentous issue requiring serious attention on all fronts as well as solution on the ideological front.

To promote criticism and self-criticism, we must learn to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome all kinds of erroneous ideological tendencies, rectify the defects and mistakes in work, and correctly handle the contradictions within the people. We must firmly implement the party's policy of "a hundred flowers blossoming; a hundred schools of thought contending," while launching correct criticisms and self-criticisms. We cannot depart from criticism and self-criticism when upholding the "double hundred" policy. Then, what is the criterion to determine the right and wrong in ideology and work? It is the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session, the basic conclusion of the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation," and the four basic principles.

In terms of today, while we must continue to purge the influence of the leftwing error, we must also combat the tendency of bourgeois liberalism. These two tasks are indivisible and mutually promotive. The former remains an important task, absolutely not to be underestimated or slackened. The latter is an ideological trend in society, and its core is to break away from the party's leadership and the socialist path. In regard to such bourgeois liberal tendency, we must criticize it solemnly and forcefully. Some party members actually propose that they may compete against the Party Central Committee, contradict the party, and ignore the party's call or its discipline. Others promote anarchism and ultra-egoism and spread comments against the four basic principles. Is it conceivable that they can be tolerated? The special policies and flexible measures followed by Guangdong, being more open to the outside, are completely necessary, and the results are good. We must continue to purge the remnant poison of the leftwing ideology, further strengthen external economic activities, and properly handle the construction of the special area. However, we must also realize, at the same time, that the bourgeois ideological influence from the outside has corrupted some party members and cadres. The situation should arouse our vigilance. In regard to the unhealthy trends in the party and in the economic realm, especially in the external economic activities, we must conscientiously launch criticisms and self-criticisms. Under the influence of the leftwing ideology, some comrades, even today, are doubtful, or even resentful, of the party's lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session. For this situation, we must, by means of conscientiously launching criticisms and self-criticisms, enable them to improve their ideological awareness and consciously implement the Party Central Committee's policies. In regard to the slack and weak conditions of the leaders on the ideological front, we must also conscientiously launch criticisms and self-criticisms, in order to strengthen the party's leadership, giving it both the courage and the skill to lead.

When launching criticisms and self-criticisms, we must learn our party's correct historical experiences and assimilate new ones. We must give attention to the method and the result. Like the Third and the Sixth Plenary Sessions, we must uphold the scientific attitude of seeking the truth from the facts, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient," and the method of "unity--criticism--unity," and avoid movements, sieges and aggravation. While solemnly and conscientiously launching criticisms, we must aim at helping those criticized; while promoting self-criticism, we must refrain from forcing others to examine themselves. Only thus will we truly attain the goal of enlightening thinking, rallying the comrades and improving the work. One important point is to start from the desire to unite and, by means of criticisms and self-criticisms and on the foundation of the four basic principles, reach a new unity.

The Sixth Plenary Session asks the entire party to unify thinking, strengthen unity, enhance revolutionary vigor and properly handle production. When studying the documents of the Sixth Plenary Session and the recent important instructions of the Party Central Committee, we must consciously link our studies with reality, summarize the experiences and launch criticisms and self-criticisms, thereby making the party's leadership of ideological work firm and strong, the spiritual outlook of all party members and the broad cadres more vigorous, and the work on the ideological and other fronts of our province more lively, and effectively promoting the development of the four modernization construction.

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'BA YI RADIO' ON DENG'S CONTINUING ATTACKS ON HUA

OW291251 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Sep 81

[Text] The question of Comrade Hua Guofeng was dealt with by the party long ago. And the 6th plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee adopted a special resolution on this matter. To continue to attack Comrade Hua Guofeng in various ways on various occasions now is in fact to promote an unprincipled struggle in the party in a disguised form. Particularly Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as the actual leader of the party, government and army, is still criticizing, even exaggerating, Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistakes over and over again. This does not help the unity of the party, government and army at all. Moreover, it makes people wonder if the spearhead isn't pointed elsewhere.

We are not saying that Comrade Hua Guofeng made no mistakes. There were mistakes, even serious ones. However, the main responsibility for several mistakes, on which Comrade Deng Xiaoping places particular emphasis, should not be borne by Comrade Hua Guofeng.

First of all let's consider the issue of the whole country learning from Dazhai. Although Comrade Hua Guofeng presided over two national conferences on learning from Dazhai, it was Comrade Mao Zedong who first started it. Other central leaders, too, should share the responsibility. Take Comrade Deng Xiaoping, for example. He was appointed vice premier in 1974. On 2 October the same year, when receiving overseas Chinese at the Great Hall of the People, he said: Some say that our population is too big and increasing too fast and that our grain production cannot keep pace. They are wrong. So long as we adhere to the line of learning from Dazhai in agriculture, even if our population grows several hundred million more, we still will have enough food, (?including meat and fish). If one-third or one-fourth of the communes in the country learn from Dazhai, China will become the world's biggest granary.

Next let's consider the issue of the personality cult. After the gang of four was overthrown, Marshal Ye [Ye Shuai 0673 1596] said at a working conference of the party Central Committee: "Chairman Mao said that it was necessary to give publicity to Comrade Hua Guofeng. Now, to repudiate the gang of four and stabilize the situation of the whole country, it is necessary to establish Chairman Hua's prestige." In his letter to Comrade Hua Guofeng asking for a job, Deng Xiaoping also made several references to "the wise leader Chairman Hua." On the issue of giving publicity to Comrade Hua Guofeng, everyone spoke along the same line within the party Central Committee at that time.

The issue of the "two whatever's" should also be looked at objectively and in a historical perspective. The slogan itself was wrong. However, then the gang of four had only just been overthrown, and blind faith in Comrade Mao Zedong remained quite strong. Many cadres and people still blindly worshiped him. The remaining forces of the gang of four were still very strong. It was then unthinkable to make such decisions as those made by the 3d and 6th plenary sessions of the party's 11th Central Committee. Furthermore, even the 6th plenary session had great reservations in reaching a conclusion on the nature of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. Therefore, we say that the purpose in continuing to magnify and wrangle about the mistakes Comrade Hua Guofeng made while in charge of the work of the party Central Committee even after a conclusion was reached by the 6th plenary session is obviously not just to attack Comrade Hua Guofeng himself, but to prepare public opinion for the removal of all party, government and army cadres, who were not attacked during the Cultural Revolution and who held important positions when Comrade Hua Guofeng was in power, and for the disposal of all PLA cadres who took part in the "three support's and two military's" tasks and PLA cadres who have connections with those former PLA leaders found guilty and punished in the past few years, before the PLA formally restores the military ranks.

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'BA YI RADIO' SCORES DENG XIAOPING'S RULE

OW010641 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 30 Sep 81

[Text] On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the founding of our country, we extend our warm festive greetings to the workers, peasants, cadres, commanders and fighters who are working in their respective fields.

On 1 October--32 years ago--a new country free of exploitation and oppression was founded on Chinese soil. That new country proclaimed the end of the enslavement of the Chinese people by old and new colonialists, especially U.S. imperialists, which had lasted for more than 100 years. Millions of commanders and fighters of our army shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for that day.

In the 32 years since the founding of the country our people have travelled a difficult, dangerous and torturous road. In the first 10 years our country scored splendid successes on all fronts. Those successes could be attributed to many causes, but they could not be separated from our vigorous efforts to oppose bureaucratism and extensively promote democracy. Regrettably, the correct policy and successful experience established and accumulated in the first decade of our country was not followed and applied in later days. But more importantly, Comrade Mao Zedong started to enforce the system of excessive centralism and exercised autocratic rule in the name of democratic centralism. He also branded those who opposed bureaucratism as rightists. As a result, the democratic atmosphere became thinner and bureaucratism became more serious. At the end feudal, fascist autocracy ruled the whole party and country, the people suffered from the catastrophe and socialist construction encountered a serious setback.

Since the smashing of the gang of four, no attempt has been made to learn from past mistakes and completely eliminate the remaining influence of bureaucratism. As a result, our country again suffered huge economic losses and paid a tremendous price. Graver still, key leaders of our party and state, especially Comrade Deng Xiaoping, instead of objectively examining the mistakes in line and policy, continue to use the most disgusting practice of the feudal autocratic period and shift the entire responsibility onto Mao Zedong, the gang of four and Comrade Hua Guofeng.

Anyone with some common knowledge of politics knows that the economy will not develop and society will not progress without a sound political system and a correct political line. In the history of China and the world, no politically corrupt country has ever enjoyed economic prosperity.

Although in appearance there is a division of power into three [San Quan Fen Li--0005 2938 0433 4539] at present, the great power of the party, government and army is actually controlled by one person. Although democratic centralism in essence is a pooling of correct views, the criteria of correctness is now decided by one leader. Thus, the majority is now subordinate to the minority and the whole party is subordinate to one person in the party Central Committee. This is like the past when an emperor called a meeting of his officials and made the decision himself at the end of the meeting, saying: "Your views accord with mine." As the numerous serious mistakes committed by our party in the past were the result of such practice by Comrade Mao Zedong, so are the serious mistakes of today in domestic and foreign affairs the result of such practice by Deng Xiaoping, who inherited it from Mao Zedong.

Comrades, the revolutionary predecessors of our party and army founded new China after decades of struggle. The mission for our generation is to establish a prosperous and strong socialist motherland. To fulfill this mission we should foster the revolutionary spirit of our predecessors and wage an uncompromising struggle against bureaucratic and autocratic style.

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'HEBEI RIBAO' URGES PROMOTION OF PROVINCIAL WORK

HK010434 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthen Unity, Enhance Revolutionary Vigor, Strive To Do a Good Job of Work in Hebei"]

[Text] In the past 2 years since the publication of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and with the deep concerns and specific assistance of the party Central Committee, the urban and rural areas throughout Hebei Province have seriously conveyed and implemented the "Resolution." The cadres and masses have been vigorously educated and enlightened, their ideology has been enhanced, and their understanding has unified to a greater extent. The people's mental outlook and attitude toward work have been undergoing profound changes. In order to master to a greater extent the spiritual essence of the "Resolution" and consequently employ it to guide and improve our work in various aspects, we must give play to our party's fine style of integrating theory with practice and link the spirit of the "Resolution" with the actual condition of the localities and the local units. Implementation means integrating the spirit of the "Resolution" with actual practice and solving major problems like a man aiming arrows at his target andnot merely expressing support. In criticizing the wrong style of study of separating theory and practice, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Some comrades only praise the beautiful arrows in their hands, but they are reluctant to shoot them. In studying and implementing the "Resolution," we must abandon and correct this unsavory style of study.

What are the problems that we must solve at present in order to work in close connection with our province's actual condition? The major one is to take the "Resolution" as the weapon, emancipate our minds, continue to criticize leftism, turn chaos into order, strengthen unity and use all this as a basis to construct socialist material and spiritual civilization. This may also be rendered as: unify ideology, strengthen unity, enhance revolutionary vigor and promote production. This is a significant turn in the work of Hebei Province. We have already wasted a few years' precious time since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and we should take the sixth plenary session as a new starting point to rouse ourselves and try hard to catch up. We must effect improvements in various kinds of work and bring changes to the appearance of various aspects.

Continue To Turn Chaos Into Order, Strengthen Revolutionary Unity

The 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee went down in history with the achievement in the historical mission of turning chaos into order in the party's guiding ideology and gained the warm support of the broad masses and cadres inside and outside Hebei Province.

In light of the province's situation, we are confronted with the tough task of continuing to turn chaos into order both in our specific work and in our guiding ideology. This is mainly the consequence of historical factors. Our province has lagged behind other provinces and municipalities in turning chaos into order, implementing the policies, readjusting the leadership groups, implementing the party's economic policies, promoting industrial and agricultural production and in other kinds of work because the former responsible person of the provincial CCP Committee who had been practicing, for a long period of time, a series of ultraleftist things, did not become aware of or correct his mistakes after the third plenary session and even boycotted the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. In addition to this, for a long time we did not understand the seriousness of his mistakes nor did we vigorously criticize and promptly correct them.

However, regarding these problems, we should neither oversimplify them nor worry too much about them. If we oversimplify these problems and cannot realize the scope, the duration and the vicious consequences brought about by leftist influences in our province, our efforts in criticizing leftist errors and turning chaos into order will definitely be weakened. However, on the other hand, we should also see that with the encouragement of the "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session and with the strong desire of the cadres and the masses in turning chaos into order, the explicit principles and policies to solve the problems, the concern and direct assistance of the CCP Central Committee and the unswerving determination of the party committees at all levels, we can resolutely and in a planned way accomplish these tough tasks. We have no reason to worry or to have our confidence shaken.

Regarding the handling of leftover historical problems. The implementation of the policy toward cadres and the redressing of all unjust, false and wrong cases, we should properly deal with them after we have distinguished between right and wrong. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "...In all historical stages of a human society, there are always cases of handling errors in such a way. The number of such cases is particularly great in a class society, and such cases are also unavoidable in a socialist society. They are unavoidable whether in a period of leadership under the correct line or in a period of leadership under the erroneous line. However, there is a difference. In the period under the leadership of the correct line, those cases which have been erroneously dealt with will be reexamined and redressed and these people involved will be given apologies in order to reassure them and make them feel easy. However, these things cannot be done in a period under the leadership of the wrong line. Only those people who represent the correct line can correct the mistakes at the right time and by means of the method of democratic centralism." Therefore, it is necessary to correct our mistakes in dealing with the comrades who have been framed, overcriticized, too severely struggled against, and whose crimes have been wrongly determined whether during or after the "Great Cultural Revolution" or during the movement of cleaning things up after the smashing of the gang of four. People will have to correct mistakes whether they do it now or later.

Even if certain comrades do not correct their mistakes, other comrades will do it for them. In short, it is advantageous to correct the mistakes as early and as quickly as possible. Comrades who have wrongly attacked others must enhance their initiative and awareness and seriously sum up experiences in order to obtain the understanding of the other comrades. On the other hand, comrades who have been framed but then rehabilitated should not keep picking on those who made mistakes, should not put forth unreasonably high demands or be swayed by personal feelings. Now that the "Resolution" has been published and the important question of right and wrong in the party's history has been clarified, people are aware of the historical factors accounting for criticism against each other in the past. There is no need to be particular about one's personal feelings since distrinction between right and wrong has been clarified and everyone is sharp-eyed and clearheaded. We can ask ourselves: others have wrongly criticized me, but have I ever wrongly criticized others? It seems no one can say for sure that he has not wrongly criticized others. Our mental outlook will be improved after considering this question. Once there is a solution to this problem, everything will be easily solved. Therefore, it is necessary to educate our cadres in the idea that all people, whether they have wrongly criticized others or have been wrongly criticized themselves, must enhance their mental outlook, must possess the proletarian realm of thought, proletarian work style and a proletarian breadth of vision. Most of our cadres have been small producers in the past, and despite the number of years since they joined the revolution, they still have the same problem. Their thoughts are not as noble, their proletarian vision is not as broad, and their proletarian work style is not as fine as they should be. Therefore, in the meantime while we are doing a good job of implementing the policies, we must promote ideological work and reeducate the cadres in the proletarian work style. Thus, we can on the one hand solve the problem and on the other hand enable the broad masses of cadres to enhance their ideological state.

Readjusting the leadership groups at all levels is an important aspect of turning chaos into order and eradicating the negative consequences of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and is also a must for building the four modernizations. Thus, we should grasp well and do a good job of it. As far as readjusting the leadership groups is concerned, we should not strive to maintain the status quo in order to avoid disturbances. Similarly, it is also wrong to treat too seriously those comrades who have made mistakes, without carrying out a comprehensive historical analysis. We must adopt a stern attitude and appropriate approaches. We must differentiate various situations and adopt different methods to solve the problems. Some comrades have committed mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have supported the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committe have not thoroughly understood the line and principles of the third plenary session, resulting in discrepancy in personal feelings. These people should sum up past experiences, overcome their own mistakes through education and in actual practice and resolutely support the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. They should put down their ideological burdens and enhance their revolutionary vigor in order to grasp their work well with a positive attitude. They should not be overcome with regret or be haunted by lingering fear. They should be bold enough to say and uphold what they should say and uphold. We can transfer some of these people retaining their original posts, to different units or areas and let them work for the revolution in different areas. This will benefit both the revolution and the comrades themselves. Regarding the small number of those "three kinds of person" who are still holding leadership posts, we must work in accordance with the policies and regulations to get rid of these people in the leadership groups at all levels. However, these "three kinds of people" will not be handled according to criminal procedures if they have not committed any crime. With regard to those comrades who have been recklessly promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and who have made certain mistakes and who are not well-qualified, or who have gained the support of the masses, they may be transferred to the lower levels to obtain additional education. This method reflects concern and care for these cadres. Although reckless promotions do not always cause great problems, it is advantageous for those who face difficulties in their present job to go down to the lower levels to train themselves. Everyone will be understanding receptive if we do a good job of differentiating the various situations and of clearly stating the reasons. We must still promote more cadres who posses both ability and political integrity and those in the prime of their lives to leadership posts at all levels and actively and in a scheduled way build a team of young, revolutionary, learned and professional cadres. The above-mentioned tasks in readjusting the leadership groups are interrelated. So long as we seriously follow the mass line, we can definitely do a good job of it.

Currently, the major problem that hampers our development is the unsatisfactory situation of unity of the party organizations. Misunderstandings still exist among the cadres and in the policy toward cadres upheld for a long period of time by the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee of ganging up with his supporters and estranging himself from his detractors in order to strike blows at the leading cadres (mainly the veteran cadres), and his faults in denying his errors and refusing to make self-criticism. This situation has already caused great losses to our cause and we must put an end to it. Now that the "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session has provided us with a political basis for unifying our understanding and strengthening unity, and that the CCP Central Committee has actively helped enhance our confidence in promoting unity and eliminating misunderstandings, we should achieve new unity and get rid of all leftover historical misunderstandings. Confronted with the historical mission of building material and spiritual civilization, we must proceed in our work from uniting all the cadres and the masses and lay stress on the party's interests to abandon all personal feelings, eradicate factionalism, enhance our party spirit, be united as one to look ahead and do a good job of work in the province. This complies with what we always say--give consideration to the overall situation. We will never succeed in giving consideration to the overall situation if we are always entwined with the past and always looking back. "Unity of the party and its unity with the people serve as the fundamental guarantee for carrying out socialist modernization and winning a new victory. So long as the whole party is closely united as one and is simultaneously closely united with the masses, the general trend of development will still be increasing prosperity day by day, despite the fact that our party and the socialist cause under the leadership of the party are bound to encounter various difficulties." We can never forget about these sentences published on the "Revolution."

Restore the Party's Fine Work Style, Build Socialist Spiritual Civilization

What is the approach for building spiritual civilization? The most important work at present is to strengthen party leadership over the ideological fronts, overcome the general situation of being lax and feeble, continue to criticize leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology and criticize the trend of bourgeois liberalization. We have already scored great achievements since the third plenary session in rectifying party work style, social mood and social order. However, the situation has not been completely improved. In an early period of time, social order was in a chaotic situation in many places in the province, the people were unhappy and several serious murder cases took place. Since the conclusion of the sixth plenary session, a small number of people have started to fabricate rumors to libel and to create disturbances. However, some of our party members only shut their eyes to these things and adopt an indifferent attitude which we cannot tolerate. All this shows that our party work style is seriously corrupt and that our ideological work is extremely lax and feeble. In light of this, the pressing task now is to solve the problem of being lax and feeble, uphold the four basic principles and maintain political unanimity with the CCP Central Committee.

The most effective method to overcome the state of being lax and feeble is to restore and develop the party's fine traditions and work style and take criticism and self-criticism as the weapon. Criticism and self-criticism is one of the party's three great work styles and is the symbol which differentiates our party from other political parties. Talking about restoring the party's fine work styles, many comrades only remember the work style of seeking truth from facts and forget about the work style of working in close connection with the masses and unfolding criticism and self-criticism. The three work styles of the party are interrelated; seeking truth from facts will be empty if the other two do not exist. Seeking truth from facts will only mean daydreaming if we do not work in connection with the masses. We will not be able to tell right from wrong if there is no criticism and self-criticism. Then how can we talk about seeking truth from facts? Therefore, the three great work styles are inseparable. The objective for unfolding criticism and self-criticism is to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong always stressed: criticism should be correct but not distorted, and self-criticism should be conscientiously but not perfunctorily launched. We should work in accordance with what Comrade Mao Zedong said. Due to cruel struggles and merciless blows started by the Lin Biao and Jiang Ding counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of upheaval, many cadres and people are still worrying and have a lingering fear. They are afraid of criticism and self-criticism and many of them associate criticisms with sticks. Such a feeling is understandable; however, we should not put an end to criticism and self-criticism because of this. Our party has gained both positive and negative experiences in dealing with this issue in the past decades. On the one hand, negative experiences tell us that we can never again promote indiscriminate and exaggerated struggles and criticisms as during the "Great Cultural Revolution." On the other hand, positive experiences give rise to the party's three great work styles amid long-term struggles. In our party's history, the successful convening of both the Zunyi conference and the "seventh party congress"was the consequence of criticism and self-criticism. Our party has carried out several criticisms and self-criticisms since the smashing of the gang of four. In a certain sense, the sixth plenary session was the greatest criticism and self-criticism ever launched since the founding of the country, and the "Resolution" itself was the most profound self-criticism. So long as we seriously sum up historical experiences and correctly launch criticism and self-criticism, our party will definitely prosper and flourish.

Working in close connection with the masses is in fact one of the party's three great work styles. However, it is regrettable that many comrades have already forgotten about it and some veteran comrades have already abandoned it. One of the reasons accounting for the leftist or rightist errors in our work on many occasion is that we have not done a good job of following the mass line. Many things seem very difficult to handle. But in fact, they can be easily solved so long as we follow the mass line sufficiently. Generally speaking, the majority of cadres are relatively more correct than before. We advocate following the genuine but not the sham mass line. The so-called genuine mass line means relying on the majority of the masses. Whether in implementing the policies, rectifying the work of the leadership groups, handling the "three kinds of people," popularizing the production responsibility systems or carrying out democratic elections, we must rely on the majority of the masses. The "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session serves as evidence of following the mass line since it was written after repeated amendments in accordance with the masses' opinions. In short, we must push forward education in the three great work styles within the party, enabling them to strike root in the hearts of the people and the party in a few years' time. With regard to this problem, we must not merely shout slogans but must initiate actions and work in a practical way in order to score achievements.

Promoting the ideology and work style of our cadres is an important aspect of building spiritual civilization. At present, three major problems exist in the cadres' work: First, transferring and making use of the masses' properties to repair houses; second, getting things done for children and relatives through the back door; third, giving banquets and presents and accepting bribes. In addition to this, some cadres have a lax attitude and are irresponsible in their work, always engaging in personal matters. The masses are very discontented with this, and we must seriously solve these problems. In the article "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Comrade Mao Zedong proposed five methods to care for and protect the cadres, and it merits being studied by the broad masses of cadres. We should care for and protect the cadres, but how? If we do not criticize the errors of the cadres for the sake of caring for and protecting them, then we are in fact doing harm to them and hampering their development in the future. When dealing with cadres who have made mistakes, we must, on the one hand, carry out criticism, and on the other, must not promote exaggerated struggles or stick labels on others, but uphold the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient." However, the problem now is that the cadres are not bold enough to make criticisms whenever mistakes are found. We must promptly correct this kind of unhealthy mood. To promote the work style of cadres, we must particularly stress telling the truth. It is necessary to tell the truth both to the superiors and to the masses, and to resolutely exterminate all lies, exaggerations and empty words. We must also encourage the fine work style of riding bicycles more instead of driving vehicles, going deep into the basic levels and carrying out investigations and research work. Anyone who has been acting as a county CCP committee secretary should visit all production teams in that particular county in 2 years' time, and should be familiar with the location of all the gullies and the channels. Only by knowing how things stand can the leaders exert correct leadership.

We must primarily build spiritual civilization in the urban areas, which are the political and cultural centers. Successful building of spiritual civilization in the urban areas can push forward building of spiritual civilization in the rural areas. It is correct for the urban areas to stress grasping production, but they must simultaneously grasp well building of spiritual civilization, rectify well production order and learning order and social order, promote party work style and social mood and do a good job of public health. We must continuously and irresistibly grasp building spiritual civilization, putting it on the same level with production.

Successful building of spiritual civilization will speed up building of material civilization. Turning spiritual things into material things is the dialectics of things.

Work Efficiently, Enable the Economy To Develop at a Certain Speed

Certain foundations have been laid for development of agriculture, industry and transportation and communications, trade and finance and other fronts in the province since the founding of the state, and the objective conditions have also been satisfactory. However, the achievements we have made are far from eeting the demands of the CCP Central Committee and the people's expectations, and we are lagging behind other provinces and municipalities because leftist mistakes and their influences have not been completely eradicated. In addition, we have not adequately emancipated our minds or advanced with big strides, because we have been hampered by a large number of historical questions and have not been able to concentrate leadership and energy on promoting economic construction or shifting our work focus onto economic construction in accordance with the demands of the third plenary session. In order to do a good job of readjusting the national economy, it is necessary to solve, both in understanding and in actual practice, the following major problems:

1. The economy must develop at a speed which can be attained by means of strenuous efforts. Our comrades only have a one-sided knowledge of balance and readjustment and do not understand what is meant by maintaining a certain speed in readjustment. There are advances and retreats and even new projects in the course of readjustment. We just currently stress the idea of maintaining a certain speed in economic development. If we cannot keep a certain high speed, we will not be able to meet the growing demands of the masses in their daily life. The masses have become richer over the past 2 years and they will be better off this year due to a bumper agricultural harvest. First, if industry, in particular light industry, does not develop at a certain speed, the masses' demands will never be satisfied. Second, financial revenue will be increased if the economy develops steadily; otherwise, it will decrease. Third, without a certain economic growth rate, the enthusiasm of the cadres and the workers will not be aroused. This involves the problem of morale. Unreasonably high or low quotas will dampen the enthusiasm of the masses. The old saying of "the bolder the people in an area, the greater the production" has also been proved wrong in actual practice. But on the other hand, the masses' morale will also be dampened if production is kept to a low level regardless of the capacity. For instance, we are only asked to walk 50 miles a day when actually we can walk 100 miles. When the alarm clock rings in the morning, we say, let us sleep for a while longer since we only have to walk 50 miles after all. In this way, our morale is dampened. Fourth, unreasonably low production quotas do not encourage the people to improve business management, learn management skills or obtain advanced management experience. Moreover, they hinder us from encouraging our broad masses of cadres to improve business management and master advanced science and technology. Fifth, a slow rate of development is bound to affect our antihegemonist struggle in the international situation. The poor and backward situation in our country is disadvantageous to enlightening the people of the Third World and to returning Taiwan to the motherland. In short, the question of the rate of economic development is not only an economic problem but is also a political one. With regard to the problem of the rate of economic development, we must bear the past experiences in mind and uphold seeking truth from facts. We must not encourage high quotas which can never be

attained despite strenuous efforts or promote blind and large-scale capital construction. In other words, we must not encouage high quotas or waste money. Under this premise and with strenuous efforts, it is entirely possible to maintain a certain economic growth rate. We should not feel shameful if we have made much effort and production still lags behind because of poor objective conditions. However, we should take the responsibility if we fail to fulfill production quotas not because of objective conditions but because we have not worked hard enough.

2. It is necessary to explicitly stipulate the objective of production. The objective of socialist production is to incessantly meet the growing demands of the people's material and culture lives. One of the greatest principles guiding our economic work is to consider the interests of the 1 billion people. There will be no prospects in our economic work without considering the interests of the 1 billion people. We must often remember the needs of the masses and give consideration to the needs of the 800 million peasants. For instance, in promoting development of electricity, we must give consideration to meeting the masses' demands in production and daily life. However, ideological problems and problems of work style now exist among those in charge of development of electricity who always neglect the peasants. Take the food industry as another example. It is necessary to consider the masses' health. Some foods are more nutritious and are good for our health. For example, sick people and pregnant women must eat finer dried noodles in order to recover rapidly. What should we do when we know the peasants are well off? We must first encourage consumption; second, encourage them to raise funds to run joint enterprises; third, organize the masses to voluntarily promote public facilities; and fourth, encourage savings. In order to encourage consumption in the urban and rural areas, we must develop production and produce new products. Talking about the proportion of heavy and light industries, it is not always correct to maintain a higher proportion of light industrial development; perhaps we should put it in this way: Production of the means of production must accord with production of the means of subsistence; and it is not always true to say that a higher proportion of light industry over heavy industry means better development. Metallurgical and engineering industries must study the problem of the objective of production and give consideration to the needs of the masses. We do not have abundant production of iron and steel. However, the amount of accumulation is remarkable. The reason for this is that the orientation of production is incorrect. The steel ingots are usually stored in the warehouses after being produced, and production quotas are said to have been fulfilled. Our first requirement in initiating scheduled work is to work in accordance with the masses' needs and meet their growing demands in their material and cultural lives. In planning work in the future, we must work in accordance with the people's needs and give consideration to the "six great categories." The "six categories" are: daily necessities manufacturing industry; textile industry; foodstuffs industry; peasants' means of production, tractors and small farming machines; construction materials and service trades including tourism, guesthouses, barber and repair services. In the course of readjusting the national economy, if we fix our investment orientation and work focus in accordance with the proportions of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and do a good job of promoting the above-mentioned six categories which are closely related to the people's livelihood, we will be able to achieve a certain speed of development in the course of readjustment and change our backward appearance relatively quickly.

3. We must popularize and push forward the economic responsibility system. The implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system in the previous

2 years has proved that the responsibility system is on the one hand, a good method to integrate rights, obligations and interests and on the other hand, an effective means to motivate the masses' enthusiasm in production and improve the economic effect. Our province has been a bit slow in initiating the agricultural production responsibility system and has not been doing a good job of it. Thus, leaders at all levels must still vigorously push forward the responsibility system of linking remuneration to output. We must continue to criticize leftism and find a solution to the problem of the two trends of letting matters drag on and refusing to do anything about them. Certainly, we must let the cadres and members of the commune choose their own form of responsibility system and should not force them to accept a particular form. We must not encourage doing things in a rigid way regardless of the specific conditions. Every sector and trade must learn the experience of pushing forward the agricultural production responsibility system. All departments including industry, communications and transportation, finance and trade and scientific research units must formulate responsibility systems at all levels from political to economic ones. Cadres of prefectural CCP committees, county CCP committees and party and government organs at all levels must promote responsibility systems in the future. Our experiment in expanding the self-management of industrial enterprises in the previous 2 years is in fact a starting point in reforming business management. However, it is necessary to promote the responsibility system for a long time to come, whether in the 1980's or in the 1990's. The responsibility system sets up criteria for examination which enables us to avoid egalitarianism. As early as at the end of the October Revolution, Lenin put forward the proposal on practicing the responsibility sytem. Our experience in promoting the responsibility system has proved that this idea of Lenin is correct and we must still enrich and develop this idea by making use of our actual practice. Certainly, we are not solely stressing material benefits but must also do ideological and political work well in pushing forward the responsibility system. We must unify and integrate the sense of political responsibility and the economic responsibility system. We must become good workers responsible for management of the socialist businesses, working for both the state and the people and possessing a high sense of political responsibility.

4. We must organize well and lead well socialist modernization, conscientiously sum up experiences and learn to work in accordance with the economic laws. Promoting socialist construction for a period of 30 years, we have achieved successes but have also suffered setbacks and failures. Thus, it is necessary to correctly sum up our experiences in order to avoid blindness. For instance, one of the problems which needs to be looked into is how to give play to our province's superiority. It is suitable to grow cotton in our province, which is an old cotton-producing area, and our peasants are experienced in growing cotton. Our historical cotton-producing area had reached an area of 17 million mu and our cotton production tops other areas in the country. However, our cotton production decreased due to leftist influences during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Although production has risen again in the past 2 years, it is still far from reaching our historical record. We must readjust the overall arrangement of crops, appropriately cultivate more cotton and strive to increase our cotton production to 10 million dan in a few years' time. Once cotton production is increased, there will be raw materials for developing the light and textile industries, the peasants will enjoy more economic benefits, and the cottonseed cake can also be applied as fertilizers to promote the per unit areas yield of grain. Take water conservancy as another example; our province has spent quite a lot of money on water conservancy projects and the effects are

worth summing up. Certain capital construction projects such as water conservancy ones must be semi-compulsory. We will not be able to promote building of the country if we do not pursue labor accumulation.

5. Various departments related to economic construction must incessantly look into the new situation and solve new problems. For instance, we all generally feel that there is insufficient capital for investment, fixing our eyes always on the state's investment. There is in fact a convention. Why can we not be more far-sighted and adopt the method of attracting outside capital (including capital from foreign countries and provinces?) For instance, some people do not know what to do with native products such as honey, walnut, peanuts and sesame which have been produced in excess of quotas and have not been selling well in the local markets. Why do they not try the method of exporting them to other places and processing them? We can export the dried persimmons and jujubes to the southern part in exchange for bananas and tangerines. The method of exporting goods to other places can help avoid panic purchasing and poor sales. It is in fact a good method to protect and stimulate production of native products, and we must not lower the prices of these products capriciously. In addition, we can also develop processing of foodstuffs which can both meet the masses' need and provide more opportunities for sales and increase revenue. As a matter of fact, some agricultural products procuring departments are running at a loss. It is undoubtedly the methods they practice at present that cause losses. Why can they not change and try out some new methods? We do not have to lose money but can gain profits if we process the agricultural products we have procured and carry out advanced processing of them in the big municipalities and then export a certain portion and leave a certain portion for use as raw materials for the industries. This is the orientation and principle of procurement work. One of the reasons accounting for the backward situation of our province's agricultural production is that the area of vegetation is small in the province and the ecological situation is poor. Many deserted hillsides and beaches in our province have not been afforested. As a result of this, all the hillsides and beaches remain deserted and subject to erosion as neither the collective nor the masses have been engaged in afforestation. Why can we not let the commune members mobilize the masses to promote afforestation? The masses in Shahe County were very glad to hear that the county CCP committee was going to distribute deserted beaches to them and declared that the policy would remain unchanged for 3 to 5 years. In fact, they should emancipate their minds more and declare that the policy will remain unchanged for 20 years. Thus, the masses will have the confidence to plant trees there. What we are short of presently are trees and pastures. Thus, we must encourage afforestation in order to benefit the ecological balance and agricultural harvests. All this shows that it is necessary to learn and study the economic laws and learn how to motivate the enthusiasm of the masses in production. Leaders at all levels must be determined to learn economics, management, and techniques and become experts.

Our party in Hebei Province has glorious revolutionary traditions and has made significant contributions in the period of the revolutionary war and socialist construction. In the long course of actual struggle,s our province has some 2.5 million party members and some 700,000 cadres not engaged in production. They have become more intelligent and stronger after undergoing training and tests and having accumulated both positive and negative experiences. We will win a new victory so long as all our party comrades have the same ideology, advance at an identical pace and have high morale to fully motivate the enthusiasm of the 50 million people in the province. All our party comrades, in particular, the leading comrades at all levels, must understand the situation, enhance revolutionary vigor, play exemplary roles, efficiently do a good job of various tasks and write the history of our own deeds which bear no insults to our party and the people. Let us closely unite around the CCP Central Committee to strive for a prosperous future and live up to the expectations of the CCP Central Committee and the masses in the province with unswerving determination and the heroic spirit of arriving at the Great Wall and the Nantianmen before calling outselves true men.

CSO: 4005/12

PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF 19TH CENTURY FIGURE ZUO ZONGTANG REEVALUATED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Dongliang [2799 2639 2733]: "Zuo Zongtang Should Not Be Totally Repudiated"]

[Text] Since the founding of the state, no one with any knowledge of modern history has failed to view Zuo Zongtant [1563 1350 2768] as an "executioner." In the past 2 years or so, some comrades have written articles trying to ascertain his patriotic thought, but the discussion is still limited to a few historians.

Speaking calmly, Zuo Zongtang's attitude toward resisting external humiliation was explicit, firm and consistent in an age when our national suffering was extremely serious. Already in the period of the Opium War he admired patriots like Lin Zexu [2651 0463 1776] and Wei Yuan [7614 3293], and declared that "making peace with the barbarians and being self-complacent was not a good long-term plan because wolves cannot be tamed." Confronted with British and French aggression during the Second Opium War, he proposed "to use one brigade to defend Tianjin and then fight to the death." At the outbreak of the Sino-French War, Zuo was again a firm member of the war faction, but he finally died of illness on the Fuzhou front. On his deathbed he still regretted that in his life he had not "extended our punitive expeditions and spread the might of the country." Particularly worthy of praise was his removal of all obstacles and difficulties and his "assumption of the formidable and barren frontier as one's own task." At the end of the 1870's he sent his forces to recover Xinjinag which had been lost for 14 years and thus preserved a large piece of beloved territory for the motherland, performing meritorious service for the Chinese nation.

The war to recover Xinjinag started in July 1876. At that time the situation was critical. Supported by Great Britain and Tsarist Russia in the late 1860's Yakub Beg set up the so-called "Zhe-de-sha-er Khanate" in Xinjiang, plotting to separate Xinjiang from our country. With inherent greed, Tsarist Russia also took advantage of our misfortune and sent troops to occupy the Ili area in July 1871. At this time of the worsening of the national crisis, Zuo Zongtang, who originally planned to retire to his home village, at once indicated that he found it "hard to suddenly lose determination and must fight these barbarians." In 1876, after secret planning, he commanded the attack at the age of 65. With the warm support of all the nationalities in Xinjiang, the Qing forces scored victory after victory and the news of victory kept pouring in. Yakub Beg had no way out and killed himself by poison in Korla. After southern Xinjiang was recovered, Tsarist Russia still wanted to remain in Ili. At the end of May 1880, the old and ailing Zuo Zongtang went through a severely hot summer, travelled with his own coffin and attacked from Jiuquan, swearing that he would fight Tsarist Russia to the death. His love for his country, enthusiasm and devotion moved people. After his death, someone wrote in a eulogy: "Never uttering a single word about making peace, Zuo Wenxiang is the only one in a thousand years." This was not unfounded.

Indeed, the suppression of peasant rebellions was the most inglorious chapter in Zuo Zongtang's life, and there is no need for reticence about this. But never do merit and crime overshadow each other, and it is difficult for historical figures to detach themselves from the life of their times and the class they come from. It can be said that exemplary figures in history who had been part of the feudal ruling class viewed rebellious peasants with an almost unanimous attitude. Even the national heroes who had won universal praise, Yue Fei [1471 7378] and Lin Zexu, were no exceptions. In my opinion, Zuo Zongtang should not be totally repudiated.

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PARTY AND STATE

SOCIAL SCIENCE WRITERS URGED TO AVOID STILTED STYLE

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Li Shulei [2621 2579 4320]: "Oppose the 'Eight-Legged' Style of Writing Articles"]

[Text] In social science articles in our country today there is generally a style of writing structured primarily as follows: part one, part two, part three, arguments, evidence, and conclusion. The language is also more or less the same, dull and uninteresting, mediocre and unsurprising. Even the article titles are stereotyped in the same pattern: "A Discussion on..." or "A Preliminary Discussion on...." This kind of essay looks exactly like a dried up face without the slightest trace of color and is terrifying. Other than those who must read such essays because of their specialized fields, few readers are willing to read them from beginning to end. We might well call this unpleasant style of writing "the eight-legged essays of science."

Some people say that this is science and that this kind of language is scientific. True, scientific language requires a high degree of accuracy, but accuracy is not the antithesis of vividness. "Das Kapital" by Marx is highly scientific, and even an enemy of Marxism cannot fail to recognize that it has indisputable power of logic. But "Das Kapital" does not have the style of the eight-legged essay. What it has includes new and original narration, analogies of form and humor. On one hand the readers are convinced by its discussion and on the other hand they give an understanding smile to the accuracy and wit of the language. The reasoning of Engel's "Anti-Duhring" was also contained in its lively and humorous writing style. Rousseau's "Emile: Or, On Education" is a work of significant value in the history of educational thought. Its style of writing flows like a murmuring stream which speaks with absorbing interest. It is as if the author is chatting with the reader, enabling people to enjoy receiving his ideas. This is truly what people have praised as "a style for everyone."

Science does not exist for articles. On the contrary, articles exist because of science. The aim of a scientific article is to exchange ideas and disseminate truth. Not only must it have a scientific nature but also liveliness, so that people will want to read it. It should be expressed in a form that is fresh and rich in creativity, or else its substance will be stifled by a form that is old. The creation of lively scientific language should be treated as part of scientific creativity. Science workers should give full play to their talents and create a scientific writing style that does not follow only one pattern but one that is rich and varied.

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COMPLAINT ON HOUSING DIFFICULTY DISPUTED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Article: "Report on a Letter of Criticism"]

[Text] Editor: Recently, the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company made a written report to the leaders concerned of the Zhaoqing municipal party committee on the long unsolved difficulties of Luo Shuhe [5012 2885 0735], a reader of this paper, who complained to this paper of his long residence in a "pigeonhole," and a copy of the report was sent to this paper as an answer. This "answer" not only lied about the conditions and ignored the people's difficulties, but censured the reader for making criticisms and reporting the situation with such statements as "such reporting was improper, and detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ," and asked the reader's unit to conduct an "education." To clarify the situation, our reporter made an investigation. We are now publishing the reader's "letter," the "answer" and the "investigation report."

Reader's Letter

I am a resident of No 22, Lane 3, Hongqi 1st Road, Zhaoqing city. For more than 10 years, the 9 members of my family have been living in a narrow and damp "pigeonhole."

This tiny residence contains an area of only 16.4 square meters, averaging less than 2 square meters per person. My wife and I live in a room of less than 7 square meters which contains 2 beds forming the letter "T." My 3d daughter, already 23 years old, sleeps in a plank bed at the foot of our bed, and she has to crawl over our bed to reach it. My 11-year old daughter still sleeps in the same bed with us. Three beds are set up every night in the little hall, one each for my mother and son and the third shared by my two daughters.

Without a kitchen in our tiny residence, we had to build a stove outside the door to cook. Like waterlogged beancakes, the floor laid with broken bricks oozes water. The tile roof is completely dilapidated, leaking water everywhere when it rains, just like a water melon shed.

To solve our housing problem, we went to the housing management unit many times, but to no avail. When I went and asked the Eastern District housing management station to repair the house and increase its height and area, they said: "The maintenance expense of the housing management station is limited to 500 yuan, and larger amounts have to be approved by the bureau." When we went to the municipal housing management bureau for help, the answer was: "Housing difficulties are handled by the housing management stations of the districts." In 1977, the responsible person of the Eastern District housing management station informed me: "In regard to your difficulties, we are most sympathetic. If you will only pay all your back rents, the problem can be solved." Thereupon, I sold our two parturient sows and paid all the back rents through the years. It has been 3 years, and my housing problem remains unsolved. In recent years, the Zhaoqing municipal housing management bureau built a group of new residences. Some people have moved time and again, adding flowers to the brocade, while my family is still in the "pigeonhole."

Luo Shuhe
Zhaoqing city

Answer of the Housing Management Unit

Upon investigating the housing difficulties reported to NANFANG RIBAO by Luo Shuhe, a worker of the Second Municipal Machine Tool Plant, we report the situation as follows:

In his letter, Luo Shuhe said that there are nine in his family. Upon investigation and verification, his family has only seven members, husband and wife and five children. Instead of 16.4 square meters as reported by him, the area of his residence, measured on site, consists of 30.1 square meters, averaging 4.3 square meters per person for the 7 members of his family, which is larger than the average area of urban residences. The house has a kitchen, though he stated that there is no kitchen and a stove had to be built outside the door to cook. The floor, laid with whole or half pieces of brick and ladder bricks, is rather damp, but it is not "laid with broken bricks, oozing water like waterlogged beancakes." The tile roof is in fairly good condition, except the water trough in the rear of the house which leaks, but it is not like what he described--"the tile roof is completely dilapidated, leaking water everywhere when it rains, just like a water melon shed." We wonder what he is up to!

Luo Shuhe said: "To solve our housing problem, we went to the housing management unit many times, but to no avail." Actually, we suggested 3 years ago that we would repair the leaks and replace the wooden boards at the entrance with bricks. However, he demanded that it be entirely dismantled and the height increased. Recently, we repeated our suggestion again, but he refused to give in. We are unable, at this time, to satisfy such excessive demands.

In view of the above, such reporting by Luo Shuhe was improper, and detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ. Besides reporting the truth to the higher level, we will contact the Second Machine Tool Plant to have him educated.

Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management
Company

Investigation Report

In regard to the housing difficulties as reported by Luo Shuhe in his letter, upon investigation, we find the circumstances basically true.

There were nine members in his family. (His mother died 1 month before his letter). Now there are eight, not seven, as stated by the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company. The whole family is squeezed into a shack. According to our actual measurement, the total area is 25.7 square meters. Besides the area taken up by the sewer, walkway and stove, the actual use area is only 18.3 square meters, averaging 2.3 square meters per person. In a small room of 7.4 square meters partitioned off with rotten wooden boards, there are 2 "T" beds for the couple and 3 daughters. A wardrobe and a sewing machine are in front of the large bed, and one has to walk sideways to get through. Many miscellaneous articles are piled in the little hall, where temporary beds are set up every night for three children.

There is a water trough at the east wall of the Luo house. When it rains, the water from the four houses nearby flows through the trough to the ground surface of Luo Shuhe's house before draining into the sewer. To keep the water out of the house, Luo Shuhe built a small retaining wall alongside the wooden boards. The floor of the house is very damp. We found the walls very wet when we were there. Luo Shuhe built a stove with bricks in the hallway inside the house. It has no chimney. When cooking, black smoke fills the house. A fire was being built when we visited and, the moment we sat down, we found the smoke suffocating.

According to Luo Shuhe's letter, some people in Zhaoqing city moved to new residences time and again in recent years, adding flowers to the brocade. We found the situation to be true. The former housing management bureau chief, for instance, originally lived in a single-family house of three rooms and one hall with an enclosing wall, which was pretty good. However, when the city built a better equipped new dormitory at Baoyuetai last year, he moved there, with the five members of the family occupying a residence of four rooms and one hall, covering an area of 97 square meters. One comrade of the housing management unit, with six members in the family, originally a house with three rooms and one hall, with a kitchen. Last year, the housing management unit helped him build another floor to his house, adding a balcony and an extra room.

Luo Shuhe's report to the leading organs and the party on his housing difficulties and his hopes for solution are entirely legitimate and reasonable. However, instead of rendering help, the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company found his report "detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ" and asked his unit to "give him an education." We visited the Second Machine Tool Plant where he works. The cadres and staff and workers of the plant were very sympathetic to him and extremely dissatisfied with the attitude of the Municipal Housing Management Company. They said that the plant originally had the responsibility to solve the housing problems of the staff and workers, but it happened that the plant was in the midst of conversion and the difficulties were many; therefore, they were unable to help for the time being. They hoped that the municipal housing management unit would help solve his housing difficulties.

Staff Reporter

6080
CSO: 4005/912

JILIN AGRICULTURAL STUDY GROUP VISITS JAPAN

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese, no 14, 25 Jul 81 p 24

[Article by Zhang Kaixin [1728 7030 2946]: "Wang Enmao [3769 1869 5399] Visits Japan"]

[Text] In October of last year Comrade Wang Enmao, the First Secretary of the Jilin Province Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, led the Jilin Provincial Agricultural Study Group on a trip to Japan. His demeanor of strong self-discipline, hard work and simplicity left people with a profound impression.

Although he is nearly 70 years of age Comrade Wang Enmao throughout the visit sincerely made investigations, asked detailed questions and made copious notes. In order that he might fully understand production conditions in Japanese agricultural life he not only exerted himself in the daytime activities but also used the evening hours to visit peasant family homes.

During the visit, Wang Enmao repeatedly told the delegation that China still has economic problems so that they should practice economy in any way possible in order to reduce expenditure of foreign currency. While traveling in Hokkaido one meal eaten by the delegation exhausted that day's food expenses. Comrade Wang Enmao had heard that noodles were the least expensive food so he suggested that they start eating more noodles. The members of the delegation knew that he was from Jiangxi and preferred to eat rice so they wanted him to continue to eat rice. He laughed and said, "For these many years I've been all over China and have become accustomed to eating anything." He set an example by ordering noodles more often and the food expenses were accordingly reduced. As a result of this, while the delegation was in Japan it used only one-third of the funds allocated for food. On on this item alone they saved the country over 410,000 Japanese yen.

In order to reduce expenses Wang Enmao and the comrades of the delegation rode together on busses, frequently used subways and trains and when there were no seats available they all rode standing up.

The original budget for the Jilin Provincial Agricultural Delegation was 12.3 million Japanese yen but they used only 2.78 million Japanese yen, a mere fraction of the original allocation.

Nonetheless, the investigation was conducted entirely to everyone's satisfaction. An article in issue number 12 of the official publication of the Japanese ZHONGGUO GUIHUANZHE YOUHAOHUI--THE CHINA RETURNEES FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION praised Wang Enmao and his delegation saying, "The delegation's attitude of enthusiastic study and manner of sincerity and simplicity made a lasting impression on the various reception units and on people from all levels of Japanese life."

11582
CSO: 4005/896

BRIEFS

CHENGDU CADRE MEETING--According to a CHENGDU RIBAO report, the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee held a cadre meeting on 11 September to arrange work to rectify social order. The meeting was presided over by Liu Jingzhou, secretary of the municipal CCP committee, and Mi Jianshu, first secretary of the municipal CCP committee, made a report on the municipality's situation. The meeting demanded that social order be improved in Chengdu within 2 years and that the following problems be solved: 1) Unify understanding and attach importance to social order; 2) assign tasks to districts, counties, streets and communes and brigades in the rural areas; 3) resolutely strike blows at criminals; 4) be strict with the management of social order; 5) strengthen party leadership over legal work. All leaders must personally grasp legal work and do a good job of rectifying social order. [HK281222 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/12

BRIEFS

LU XUN CENTENNIAL MEETING--Beijing, 23 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee and the Beijing municipal committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy held a report meeting on 21 September to mark Lu Xun's centennial. Zhou Jianren, chairman, and Ye Shengtao, Xu Boxin and Lei Jieqiong, vice chairmen, of the Central Committee of the association for promoting democracy, were present at the meeting. Addressing the meeting, Lei Jieqiong said that emulation of Lu Xun today is of profound and realistic significance for combating lax and weak leadership and the bourgeois liberalization trend on the ideological front. Ma Liangchun, director of the modern literature research room of the Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, made a report entitled "Lu Xun, a Great Thinker" during the meeting. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1302 GMT 23 Sep 81 OW]

SOCIAL SCIENCE POSTGRADUATES--Beijing, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--A ceremony was held here today to mark the commencement of 438 students who have finished 3 years of postgraduate studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. They are among the 11,000 who have finished postgraduate studies this year. This is five times the 1980 figure and is close to the total number of postgraduates in the last 30 years. The 102 fields of postgraduate study included law, economics, history, philosophy, literature, journalism and religion. Topics included the banking system of the United States, Soviet industry and planning, maritime law, transformation of the Chinese industrial system, cooperation in agriculture, industry and commerce. Postgraduate studies were stopped during the Cultural Revolution. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 21 Sep 81 OW]

CSO: 4020/6

'TA KUNG PAO' ON U.S. ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

HK190742 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Chang Yi-chun [4545 0044 0689]: "What Is the U.S. Intention in Selling Arms to Taiwan?"]

[Text] Last month, U.S. Congressman Zablocki and Senator Green successively went to Taiwan to express "assurances about the enforcement of the Taiwan Relations Act," as they planned to sell the FX fighter planes and other weapons to Taiwan. As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Zablocki was especially open and outrageous in his performance in Taiwan. He never stopped using such appellations as "Republic of China," "president" and "president of the yuan." He claimed that "the PRC has no veto power concerning our (U.S.) talks, relations and trade with the Republic of China." He acted as if the three principles on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States had never existed, as if the relations between China and the United States had never been normalized, and as if the United States was just a big international boss who could call the tune and make every decision about the internal affairs of the 1 billion Chinese people.

It was reported that recently the United States has frequently been sending out feelers through the news media and other channels to find out Chinese reaction to the U.S. plan to sell arms to Taiwan. In fact, such feelers are superfluous. China takes an unusually clear-cut and resolute stand: There is only one China in the whole world--the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is a province of China. The business between the people on both sides of the strait can be taken care of by the Chinese themselves, and China does not allow crude intervention by any power. It is a prerequisite that all countries which have diplomatic relations with China respect this stand. The United States recognized China's stand in line with the three principles on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Only then were the relations between the two countries normalized. Certain Washington politicians have made a point of wrecking this basis of normalization of relations, clinging to the so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" and clamoring all the time for the sale of new arms to the local regime of Taiwan.

To find a market for these new weapons, they let their imagination run wild. They think that while selling arms to Taiwan, they can sell the same to mainland China, striking a balance and keeping both sides pleased and leaving everyone satisfied. Is it that China needs U.S. arms so badly? After all, why is the attraction of U.S. arms to strong as to make China forget its own territorial sovereignty?

They also think that what China wants to ask of the United States today exceeds what the latter wants to ask of China and that China can do nothing even if the United States plays some tricks. Such narrow-minded pragmatist thinking could not be more wrong. What has China to ask of the United States? Before the normalization of relations between the two countries and even at a time of strained relations when China was subjected to embargo, encirclement and threat, did China not stand towering where it was, growing ever stronger?

Facts in the past 30-plus years show that new China alone has been threatened by others, but it has never been a threat to any other country. Even enlightened people of the United States have also in recent years come to realize the point that only a strong China can help stabilize the situation in Asia and maintain world peace. In the past, the state of abnormal relations between China and the United States was obviously harmful to the United States in every way and did it no good. The two countries later normalized their relations, and, in line with the wishes of the people of the two countries, both sides have had exchanges in many fields, to their mutual benefit. Thus, everyone feels that the relations between China and the United States are to be appreciated. Judging from changes in the current international situation and in light of strategic needs, both sides should only further strengthen their friendly cooperation and should not let their relations be soured. Some wise fools in the United States have befriended Soviet hegemonists. They want to play the "China game." They even want to play the "Taiwan game" with China. China is not a 3-year-old child. How can it be deceived in this way? If people think that China would sacrifice its principles to U.S. strategic needs, they are entirely wrong.

When commenting on U.S. diplomacy, world public opinion often points out its internal differences of opinions, its disorderly ways of doing things and the contradiction between its words and deeds. The United States says it will forcefully check Soviet expansion abroad, but it often acts in exactly the opposite way. For example, in order to oppose the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, it only restricted grain exports to the Soviet Union. However, even this minor measure was very quickly canceled. Take another example. To carry out its "strategic cooperation" with Israel the United States has not hesitated to set itself against most of the Arab countries, thus in every respect giving the Soviet Union an opportunity that can be exploited to its advantage. Just as its launching of aggressive wars in Korea and Vietnam, by fostering a Zionist Israel, the United States antagonizes enemies everywhere, drains its national strength, all of which was a gross mistake from the start. Now the Soviet Union is becoming stronger and expanding everywhere, so that new conditions have emerged in the international situation, but the United States has not wholly changed its way of doing things. The improvement of Sino-American relations can be regarded as suiting the new situation, but the United States has again slovely left such an ugly tail as "Taiwan Relations Act."

Viewed from the point of view of international law, using a domestic law like the "Taiwan Relations Act" to pound at the international agreement on establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations is both preposterous and illegal. Since the United States has acknowledged that the PRC is the only legal government representing China, but at the same time it supports the local regime in Taiwan with arms, what standard of internatonal conduct is this? In the past Harry Truman sent the 7th Fleet to protect Taiwan and regarded Taiwan as an "unsinkable U.S. aircraft carrier." It is possible that this mentality has been making mischief in the minds of some U.S. politicians up to this moment. If it should happen that another country comes from afar and turns Hawaii into its "unsinkable aircraft carrier," will the U.S. Government and the public tolerate such an action? If Taiwan is the U.S. "unsinkable aircraft carrier," who is to be the object of its bombings?

Some people in the United States are providing various explanations for its reluctance to give up this "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Certain people say that the United States pay attention to public opinion and quite a few "public opinion polls" show that there are still some American people who do not agree with "abandoning" Taiwan, which is why it is necessary to cook up a "Taiwan Relations Act." However, 1 billion Chinese people, including the people of Taiwan, stand for the early reunification of China. We should like to ask, the public opinion of which side is in the majority? Certain other people say that the arms proposed for sale to Taiwan are defensive ones, which means that they will not be used to attack the Chinese mainland. It is not that China is afraid of the use of this little bit of arms and ammunition. The Chinese people put to route several million troops of Chiang Kai-shek, which were armed with U.S. equipment. What do they care about this little bit of arms and ammunition? The question lies in the fact that the United States is deviating from the principles of establishing Sino-American relations, resuscitating in a disguised way the "mutal defense treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and supporting the local Taiwan regime with arms. Even if this is so, who is Taiwan guarding itself against if it needs the defensive weapons? Is it guarding against the Soviet Union or Japan? The Soviet Union has deployed a million troops along the Chinese border. It is first of all the Chinese mainland that has a defensive need. Is not this "defense" of yours aimed at sabotaging our defense?

Still other people say that it is imperative for U.S. monopoly capital to support Taiwan in order to maintain its investment in Taiwan. Even viewed from the interests of these U.S. investors, this kind of colonialist "reason" is also untenable. China indicated long ago that after Taiwan's return to the motherland, several matters would remain unchanged, including foreign investment. Is it not too great a risk not to depend on a country with 1 billion people but to place all the stakes on a local regime? In Shakespeare's the "Merchant of Venice" they only heeded immediate huge profits with the result that they lost their last stakes. It is believed that the astute U.S. investors will not go so far as to want to be modern "merchants of Venice."

In the final analysis, the U.S. determination to implement to so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" and to sell arms and ammunition to Taiwan is nothing but failing to awaken from an old dream to practice "two China's" and to prevent the reunification of China.

The reunification of China is a mighty torrent formed by the situation and the will of the people, which no one can resist. Subjectively speaking, people naturally hope that the friendly relations between China and the United States will be more consolidated and develop with each passing day. But the relations are bilateral, and China can do nothing if the U.S. side wants to get entangled in the Taiwan issue so that the relations between both sides retrogress. Nevertheless, it can be asserted categorically that the United States will be the first to suffer a loss in such a case.

CSO: 4005/15

'WEN WEI PO' ON CHINA'S MILITARY EXERCISE

HK280557 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu [9461 6015 1311]: "The Military Exercise Is Aimed at the North, Not at the East"]

[Text] China carried out a large-scale military exercise recently in the north.

It was reported as being held "recently," but when was it exactly? According to foreign reporters, it was about 2 or 3 weeks ago, almost simultaneous with the USSR's military exercise near the Polish border.

As to "where" it was carried out, also according to foreign sources, it was somewhere near Zhangjiakou, about 90 miles northwest of Beijing.

The time and the place, especially the place, of this military exercise are very important. Zhangjiakou, which is 90 miles northwest of Beijing, was selected for this exercise. This means that the exercise was aimed at resisting the aggressors from the north and defending the capital of our great motherland.

As for the time, which was almost the same as that of the Soviet's maneuver, it was quite possibly a coincidence. This is because it would not be possible to prepare, in only a few days or a short time, for such a large-scale military exercise with 100,000 to 200,000 soldiers participating, and in which all arms of the services coordinated in military operations and took concerted actions. In other words, it would take a rather long time for the preparation, possibly 1 year or so, or at least, half a year. Besides, some preliminary exercises were also necessary. So, at the commencement of planning such a military exercise, it would have been hard to predict that the USSR would hold an exercise near the Polish border.

However, in spite of that, to carry out a grand military exercise 90 miles northwest of Beijing, especially a combat exercise with live ammunition, means the aim was clearly to fight aggressors and its resolution is also obvious.

Its significance and nature is the same as that in the launching of three manmade satellites with a rocket recently. That is, to defend the motherland and to repulse aggressors.

This is, however, entirely different from the purpose of the arms expansion and war preparations by Taiwan's KMT authorities.

The purpose of "work behind the enemy's lines on the mainland" done by Bai Wanxiang, their "specialist in mainland work," was to "advance separately and attack concentratedly," and then "regain the mainland." To sum up, it took Beijing as its target and the CCP as its enemy.

After Bai Wanxiang, there is a Zhou Yinglong [Chou Ying-lung]. This is not the historical figure Zhou Yinglong who struck Yan Song, but director of the association of cultural work of the KMT Central Committee. Though "cultural" in name, it is "military" in reality. For example, he said: "What is our common target in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu, the bases for regaining the mainland?" "It is to build Taiwan and to regain the mainland."

"He [quotation marks as published] pointed out, the late President Chiang and former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles issued a joint statement which said: The motive for the ROC to regain the mainland is just to practice the three people's principles, and armed force alone should not be used to achieve this. President Chiang stressed the importance to 30 percent military force and 70 percent political work, and 30 percent direct operations and 70 percent indirect political line activities. We must follow President Chiang's teachings and realize the great goal of regaining and building the country."

As I remember, the joint statement of Dulles and Chiang Kai-shek was issued in 1958. The KMT has always borne it in mind. However, the "teachings" that should be "followed" are not only those of the "revered Chiang," but also of the "revered Dulles," because, they were in a joint statement by both Chiang and Dulles. Although, in Chinese translation, Dulles has a surname of "Du," he does not belong to China. He was the secretary of state in the United States. A KMT paper in Hong Kong once said, all foreign things are evil things. Therefore, I am not quite clear whether it is just or wrong to "regain the mainland" using the "30 percent military action" referred to in that joint statement.

Now every military action taken by the CCP aims at the struggle against hegemonism and foreign aggression; on the other hand, every action taken by the KMT aims at home, getting ready to fight a battle on the mainland.

It is better to go back to following this advice: "We are all Chinese. And the best of the 36 strategems is making peace."

CSO: 4005/15

'WEN WEI PO' URGES TAIWAN REUNIFICATION

HK040539 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Oct 81 p 1

[Newsletter by Li Tzu-sung: "Listen With Joy to Beijing Proposals; More Straight Talk for Taipei"]

[Text] On the eve of National Day, Beijing once again showed its friendship for Taipei. Chairman Ye issued a statement and put forth a nine-point proposal. He proposed that the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party hold talks on a reciprocal basis and carry out their third cooperation, to accomplish the great task of reunification. I listen with joy to such proposals and write this article to support the statement and once again offer my earnest advice to Taipei. [Editor's note: The author of this article published an article on 29 September entitled "My Earnest Advice for the Kuomintang in Taiwan"]

The Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party cooperated and split twice in the past. The first cooperation promoted the smooth progress of the north expedition and the second ensured the final victory of the anti-Japanese war. The splits on the two occasions harmed our country and were an invitation to foreign invaders. Cooperation was beneficial to our country, whereas splits harmed our nation. Are not all these still fresh in our minds?

When a large enemy force of a powerful neighboring country in the north is bearing down upon the border, if the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party fail to abandon their former hatred and to foster cordial relations and cooperate again, they will not go against the old sayings "when brothers are at odds, outsiders will take advantage to insult the family," but also fail to realize the desire of millions upon millions of our compatriots who earnestly hope that China will be peacefully reunited and that the Chinese nation will prosper. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party realize the importance of this matter and have time and again proposed peace talks and the practice of the "three communications." It was a pity that their proposals were rejected by the Kuomintang authorities. The proposals raised by Chairman Ye this time are more specific and explicit and imbued with a spirit of broadmindedness and lenience. Therefore, once the proposals were raised, they were welcomed by people from various quarters.

The Chinese Communist Party will trade members of the Kuomintang on an equal footing and maintain the status quo of Taiwan. Once the nation is unified, Taiwan will be allowed to establish a special administrative zone which enjoys a high degree of autonomy and keeps its armed forces. Taiwan's economic system, way of life and economic relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged. The central government will not interfere in Taiwan's local affairs. People from the Taiwan authorities and people whose ancestral home is Taiwan may hold leading posts in the central government. All this is evidently different from the way the Kuomintang treated the communists when the two parties carried out their second cooperation.

Therefore, there is no reason for the Kuomintang to refuse to conscientiously consider and positively respond to the nine-point proposal for the benefit of the public and individuals as well as the party and the nation.

However, to our regret, the Kuomintang authorities rashly rejected the proposals without serious consideration. When dealing with this matter, why were they swayed by personal feelings?

Leaders of the Kuomintang might probably think that peace talks will "make them suffer." At present, the Kuomintang leaders can still take advantage of the turbulent international situation to survive. Why should they accept the peace talk proposals? They also think that with the help of foreign forces, they can wait for an opportunity to launch a "counterattack" and "recover the mainland," so why should they take part in peace talks. All these are actually unrealistic notions. The present situation will never permit some people to turn Taiwan into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier." In the meantime, do we believe that the historical event "the Huihe nationality helped the Tang dynasty without taking its own interests into account" will reoccur today, 1,000 years after the event?

Once foreign forces invade China, they will attack both the mainland and Taiwan. The broad masses of people in the mainland can resist the invaders everywhere. Taiwan is isolated and located in the sea. Can it defend itself by entirely relying on its own efforts? If Taiwan is unfortunately occupied by the enemy, the leaders of the Kuomintang will not have any "retreat" and will eventually become criminals in history who ruin the territory of the motherland.

If the Taiwan authorities truly accept the peace talk proposals and promote the reunification, defense and foreign affairs will be planned by the central government as a whole. The Kuomintang leaders working in the central government can also take part in formulating the plans. Under such circumstances, foreign careerists will not be able to meddle in Taiwan's internal affairs. It will be difficult for the "Taiwan independence" elements to carry out their activities. Natural resources such as oil, coal and other minerals which Taiwan needs for its own construction will be supplied by the mainland. There is no need for Taiwan to seek help from distant foreign countries. If Taiwan has any financial difficulties, it will also be subsizied by the central government. As a result of this, Taiwan will truly have hopes and bright prospects. Otherwise, it will always seek help from foreign countries and be slavishly dependent on and controlled by others. There will be no end of trouble for the future.

"Blood is thicker than water." We are all flesh and blood and the descendants of the yellow emperor. Why should we not end our enstrangement and help each other to overcome difficulties? Did the leaders of the Kuomintang not say: "The problems of the Chinese should be solved by the Chinese themselves?" Why should they not put the problems on the conference table? The Kuomintang leaders also said that the mainland should learn from Taiwan in "economic affairs." Why should they oppose the "three communications?" If they oppose exchange, how is it possible for the mainland to "learn from Taiwan?"

The Kuomintang leaders only say that the three people's principles are good and communism is bad. However, Dr Sun Yat-sen favored communism and refuted anticommunist speeches and views. If the Kuomintang intends to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of certain doctrines on the conference table, I believe that they will be allowed to do so. However, we should neither distort the three people's principles nor vilify communism. The theory of colonialist economy should never be regarded as the content of the three people's principles. This is a matter which merits the attention of those who support the three people's principles. Truth becomes clearer through debate. Why should we not sit together and calmly present the facts and reason things out?

The Kuomintang leaders should patiently listen to Chairman Ye's invaluable advice. He said: I hope that the Kuomintang will abandon former hatred and work hand in hand with us to jointly accomplish the great task of reunification and realize the plan of vigorously promoting the prosperity of the Chinese nation. To bring honor to our ancestors and happiness to our future generations, I believe that if Mr Chiang Ching-kuo is willing to reconsider Chairman Ye's speech and cherish the memory of the 1911 revolution led by Mr Sun Yat-sen and the merits and achievements of our martyrs, he will eventually realize the importance of the matter and courageously join the great task of realizing reunification.

I predict that the day will soon come when we can listen again to the songs sung during the anti-Japanese war:

"The Kuomintang and the communist party are fighting on the same front to contribute all their efforts...."

Let us sing for the unity of the whole people and the reunifciation of the entire nation, and contribute all our efforts!

CSO: 4005/15

'WEN WEI PO' PRAISES COMPATRIOTS' EFFORTS ON REUNIFICATION

HK040702 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Oct 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Make Contributions to the Peaceful Reunification--Beijing Highly Praises Contributions Made by Hong Kong Macao Compatriots"]

[Text] After Chairman Ye Jianying put forth the nine-point proposal concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland, at the National Day reception held in Beijing, Premier Zhao Zhiyang again called on the Taiwan authorities to value the national interest above everything else and carry out the third cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communist party.

Beijing has placed great hopes on the efforts exerted by Hong Kong and Macao compatriots in the reunification of our country. When proposing a toast at the reception, Zhao Zhiyang highly praised the contributions made by Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and overseas Chinese to the nation over the past half century. He said: "This year we shall mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese made contributions to the 1911 revolution. Over the past 70 years they have also made contributions to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people, to the founding of the People's Republic of China and to the socialist construction of the motherland. I wish to express our sincere thanks to them for all this."

During the 1911 revolution, the strikes held in Guangdong Province and Hong Kong, the war of resistance against Japan, the founding of new China and various periods of socialist construction, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese held high the banner of patriotism and did some beneficial work for the vigorous promotion of the prosperity of the Chinese nation and the progress of hisotry. Over a long time in the past, Hong Kong was a place where people with lofty ideals and ardent young people carried out various patriotic activities.

Sun Yat-sen, Soong Ching Ling and Zhou Enali pursued patriotic activities in Hong Kong in their early years. In the 1980's, Hong Kong compatriots are shouldering the great historical task of the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Hong Kong will play the role of a bridge which links the mainland with China. So long as Hong Kong compatriots and overseas Chinese work with one heart and one mind and do more work to promote the peace talks between the Kuomintang and the communist party and their third cooperation, they will write a new and patriotic page in the history of the reunification of the motherland.

At present, Hong Kong has established frequent economic, cultural and sports relations with Taiwan and with the mainland. A great number of Hong Kong compatriots have friends and relatives living in the mainland and Taiwan. Although it is difficult for Taiwan compatriots to get visas to visit the mainland for the time being, it is convenient for them to come to Hong Kong. Family letters between people in the mainland and Taiwan can be transferred by their friends and relatives in Hong Kong. Unofficial entrepot trade between Taiwan and the mainland has increased year by year. In this respect, Hong Kong has played a part of transfer post.

Beijing hopes that Taiwan will return to the motherland so as to accomplish the great task of reunification. This is a firm and unremitting policy. While talking with foreign guests, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Beijing does not expect that after hearing Ye Jianying's nine-point proposals, the Taiwan authorities will immediately express their desire for peace talks. Before the peace talks, Beijing will exercise patience and let people of all walks of life in Taiwan understand the mainland more thoroughly. In so doing, the two sides will clear up their misunderstanding and doubts.

Taiwan and the mainland have been separated for 32 years because of hostility. We are all Chinese. Why should we not be tolerant and understand each other and remove our previous misunderstandings and misgivings? Hong Kong compatriots should do their best to do more work beneficial to peaceful reunification, promote understanding between the two sides and create the friendly and relaxed atmosphere needed on the eve of the peace talks between the Kuomintang and the communist party. They can also make contributions to enhancing national feelings on both sides of the straits and promoting the "three communications."

The Soviet Union has deployed more than a million troops in the north, and Vietnam, the small hegemonist, is coveting the Xisha and Nansha islands of China. If the Kuomintang and the communist party split, foreign enemies take advantage of this weak point. As long as they work hand in hand, the country will prosper and be strong enough to curb the ambition of the hegemonists. Therefore, the efforts of the Hong Kong compatriots in the task of peaceful reunification will be beneficial not only to our country and nation, but also to peace and stability in the Far East and to industry and commerce in Hong Kong itself.

CSO: 4005/15

'WEN WEI PO' ON TAIWAN'S REUNIFICATIONS

HK270315 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 27 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu: "Does the World See and Hear? The Chinese See and Hear!"]

[Text] It is interesting that the Taiwan authorities attach importance to "what the world sees and hears," and are mortally afraid of "confusing public opinion."

Sun Yun-hsuan, president of Taiwan's executive branch, stated his view in this respect: "The Chinese Communist Party has tried, by hook or by crook, on several occasions to implement the policy of the united front toward us. Its aim is nothing more than confusing public opinion and sabotaging the unity of our compatriots both at home and abroad."

When answering questions raised by correspondents, Liu Ta-jen, "spokesman of the Taiwan Foreign Ministry," said: The purpose of the Chinese Communist Party in commemorating the 1911 revolution "is to scheme against us and confuse foreign personages."

Not long ago, Taiwan officials such as Sung Chu-yu and Pai Wan-hsiang also sang the same tune.

Their sterotyped expressions are nothing but "world opinion" and "foreign personages." However, they forget that the Chinese see and hear.

I cannot but ask: Why are you so afraid of "world opinion" but so indifferent to public opinion at home? Why do you only concern yourselves with what foreigners see and hear, but turn a deaf ear to what the Chinese see and hear? Actually, we can exist without foreigners, but we cannot live without our compatriots.

Have the Taiwan authorities established so many "international relations?" No, not at all. What is really meant by "public opinion" or linked to their existence is probably no more than the United States, because it has formulated the "Taiwan relations act." This "Taiwan relations act" was unilaterally worked out by the United States and imposed on China's territory--Taiwan. This is a favor bestowed on the Kuomintang, which means that the United States and Taiwan are still emotionally attached to each other. Their present deal includes selling some weapons, doing some business and private intercourse and so forth.

When Reagan came to power, he made a big fuss about the "Taiwan relations act" and chanted it again and again. The Kuomintang was particularly happy about this and placed "great hope" in the Reagan Administration. As a result, the 12th congress of the Kuomintang heaped abuse on the "three communications" and scolded "peace talks and cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party." In so doing, the Kuomintang has tried to "favorably affect" U.S. "public opinion" so that the "Americans can know what's what" and rest assured.

The reason why the Kuomintang has repeatedly accused the Chinese Communist Party of "confusing world opinion" is to assure the Americans that it will not waver. Therefore, it has to assert its sincerity.

Actually, the Chinese Communist Party has only raised the proposal of peace talks and has never said that the Kuomintang has accepted the proposal or that there is any intercourse between the two sides. The Chinese Communist Party is always open and aboveboard in its words and deeds. Why should the Kuomintang be so surprised or alarmed?

However, we have paid attention to a matter that the Taiwan authorities have not yet commented on, "joint leadership." We have not heard any vicious slander in "President Sun's speech" and Liu Ta-jen's statement issued yesterday. What they have done in this respect so far is in accord with what the Chinese see and hear. A few days ago, we offered a piece of advice to the Taiwan authorities, asking them to wait for overall plans worked out by Beijing. This is in the interest of the Taiwan authorities. According to reports issued by foreign news agencies in Beijing yesterday, diplomats in the Chinese capital have been informed that Beijing will make an important announcement on 9 October. Diplomatic sources guess that the announcement must be connected with the overall plans for "peace talks and cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party." This matter is closely connected with the opinion of 1 billion Chinese in the mainland and Taiwan and millions of overseas Chinese abroad. The Taiwan authorities should on no account regard this matter as unimportant.

Before Beijing makes this important announcement, if the Taiwan authorities intend to cater to the opinion of the Americans by uttering refutations or asserting their sincerity, they are allowed to sing the old tunes such as "using the three people's principles to unify China" or "exposing the communist peaceful offensive and united front plot" to "make up the number" or fob the Americans off. We have got used to hearing this old tune and will not blame you for it.

CSO: 4005/15

GUANGDONG CRACKS TAIWAN SPECIAL AGENT CASES

HK200237 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 20 Sep 81 p 1

[Report: "Guangzhou Cracks Many Taiwan Special Agent Cases"]

[Text] Guangzhou, 19 Sep--Public security organs in Guangdong Province have recently cracked many Kuomintang special agent cases, and a number of special agents sent by the secret service and spies recruited in China have been caught one after another and dealt with according to law.

To sabotage the four modernizations in Mainland China and obstruct the great cause of reunification of Taiwan and the motherland, the Taiwan Kuomintang Secret Service has continued this year to send spies to the mainland through various channels and by every means to carry out various kinds of sabotage activities. Instigated and lured by the Kuomintang Secret Service, Lin Guochuan (his ancestral home is Chaoyang) recruited Lin Shuli, Huang Xiongxi and Chen Zhenlong into the spy organization. They time and again sent intelligence, written in invisible ink, to the secret service and accepted funds for carrying out their activities. Lin Guochuan was appointed head of the transport corps and a deputy to the "Kuomintang 12th congress." Last last March, he tried to escape to Hong Kong and then go over to Taiwan. His criminal case was investigated and verified by Chaoyang public security bureau and he was arrested and dealt with according to law in early April.

The Kuomintang Secret Service has also resorted to coercion and blandishment to recruit people who escaped to Hong Kong and Macao into the spy organizations, and has even released criminals in Taiwan and sent them to the mainland. Zhang Lan, a spy sent to China, was formerly imprisoned in Taiwan for robbery and larceny. When he was serving the sentence, he was recruited by the Kuomintang Secret Service into the spy organization. After training, he slipped into Hong Kong from Taiwan under the escort of a spy in mid-June. Disguising himself as a Hong Kong compatriot, he slipped into Guangzhou, Hunan and other places to establish relations with other people by means of giving dinners and sending expensive gifts. In so doing, he tried to hold his ground, lie low for a long time, expand his spy organizations, collect intelligence and establish armed guerrilla bases. Early April, after careful investigations, the public security bureau of Guangzhou Municipality arrested him according to law.

Awed by the power of the people's democratic dictatorship and influenced by the policy of the people's government, some spies have surrendered of their own accord.

Ye Zuoshuang, a former member of Shanghu Commune of Lufeng County, escaped to Hong Kong in January last year. After joining the Kuomintang Secret Service, he mingled with illegal immigrants to be repatriated to China by the British authorities in Hong Kong and was sent back to his ancestral home. He repeatedly sent intelligence on the mainland's political and military affairs to the secret service. In early July, he surrendered himself to the public security organ of Lufeng County of his own accord, and was dealt with leniently by the government.

CSO: 4005/15

'WEN WEI PO' CARRIES SPECIAL FEATURE TO KMT

HK290940 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 1

[Special Feature by Li Tzu-sung [2621 1311 6139]: "Sincere, Straight Talk to the Kuomintang in Taiwan"]

[Text] It will be the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution 10 days from now. People at home and abroad, on the mainland and in Taiwan, will all hold ceremonies to solemnly mark the occasion. This shows that Dr Sun Yat-sen's merits in leading the 1911 revolution are universally revered. All compatriots and overseas Chinese--descendants of Huang Di--echo each other and share the same desire. This promises unity and prosperity. Being a veteran journalist and a member of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, [Editor: The author is a member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and a member of the national CPPCC.] I would like to take this opportunity to offer a sincere, straight talk to the KMT in Taiwan on the question of peaceful reunification.

Peaceful reunification is indeed a major task today. It is the trend of the times and the desire of the people. No one can stop it and no once can go against it. Therefore, when the Taiwan authorities persist in rejecting peaceful reunification, repeating the "three no's," they in fact are thrown off balance and are unable to hold their own. Some public figures are singing all by themselves the song of "unifying China with the three people's principles." They little imagine that this has given them away. Since the KMT rightists who have been in power until now, they have never practiced the three people's principles either on the mainland or in Taiwan. [Sentenced as received] Since they have been in Taiwan, they have been relying upon foreign strength to maintain a separatist rule. This goes diametrically against nationalism. The Taiwan authorities are boasting that they have done a good job in economy because they have put the three people's principles into effect. Nevertheless, the economy in Hong Kong and Singapore is not bad either. May we ask what kind of principles have been practiced there? I am afraid no answer can be given by them.

On the other hand, the CCP on the mainland has indeed "struggled to thoroughly realize the three people's principles." Dr Sun Yat-sen's great ideals have all been realized. Although a detour to a certain extent has been traversed in the course of building socialism, a foundation has been built for construction, and the four modernizations are underway. The prestige of China is ever increasing. This is recognized by the whole world.

If KMT public figures think that they can stop the criticism and comments of millions of people and achieve the effects of a "psychological war" by paying lip service to the three people's principles and by abusing communism, they are indeed blind to the situation and are employing poor tactics!

Here I venture to offer them a suggestion. The best thing for the KMT to do is to unify its will and actions on the basis of the three people's principles in order to realize Premier Sun's aspirations and to realize his hope of striving for peaceful reunification expressed when he went to Beijing.

It is strange that for decades the KMT rulers have been publishing big volumes of "The Collected Works of Premier Sun Yat-sen," "The Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen" and "The Collected Works of the National Father" as well as works on Sun Yat-sen's principles. A commemoration week has also been held year after year and the "premier's will" has been repeated thousands of times. We can understand a person by reading his books. Superficially, they are indeed extremely diligent and respectful! But in fact, an entirely different result has turned out. Are they not attentive in reading these books so that what they have read disappears like water flowing down a duck's back? Or are they unable to profit from what they have read because they have read something which they do not agree?

Dr Sun Yat-sen once solemnly stated: The KMT should not oppose the CCP and should not oppose communism. He said, "Because many comrades oppose the CCP, they have gone so far as to say that communism is different from the three people's principles and that it is enough to practice the three people's principles in China and communism is intolerable." He frankly held, "the principle of the people's livelihood is communism and is socialism." "...Communism and the principle of the people's livelihood do not conflict at all and they are compatible at that." He went on to ask, "Since communism is compatible with the principle of the people's livelihood. why do KMT members oppose the CCP?" The aforesaid quotations can be found in "The Second Talk on the Principle of the People's Livelihood." KMT members should always keep them in mind.

However, though the speaker talked with great earnest, the audience paid little attention. The KMT rightists had never listened to Premier Sun's admonitions and obstinately opposed the CCP and communism. Today, they brazenly demanded that the CCP abolish communism. Can such KMT members be considered as apostles of Premier Sun and apostles of the three people's principles?

Not long after Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away, the KMT issued the "Declaration on Accepting the Premier's Will," expressing: We are ready to struggle for national equality and the independence of the country in order to realize the premier's aspirations. We are also ready to integrate sincerely with comrades who accept the premier's principles and policies and make common efforts in revolutionary construction. When their words were still ringing in people's ears and in the course of the northern expedition, the KMT no longer wanted any "sincere integration" but went so far as to spare none of its good friends fighting on the same front--the CCP!

The responsibility of the split between the KMT and the CCP on two occasions did not lie with the CCP but with the KMT. In the past, they made pledges before the premier's portrait but late they went back on their words. They are indeed inconsistent!

Facts have proved that KMT-CCP cooperation is in the interest of the nation whereas a split is harmful to it. Today, the Soviet Union has deployed a million troops along our border and confrontation between the two sides of the Taiwan strait still remains. If this goes on, the security of the country is endangered and the construction of the country is greatly hampered. How can we then resist foreign aggression and make our country prosper together?! This is the reason why a CCP leader hopes that peaceful reunification can be realized at an early date. He expressed that the two parties could lead together. His sincerity in discussing national issues and his open-mindedness are similar to Dr Sun Yat-sen's manner and aspiration.

In those days, Dr Sun Yat-sen proposed convening a national assembly in order to abolish the unequal treaties and to promote peaceful reunification. If KMT public figures sincerely and seriously review the premier's will, they will wake up to reality and will put the national cause before other things and have the people's desire in mind.

Let bygones be bygones and act more wisely in the future. It is not yet too late for Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to make a change. It seems that conditions for a third KMT-CCP cooperation and peaceful reunification will soon ripen!

Do not let such a golden opportunity slip by!

CSO: 4005/15

BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU ARMY PARADE--Guangzhou, 27 Sep--The army, navy and air force in Guangzhou will hold grand and solemn celebration activities on National Day. A number of main roads in the city will be closed to traffic on the morning of National Day. According to observers here, the PLA may hold a grand parade in Guangzhou during the festival. The departments concerned have announced that Zhongshan third and fourth roads, Dongchuan road and Wende North road will be closed to traffic from 08.00 to 11.30 hours on 1 October. Buses and trolleybuses will be diverted. It is also reported that the National Day holiday in Guangzhou will last 3 days. According to a circular issued by the provincial people's government, 1 and 2 October will be National Day holidays, the usual Sunday holiday will be moved to 3 October (Saturday), and normal work will resume on 4 October (Sunday). [Text] [HK280320 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 4005/15

REPORTAGE ON CHEN WEN-CHEN'S DEATH

'XINHUA' Cites 'UPI'

OW261300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 26 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 26 September (XINHUA)--The death of Chen Wen-chen, professor of Carnegie-Mellon University, in Taiwan was found to be a homicide, according to UPI report quoting findings by a U.S. forensic pathologist and a professor after a trip to Taiwan recently.

Speaking to reporters on the Carnegie-Mellon University campus Thursday just hours after arriving back in Pittsburgh from a trip to Taipei, Allegheny County Commissioner Cyril Wecht, a former county coroner and current county democratic party chairman, said, "I can say without any equivocation whatsoever that I have no doubt that this was not a suicide."

Morris Degroot, Chen's colleague in the university's statistics department who went to Taipei with Wecht, said to reporters that "no one we talked to believed Chen committed suicide. No one offered a plausible explanation for an accidental death.... It is our belief that Dr Chen's death was murder."

Present at the press conference was President Richard Cyert of Carnegie-Mellon University who arranged for the university to finance the trip.

Wecht performed a second autopsy on Chen's body while in Taiwan. He said he believed the body landed too close to the base of the library building for it to have been suicide. Chen did not have the kind of injuries on his hands, feet, arms, legs and head usually suffered by people who jump from high places, he added.

Chen "could have been held in a lateral position and dropped" to the ground, he said.

Wecht said his findings on the physical evidence did not vary from anything found by the Taiwanese coroner who performed the first autopsy. However, he said, their conclusions were not the same.

Degroot said he found on the trip nothing to dispel his belief that "some parts of the (Taiwanese) Government might be involved in his (Chen's) death."

Taiwan Compatriots Express 'Indignation'

OW300055 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1434 GMT 29 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--All members attending the preparatory committee meeting of the National Taiwan Compatriots Association expressed extreme indignation over the Taiwan authorities' still trying to conceal the truth about the Chen Wen-cheng case. They also expressed deep sympathy with and sent best regards to innocent victim Chen Wen-cheng's family and voiced resolute support of the Taiwan compatriots residing in the United States, in their just action protesting the Taiwan authorities' secret agents carrying out persecution activities on U.S. campuses.

All members of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriots Association strongly demanded that the Taiwan authorities make a responsible explanation of Chen Wen-cheng's death as soon as possible and that they resolutely guard against the occurence of similar incidents and ensure the democratic rights and safety of those Taiwan compatriots who have returned to Taiwan to visit their relatives.

CSO: 4005/14

YE JIANYING STATEMENT ON REUNIFICATION SUPPORTED

Trade Union Leaders

OW021534 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 October (XINHUA)--Leaders of the all-China Federation of Trade Unions expressed their support of Chairman Ye Jianying's nine-point statement on the peaceful return of Taiwan to the motherland and pledged to mobilize the workers throughout the country to unite for the reunification. The support was voiced at a meeting now in session of the federation's executive committee.

Zhu Xuefan, vice-president of the federation said Chairman Ye had officially proposed that the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang should cooperate for the third time to realize the reunification of the motherland.

"This is very reasonable," he said, "cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communist party was initiated by Dr Sun Yat-sen." He hoped men of insight among the Taiwan authorities and also Chiang Ching-kuo will positively respond and do their share in accomplishing the great cause of reunification of the motherland.

Wang Chonglun, a national model worker and also vice-president of the federation said Chairman Ye's statement has voiced the workers' innermost feelings.

"We hope the workers and staffs in Taiwan will respond positively so as to contribute to the reunification of the motherland," he said, "we welcome the workers in Taiwan to come to the mainland for sightseeing or to visit their relatives. We also welcome them to make proposals and suggestions regarding the affairs of the state through various channels and in various ways."

Lu Wen, president of the national committee of the postal and telecommunications workers' trade union, said, "relatives separated by Taiwan straits have missed each other for several decades." He said there should be an end to the mail embargo between Taiwan and the mainland. He said the postal and telecommunications workers on the mainland are longing to send family letters to the people of various nationalities in Taiwan.

Taiwan Compatriots

OW010545 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1637 GMT 30 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--Today, immediately after hearing the broadcast of the statement made by Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, in an interview with XINHUA, members of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association gathered for a discussion of the statement, vying to voice their wholehearted support for the policy as further explained by Chairman Ye concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification. They pledged to hold the banner of patriotism high and to contribute their share to the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

Lin Liyun, member of the NPC Standing Committee and chairman of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association, said: Chairman Ye's statement fully shows the sincerity of the CCP and the government of the motherland in solving the Taiwan issue peacefully and their full respect for the wishes of compatriots of all nationalities in Taiwan. Deeply inspired, we Taiwanese compatriots living in the motherland are determined to unite with people of all nationalities and of all cricles in Taiwan and strive to end the unfortunate separation of the Chinese nation as soon as possible and to realize Taiwan's return to the motherland at an early date.

Lin Chaoquan [2651 2600 2938], vice chairman of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association and a veteran Taiwanese athlete who is now 75 years old, said: It has been more than 30 years since I left Taiwan. I miss my relatives, friends and colleagues in Taiwan day and night. I believe that Chairman Ye's statement will surely play an immense role in promoting the early realization of the exchange of mail, trade and air and shipping services, as well as academic, cultural and sports exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan straits. I constantly look forward to seeing my colleagues in Taiwan's sports circles exchange visits with athletes in the motherland and my relatives and friends come to visit their kinsfolk and friends here.

Lin Shengzhong [2651 4141 0022], member of the National Committee of the CPPCC and who came from the United States to settle in the motherland in 1972, said: Because of the long separation, quite a number of Taiwan compatriots lack understanding of the situation here and some of them even have doubts about the policy of the government of the motherland. I am convinced that after hearing Chairman Ye's further explanation of the fair and reasonable policy, Taiwan compatriots living both on the island and abroad are bound to discard their doubts and boldly devote as much effort as they can to the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

Also speaking at the discussion meeting were Dong Ke [5516 0344], vice chairman of the Preparatory Committee; Ye Renshou, Feng Yanhuo and Jiang Shuisheng, deputies to the NPC; Xu Zhaolin, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC; and Liu Min [0491 2494, member of the National Youth Federation.

Former KMT General Zheng Dongguo

OW032115 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0227 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--In an interview with a XINHUA reporter, Zheng Dongguo, former KMT ranking general, standing committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Central Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee, said: The policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland as elaborated by Chairman Ye is fair and reasonable and shows the utmost tolerance and patience. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will cast off previous ill feelings and lose no time in responding to the call for the sake of the interests of the Chinese nation and the early reunion of long separated relatives.

Zheng Dongguo said: I still have some former colleagues and old friends in Taiwan. They also have deep love for their nation. Because of historical reasons, they cannot make efforts for the development of the nation. They have been separated from their relatives residing on the mainland for 32 years. They painfully yearn to meet their relatives again. Many of them have already died still holding grudges and were buried in a strange land. Now the CCP is open and aboveboard and sincerely proposes cooperation with the KMT for the third time, I hope my former colleagues and old friends in Taiwan will actively respond to the call and make contributions to the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

Former KMT General Lam Sum Lee

OW041546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1520 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 October (XINHUA)--Former Kuomintang Lieutenant General Lam Sum Lee said here today that the policy concerning the peaceful return of Taiwan to the motherland expounded by Chairman Ye Jianying is very concrete and touching and it will produce a great impact.

He made this comment at a meeting this afternoon with Ping Jiesan and Li Gui, deputy heads of the united front work department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Lam Sum Lee said negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for cooperation accord with the will of the people and the general trend of history. "It will be wise for the Kuomintang authorities to sum up historical experiences and cooperate with the Communist Party for a third time," he said.

After the meeting Ping Jiesan and Li Gui hosted a dinner for Lam Sum Lee and his wife Mary Kuo Lee.

The couple arrived here 2 October from Washington to take part in the commemorative activities for the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.

Former KMT Governor

OW030142 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1228 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Dong Qiwu, former governor of the Kuomintang's [KMT] Suiyuan Province who once led his troops in an uprising with Sun Lanfen and later accepted the offer for a peaceful reorganization, expressed his opinion to a XINHUA reporter on Chairman Ye Jianying's statement with regard to Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification. He hoped that the Taiwan authorities would lose no time in responding to Chairman Ye's statement and joins their efforts in accomplishing the great cause for the reunification of the motherland.

Dressed in olive green military uniform, Dong Qiwu received the XINHUA reporter in his study. Although he is over 80, he remains very healthy. With Chairman Ye's statement in his hand, he said: "Chairman Ye's statement represents the common aspirations of the people of all nationalities in the country including the Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. I believe that the Taiwan authorities' understanding that the return of Taiwan to the motherland is an evitable historical trend accords with the will of the people."

Mentioning Huang Zhicheng who crossed over to the mainland with his plane not long ago, Dong Qiwu said: Huang Zhicheng's patriotic action is not an isolated incident. It represents the aspirations of the people on both sides of the Taiwan strait.

He said meaningfully: One's life is limited by time, while history is not. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will give this matter careful consideration and act wisely and patriotically.

Former KMT Officers

OW022026 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1224 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Former Kuomintang navy and air force personnel who defected to the communist side and are currently holding leading posts in the PLA navy and air force units held discussion meetings or issued statements warmly supporting Chairman Ye Jianying's statement further explaining the principle and policy concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of China's peaceful reunification. They hoped their former colleagues now in Taiwan will jointly struggle for the accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

At these discussion meetings, Wu Dingguo, former executive committee member of the Kuomintang military vessel "Chongqing"; Chen Qichuan, former sailor of the Kuomintang naval vessel "Lingfu"; and others said that Chairman Ye's statement fully reflects the desire and fundamental interests of the Chinese people of all nationalities, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and has amply demonstrated the Chinese Communist Party's sincerity in wanting to reunify the motherland. The nine-point proposal is a policy which sets store by the overall national interests and complies with the common aspiration of the people. They hoped that the Taiwan authorities will also comply with the popular feeling and respond actively to the proposal.

Den Zhaoxiang, NPC deputy, deputy commander of the PLA Navy North China Sea Fleet and former captain of the Kuomintang navy cruiser "Chongqing," said that the nine-point proposal presented by Chairman Ye Jianying to the Taiwan authorities is quite fair and reasonable. The Taiwan authorities should comply with the popular feeling by making a positive response. He told his old friends and former colleagues in Taiwan that Chairman Ye has proposed: "After the country is reunited, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and retain its armed forces." After the realization of the great cause of the motherland's reunification, I hope my former colleagues and old friends currently working in Taiwan's navy will make a joint contribution to building a powerful navy for the motherland. I miss my former acquaintance in Taiwan very much and hope we can work hand in hand in jointly struggling for the realization of the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

Chinese Residents of Japan

OW011306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1248 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 30 September (XINHUA)--Huang Wen-Chin, vice-chairman of the Tokyo Association of Chinese Residents, told XINHUA that Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress Ye Jianying's elaboration on the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification would win popular support, and would be welcomed by the overseas Chinese including the compatriots in Taiwan.

At a banquet given today by Chinese residents in Yokohama to celebrate China's National Day, he stressed that the Kuomintang of China should respond to the proposal and hold negotiations as soon as possible with the Communist Party of China. It is the Chinese people's common desire to realize cooperation between the two parties, he added.

He said "it is of greater significance that Ye Jianying's statement was made on the eve of the 70th anniversary of [the] 1911 Revolution. During his lifetime, Dr Sun Yat-sen hoped to turn China into a united and strong country. Today's proposal is precisely to realise cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang as advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen."

Tan Jinji, honorary chairman of the Yokohama Association of Chinese Residents, said with deep emotion, "Chairman Ye's statement conforms completely to the interest of the Chinese nation. It should be materialized. Since the two parties cooperated twice in the past to save the nation, then why is it not possible for them to cooperate for a third time?"

When a Chinese girl sang the song "people of Taiwan, our own brothers," an enthusiastic applause burst out at the dinner party.

The 73-year old Chinese resident Xie Tian told the correspondent with tears, "The overseas Chinese have long expected a day to see the motherland's reunification."

Chinese Residents of Thailand

OW031230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Bangkok, 3 October (XINHUA)--The statement on the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification, made by Ye Jianying, chairman of the standing committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, on 30 September was appraised by the Thai people of Chinese origin and Chinese residents in Thailand.

Amporn Bulpakdi, president of the Thai-Chinese Chamber of Commerce, said that the principle on the reunification of China proposed by Ye Jianying is fair and reasonable and is in accord with the desire of all the Chinese people and Chinese residents abroad. "We hope that the Kuomintang of China and the Communist Party of China make a common effort for success," he added.

Kiatti Wattanavekin, vice-president of the chamber, said: "Taiwan has been Chinese territory since ancient times and the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan straits hope to reunify as quickly as possible. For the benefit of the well-being of the Chinese people and the prosperity of the country, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party should cooperate for the third time. It is high time now," he added.

He expressed willingness to do whatever we could for the reunion of the Chinese people on both sides of the straits.

Termsak Tangjattanapon, managing director of the Phaw Leng Association of Siam (Thailand), said: "What Beijing has done is right and it is well done." "The reunification of China," he said, "is a historical trend. The Taiwan authorities should conform to and respect this fact and consider in real earnest the proposal raised by the communist side and make the correct choice without hesitation."

Chin Sophonpanich, chairman of Bangkok Bank, said: "All Chinese people hope for the reunification of their country. Although there are still difficulties at the present stage, the two parties could move step by step towards this end and try to enter into negotiation between them in a steady way. Prior to the reunification, actions may be taken in accordance with Chairman Ye Jianying's proposal, namely, making arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services."

Noted Thai newsman C. Y. Woo said: "Beijing has presented the nine-point proposal after taking into consideration the existing reality of Taiwan. The Taiwan authorities should take the overall interests of China into account and accept Beijing's proposal. This is not merely a matter of one party or one faction but an issue of China as a whole." "If the Taiwan authorities consider it a propaganda," he continued, "they may turn to the talks first to see whether the mainland has the sincerity and should not reject off hand the proposal for a third-time cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang."

A Taiwan compatriot residing in Thailand, aged nearly 70, told XINHUA his hope to see the country's reunification during his remaining years. Another Taiwan compatriot, who would not disclose his identity, also expressed his hope that the Kuomintang authorities will forget previous ill will and put national interests above everything else and make positive response to the proposal of the mainland."

CSO: 4005/14

BRIEFS

COMMITTEE FETES VISITING PROFESSOR--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang gave a banquet on the evening of 22 September in honor of Professor Liu Wuji and his wife Madam Gao Aihong. Attending the banquet were vice chairman of the Central Committee Qu Wu, Zhu Xuefan, Qian Changzhao, Gan Cisen and Wu Maosun. Professor Liu Wuji is the eldest son of Liu Yazhi, one of the founders of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang. He was invited to China this time to participate in various activities in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. Also attending the banquet were Professor Liu's daughter Liu Guangnan, his younger sister Liu Wufei and others. [Text] [OW010447 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1501 GMT 30 Sep 81]

FORMER KMT PILOT--Beijing, 17 Sep (XINHUA)--Xu Tingze, a former KMT air force captain, was recently appointed to the post of vice president of a certain air force academy by the leading organ of the PLA air force. Xu Tingze crossed over in a plane from Taiwan and returned to the motherland on 1 June, 1963, and since then he had been appointed to the posts of deputy commander of a certain air force regiment and deputy chief of staff of a certain air force academy. [OW191153 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0821 GMT 17 Sep 81]

KMT DEFECTOR PROMOTED--Beijing, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Liu Huantong, a defector from the Kuomintang air force, has recently been promoted to vice chief of staff of a PLA air force corps. Before his defection to join the PLA on 15 January 1949, he was a first lieutenant of the 20th transport group of the Kuomintang air force. After he crossed over to the PLA, he joined the CCP in 1950 and served successively as flying instructor, chief technical inspector, deputy regimental commander and deputy division commander before the recent promotion. [OW191153 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0745 GMT 19 Sep 81]

NEW ROK AMBASSADOR--Taipei, 24 Aug (CNA)--President Chiang Ching-kuo Monday received the new South Korean Ambassador Kim Chong-kon at the presidential office. The president accepted the credentials from Ambassador Kim, who was accompanied by the Foreign Ministry's protocol chief Hugh H. O'yang. Ambassador Kim conveyed President Chon Tu-hwan's regards to President Chiang. He also pledged that he will spare no efforts to further promote friendship and cooperation between the two countries. In the afternoon, Ambassador Kim called on Premier Sun Yun-hsuan at the executive yuan. They exchanged opinions on further strengthening relations between the countries. [Text] [OW250107 Taipei CNA in English 1343 GMT 24 Aug 81]

VICE JUSTICE MINISTER--Taipei, 18 Sep (CNA)--The executive yuan at its weekly meeting Thursday approved the appointment of Wang Jui-lin, 58, of Kiangsu Province, as vice minister of the Ministry of Justice. He will succeed Yang Min-tao who was appointed prosecutor of the procurator's office in the Supreme Court. The cabinet meeting also appointed Huang Chun-ying, 39, of Yunlin County, Taiwan, as vice chairman of the research, development and evaluation commission. Huang, who holds a doctorate degree in commerce, will succeed Chang Li-tang, who was appointed chairman of the ruling Kuomintang Tainan City headquarters. [Taipei CNA in English 0238 GMT 18 Sep 81 OW]

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19 October 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 226

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19 October 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 226

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PARTY AND STATE

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF CITIZENS' RIGHTS ADVOCATED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 3, 1981 p 109-110

[Article by Cheng Jiyong [4453 6549 7167], Institute of Legal Research, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences: "The Constitution Should Effectively Guarantee the Democratic Rights of Citizens"]

[Text] Effectively protecting the democratic rights of citizens is an important point that should be considered in our constitutional revision. Our state system of people's democratic dictatorship (namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat) is meant to guarantee those people who make up the overwhelming majority of the population the full enjoyment of their own democratic rights and legitimate interests, and thereby to exercise dictatorship over the tiny minority who endanger the interests of the overwhelming majority. The constitution should provide the most fundamental rights and duties of all citizens. Once firmly established in the Constitution, these fundamental rights and duties receive the protection of the Constitution and can no longer be encroached upon; any violation would be regarded as an unconstitutional infringement and should be handled through specific legal procedures. Therefore, in order to make the constitutional provision of the citizens' fundamental rights and duties more scientific, I hereby make the following proposal as to revision:

First of all, constitutional considerations must eliminate the influence that "leftist" ideas have exerted on current articles of the Constitution, and must restore and uphold the correct and effective articles originally provided in our first Constitution. Fully protecting the citizens' democratic rights, which is an important aspect of the country's democratization, has traversed a tortuous process in our country. The promulgation and coming into effect of the 1954 Constitution consolidated various political, economic, and cultural achievements won by our party in leading the people of the whole country to overthrow the three big mountains; the citizens' fundamental democratic rights received unprecedented protection. After the Constitution was promulgated, our state also put into effect "Arrest and Detention Regulations of the People's Republic of China" and similar laws in order to protect the citizens' democratic rights, and these were forcefully carried out. But after the socialist transformation was basically completed, because of the influence of "leftist" ideas the concrete protection of certain of the citizens' democratic rights for a long time had no relevant laws to follow--or failed to follow them even when such laws existed; furthermore, certain necessary systems and institutions were gradually discarded.

For instance, the supervisory commission, lawyer systems, and organs of judicial administration were all discarded or merged. During the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques became absolutely lawless, and the democratic rights and legitimate interests of the masses of the people were crudely trampled upon. At that time, the so-called "four greats" failed to play the role of protecting the people's democratic rights, but instead they hampered the people's attempts to exercise their own normal democratic rights. They took extreme democratization and anarchism as "mass democracy," and caused serious damage to our socialist democracy. In the fact of such painful historical lessons, the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee decided to energetically develop socialist democracy and a socialist legal system, pay attention to solving the question of the people's democratic rights, and adopt a series of important measures; it did a great deal of work in order to revive the fine tradition of stressing democratic rights and put emphasis on the legal protection of democratic rights. It eliminated the "four greats" from the Constitution, promulgated some important laws, such as the "Local Organic Law," "Electoral Law," "Criminal Law," and "Law of Criminal Procedure," and revised the "Arrest and Detention Regulations of the People's Republic of China" and other important laws, promulgated them, and put them into effect. In addition, some necessary institutions and systems were restored. Along with the strengthening and perfecting of socialist democracy and the legal system, the people will enjoy even broader democratic rights, and our socialist democracy and legal system will thus once more have returned to a healthy course of development. Consequently, the constitutional revision this time must cleanse away "leftist" ideas and influence, revive the fine tradition of stressing the citizens' democratic rights, and reflect the new development of socialist democracy and the legal system.

Secondly, when the Constitution is revised, I suggest that the third chapter of the current Constitution on "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens" be moved ahead of the chapter on "The Structure of the State" in order to elevate the constitutional status of citizens' fundamental rights and duties. A socialist state is one wherein the people are masters. The work of all state organs proceeds from the people's interests, and the people's democratic rights and legitimate interests should be respected. The people's right to be masters of their own house and the various democratic rights should especially have a prominent place in the Constitution; this is determined by the nature of a socialist state. This would also better demonstrate the socialist nature of our state. According to available statistics, among the modern constitutions promulgated or revised in the 1960's and 1970's by countries of the world, more than half of them place the provisions on citizens' rights and duties ahead of the structure of the state. This illustrates that stressing citizens' rights and duties is an important question with which the people are generally concerned. Our 1954 Constitution had certain important provisions, such as the principles that "citizens are all equal before the law," that "people suffering loss of their rights as citizens by reason of infringement by persons working for organs of the state have the right to compensation," and that "it is the duty of citizens to pay taxes according to the law." Such correct and effective provisions should be revived. Also, with respect to the gradual expansion of citizens' democratic rights and freedoms and the provision of material guarantees by the state, relevant provisions of the 1954 Constitution should also be revived. In Article 87 of the

1954 Constitution, after the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession, and demonstration were provided, it was added that "by providing the necessary material facilities, the state guarantees to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms." This was the socialist character of our Constitution.

In order to effectively protect citizens' democratic rights, we must also consider adding articles concerning unconstitutional infringement of rights and also provide specific legislation and principles on legal procedures. Because of the 10 years of turmoil and the remnant poison and influence of absolute lawlessness, according to statistics provided by the procuratorial departments alone, the country's procuratorial organs at various levels between January 1979 and June 1980 handled a total of more than 10,000 cases of illegal detention, illegal search, forced confession under duress, retaliation and framing, withholding of criminal evidence, sabotaging of elections, infringement upon the freedoms of correspondence, and other such cases of infringement upon citizens' rights of the person and democratic rights (as cited in BEIJING FAZHENGXUEYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF BEIJING INSTITUTE OF LAW AND POLITICS] No 3, 1980, p 32). In our country, conduct which infringes upon citizens' fundamental rights is serious, illegal conduct and, in more serious cases, should be regarded as unconstitutional, criminal conduct infringing upon such rights; it must be subject to serious punishment by law. Therefore, as we consider and study how to gradually expand the power of the masses of the people in running the state and managing economic enterprises and other enterprises, in order to really have the work and activity of state organs at various levels placed under the supervision of the masses, we must at the same time effectively protect the citizens' democratic rights. For instance, democratic management of entrepreneurial units and public institutions, as related to the nature, composition, power, and duration of staff and workers congresses and commune members' congresses, etc, should be provided in the Constitution in principle. There should also be new provisions on such principles as those concerning the system of how principal responsible persons of state organs should personally receive the masses and meet the masses on fixed intervals, as well as those concerning how people's deputies should maintain liaison with their electors and their original electoral units. As for how to effectively protect the citizens' individual rights, apart from the restoration of the provision on the right of compensation, clear provisions of principle must be made with regard to the citizens' rights to appeal, expose, etc. At present, exposure and appeal by citizens directed against lawless and derelict working personnel of the state are generally left to the organs of the systems to which they themselves belong, as far as having them investigated and handled. In no small number of cases, this must be done with the advance knowledge of or intervention by the involved persons themselves. In our people's courts today there are no organs devoted especially to the handling of administrative litigation. Therefore it is difficult for them to exercise judicial supervision over improper administrative measures meted out by relevant organs, entrepereneurial units, and public institutions. As a result, not a few cases of infringement of citizens' democratic rights have developed into serious cases because of a lack of timely handling. For this reason, in order to effectively protect the citizens' democratic rights the Constitution may consider providing organs and legal procedures for handling administrative disputes, dredging the channels of communication, and strengthening supervision. At present, our civil laws and laws of civil procedure have not yet been promulgated. In such civil laws and laws of civil procedure there must be legal provisions dealing with the rights and responsibilities of social organizations qualified as subjects of civil rights and duties, or namely, legal persons; important principles in this regard should first be provided in the Constitution before they can become the basis for general legislation. Consequently, when the Constitution is revised, its content needs to be strengthened in this regard as well.

In order to effectively protect the citizens' democratic rights, there must be pertinent procedures for legal control over, and handling of, persons who conduct illegal sabotage of democratic rights, on the pretext of exercising them, and certain activities of those who care only about themselves but not about the general situation. For instance, the contents of such principles having to do with protecting the citizens' correct exercise of their democratic rights as those on advance mediation of workers' strikes and students' strikes, advance approval of processions and demonstrations, prohibition of the activities of illegal organizations and the publication of illegal journals, etc, should first be provided in the Constitution before they can become the basis for general legislation.

9255
CSO: 4005/902

PROPER HANDLING OF MISTAKES, SETBACKS PROPOSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Huai Jie [2037 2638]: "How Should We Regard Our Mistakes and Setbacks?"]

[Text] Since the founding of the nation under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, our party has lead all the nationalities throughout the country to carry our socialist revolution and socialist construction and to achieve great successes. However, we have also made mistakes, we have even committed grave errors. How should we regard these mistakes and setbacks?

The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC which was passed by the Sixth Plenary Session points out that the successes that we have achieved since the founding of the nation are primary, it would be a serious mistake to overlook or deny them, nor is it permitted to overlook or conceal mistakes. This in itself is erroneous and may lead to even more and even greater mistakes. The Resolution calls on us to adopt the basic standpoint of dialectal materialism, "to hold firmly to the truth and correct one's mistakes."

Marxist materialist dialectics tells us that the development of any given thing advances spirally, not in a straight line. The development of society is no exception. Among all the exploiting classes that have played a progressive role in the history of mankind, there are none that have not strengthened their domination only after committing countless historical mistakes and have even gone so far as to repeat these mistakes. In leading the struggle of the new democratic revolution, our party experienced two major defeats in 1927 and 1934, but after drawing a lesson from the experience we were then able to go on to achieve the victory of the revolution of 1949. Socialism is a brand-new and dynamic social system in the history of mankind. The general tendency of socialism is advancement and ascendancy. During advancement however, temporary digressions or complications may occur. This conforms to the objective laws of the development of things and as such, is not worth puzzling over. When discussing the setbacks and mistakes made in establishing the Soviet system, Lenin once said: "We haven't forgotten for a minute that our past and present have certainly included many setbacks and errors. While founding a new type of national system that has never before existed, a new cause in the history of the world, how is it possible not to have setbacks and errors! We must unflinchingly correct these setbacks and errors and improve our method of applying Soviet principles to actual conditions. (Our methds are still far from being perfect.) ("Selected Works of Lenin" v.4 p.568) In our poor and less developed country with such vast territory and large population, there are no ready-made paths for us to follow in carrying out socialist construction. Since we must feel our own way, it is therefore even more difficult to avoid making mistakes. In the past 32 years we have committed the political mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle and in economic construction we have made the mistake of advancing impatiently and impetuously. The reasons for this are many sided, the principle reason being our lack of experience. As things are constantly evolving, new conditions and new problems occur repeatedly. In addition, revealing the basic essence of things is always one process, people's knowledge of things and the accumulation of experience also consists of one process, subsequently it is always difficulty for people to avoid making various mistakes during this process. Even after our experience has increased quite a bit, it is still hard to completely avoid mistakes. Nevertheless, with the experience of the successes and failures of the past 32 years behind us, we will be wiser in the future, commit fewer errors and prevent grave errors from reoccuring.

There are those who think that the errors that occur in the process of socialist construction are produced by the system of socialism itself. This viewpoint is mistaken. On the contrary, the mistakes that we have committed are caused precisely because some of our understanding runs counter to the objective laws of the socialist system. For example, once the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production has been completed and the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class and class struggle exists only within a defined sphere, the objective laws of socialism require that the people place the focus of work on developing the productive forces of society. This is necessary for solving the contradiction between the ever-growing materialist needs of the people and an underdeveloped system of social production. However, because we haven't become fully cognizant of this point, we have violated this requirement which is put before the people by the objective laws of socialism, we have engaged in class struggle which lead to the "great cultural revolution" and created long-term internal unrest. All of this has impeded giving full scope to the superiority of the socialist system. The problem of economic construction is another example: The basic economic laws of socialism and the laws that develop in a planned and proportionate way require that the people start from actual conditions and pay attention to overall balance. We have violated this requirement, we have blindly sought excessive haste, high quotas and large gains, we have advanced recklessly on several occasions causing tremendous losses. It is clear that the mistakes we made in guiding ideology have little relation to the system of socialism therefore it is simply not possible to put the blame on the socialist system per se. The primary root of our mistakes lies in the socialist system, just as the mistkaes of capitalist nations have their root in the capitalist system, thus it is preposterous to reject the thesis of the superiority of the socialist system. In fact, the mistakes we've made in our guiding ideology since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have essentially been corrected by relying on the strength inherent in the socialist system. This clearly demonstrates the great superiority of the socialist system which is established on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, this superiority includes the ability to depend on the strength of its own system to overcome shortcomings and to correct mistakes. The capitalist system, on the other hand, is quite different. As the contradiction between production relations and production forces of the capitalist system becomes increasingly acute, the bourgeoisie ruling class is not only unable to correct the pre-existing mistakes, they will also inevitably commit even more and even greater mistakes thereby forcing the oppressed class into violent resistance which will lead to the destruction of the capitalist system. In comparison with the capitalist system, the system of the socialism has tremendous superiority and

and vitality, this is quite evident. It is just because of this superiority that we have achieved great successes in the past 32 years, in spite of the fact that we have committed serious errors. Following the correction of past mistakes and following the development of our cause, the superiority of the socialist system must be given an increasingly greater role to play in the future.

In the cause of socialist construction, it is difficult to completely avoid mistakes and setbacks, however, they can be rectified and surmounted. This is an important viewpoint for the correct recognition of the mistakes and setbacks that have occurred in our undertaking. With this viewpoint we can consciously and confidently proceed to correct our mistakes, surmount our setbacks and unflinchingly struggle to make our nation a modern and powerful socialist country.

9864
CSO: 4005/930

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES DISCUSSED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 14, 25 Jul 81 pp 3-5

[Article by Dai Zhou [2071 5297]: "Foundation of Unity; Guarantee of Victory --on Upholding the Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which was of a momentous historical significance, again stressed the importance of upholding the four basic principles. It pointed out: "The four basic principles are the common political foundation for the unity of the entire party and of the people of all nationalities in the country, and the fundamental guarantee for the smooth progress of the socialist modernization." In fact, our fundamental purpose in summarizing the historical experience of the 32 years since the founding of the nation is to further concentrate, on the foundation of the four basic principles, the will and strength of the entire party, entire army and all nationalities in the country on the great goal of building a modern socialist power.

Why is the issue of upholding the four basic principles raised to such a height?

As we all know, upholding the socialist path, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, i.e., the proletarian dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Lenins and Mao Zedong Thought have always been our party's fundamental policy. A proletarian political party since its creation, ours is a political party seeking the interest and liberation and the happiness of the greatest majority; from its creation, it clearly stipulated that Marxism-Leninism is its guiding ideology; from its creation, it clearly stipulated that Marxism-Leninism is its guiding ideology; from its creation, it unequivocally declared that it would realize socialism and a communist society in China. After 60 years of arduous struggle, we, in a country with one quarter of the world population, created the socialist system and accomplished the most profound and greatest social reform.

In the 30 plus years since the founding of the nation, by relying on the four basic principles, we have overcome all kinds of external provocations and pressures and internal disturbances and sabotage by hostile forces, organized various kinds of social life around the people's interest, systematically launched the national economic construction and made brilliant achievements.

As proved by large numbers of irrefutable facts, the four basic principles serve as our sharp weapon against all kinds of erroneous ideological trends, the talisman for our revolutionary victory and the hope for the development of the Chinese nation. On the land of China, the superiority of the socialist system has manifested its forceful vitality; the people's democratic dictatorship has demonstrated its great power; the leadership of the Communist Party is growing ever stronger; Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are radiating an ever more magnificent brilliance. The four basic principles are the essence of our country. They determine the nature of our society, the system of our state, the leadership position of our party and the guiding ideology of our revolution and construction. Therefore, they are linked with the success or failure of the party's cause, the fate of the state and the nation, and the realization of the four modernizations.

The four basic principles are the starting point of all our party's practical actions and the basis for all its lines and policies. That the line determined by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to emancipate thinking, use our brains, seek the truth from the facts, and unite as one and look forward, and the series of policies adopted since the plenary session were accurate was because they conformed to the 4 basic principles and were the concrete application and vivid manifestations of the 4 basic principles in the new era, closely linking the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the practical conditions at the present stage.

On the issue of upholding the four basic principles, two erroneous understandings should be corrected.

One is that some people are accustomed to regarding the party's lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session from a "leftwing" standard, feeling that stressing the four basic principles is for the purpose of rectifying the "deviations" of the Third Plenary Session. Actually, the Third Plenary Session summarized the positive and negative experiences, brought order out of chaos in the lines, and returned the party's lines and policies to the correct track of Marxism-Leninism and to the four basic principles long upheld by us, thereby linking even closer with the people's interest and becoming even more united with the masses. Take rural areas for instance: The party led the peasants to undertake the land reform, eliminate the exploiting system, launch the cooperative movement and create the socialist system or public ownership of the means of production. These were the main symbols of our adherence to the socialist path. Subsequently, the "leftwing" ideological trend of the "larger" and "more public," the better emerged, and egalitarianism spread unchecked, causing the maladjustment of productive relations and productive forces and resulting in grave consequences. Such mistakes themselves were deviations from scientific socialism. After the Third Plenary Session, while upholding the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production, the party, in its rural policy, adopted a series of appropriate measures in accordance with the level of China's agricultural productive forces and that of management, such as creating all kinds of production responsibility systems, opening up market tradeing, restoring and expanding the private plots of commune members, encouraging household sidelines, production, etc. All these were compatible with socialist principles and with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and were supported and welcomed by the broad urban and rural masses. As a result of practice, the socialist agriculture has developed and the peasants have become more devoted to the party and socialism. In what way, then have we deviated from the socialist direction?

The other erroneous understanding is to regard the four basic principles from a rightwing standard, feeling that stressing them will block the development of democracy and the emancipation of thinking. Those with this misunderstanding confuse the socialist democracy and ideological emancipation advocated by the Third Plenary Session with bourgeois liberalization. Some even regard the four basic principles as "clubs," "formulas," and "whips" and threaten to "break through" them. Such ideological mistakes are apparent. Obviously, upholding the four basic principles is precisely for the purpose of guaranteeing a greater development of the socialist democracy and the correct direction of ideological emancipation. The experience of history has taught us: Whenever our country deviated from the four basic principles,the cause of the party and the people suffered setbacks, or even serious disasters; whenever we upheld the four basic principles, the cause of the party and the people prospered and developed. Today, if we depart from the four basic principles, our endeavor to build a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power will fail.

In early 1979, an erroneous ideological trend distorting the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and negating and resisting the 4 basic principles emerged in society, and there were those in our party who, due to their mental ossification, showed sympathy and supported it to various degrees. In March that year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, solemnly reiterated the four basic principles. The Central Work Conference last December advocated the positive and active, bold and just, and persuasive propagation of the four basic principles and urged a forceful struggle against the seriously erroneous ideas opposed to them. This time, the Party Central Committee included upholding the four basic principles in the "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China." That the Party Central Committee reiterated the four basic principles and stressed them repeatedly is because they are the foundation of the unity of the entire party and entire people and the guarantee of the victory of the socialist cause. Each and every party member, each and every comrade, must remain unswerving and steadfast on this momentous issue.

6080
CSO: 4005/895

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTH PLENUM HISTORICAL RESOLUTION STUDIED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 13, 10 Jul 81 pp 3-9, 26

[Article by the Editorial Department of BAN YUE TAN: "The General Content and Far-Reaching Significance of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic" adopted by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee is an important document of far-reaching significance. The "resolution" contains principally: 1) a correct summation of the important historical events, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," of the party in the 32 years since the founding of the people's republic and a scientific analysis of the subjective and social causes of its mistakes; 2) a realistic evaluation of the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher, in the Chinese revolution and a full exposition of the significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party; and 3) an affirmation of the correct line to build step by step a strong socialist state compatible with the conditions of our country and a clear delineation of the direction in which to continue our country's socialist enterprise and the work of the party. The "resolution" no doubt will have a great bearing on the unity of the ideological cognition of the whole party, the entire armed forces and all the nationalities of the whole country as well as on the struggle to achieve with one heart and one mind the new historical task. This correct summation of the historical experience of our party, like our correct summation of the party's historical experience which led the democratic revolution to a great victory, will lead our socialist construction to a great new victory.

Part I. A Review of the History of the 28 Years Prior to the Founding of the People's Republic

This part contains a review of the 28-year history prior to the founding of the people's republic and the meaning of the victory of the revolution.

1. The 1911 revolution led by Sun Yat-sen overthrew the imperial Qing Dynasty but did not change the semicolonial and semifeudalist nature of Chinese society. All the other parties and factions were unable to find a way out for the country and the nation. The Chinese Communist Party, which alone was able to point out the way for China to advance, became an unprecedented leading force in the Chinese revolution.

2. The victory of the Chinese revolution was achieved under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Applying the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively by combining them with the reality of the Chinese revolution, the party ushered in the great Mao Zedong Thought and discovered the correct road to achieve victory for the revolution. This is a great contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

3. The party experienced four revolutionary stages in the 28 years prior to the founding of the people's republic. It was Comrade Mao Zedong and the party Central Committee he headed that saved the Chinese revolution each time it faced a life-and-death crisis and it was the party Central Committee he headed that led the people of the whole country to complete victory in the new democratic revolution.

4. The history of these 28 years speaks eloquently for one estabished truth. That is, if Comrade Mao Zedong had not been around to save the Chinese revolution from its many crises and if the party Central Committee he headed had not provided the whole party and the whole country with a firm, correct direction, our party and the people of the whole country would have had to grope in darkness much longer. Like the Chinese Communist Party, which the people of all nationalities recognize as the core of leadership, Comrade Mao Zedong is generally recognized as a great leader of both the party and the people, and the Mao Zedong Through which emerged out of collective struggle is generally recognized as the guiding ideology of the party. This is but the inevitable outcome of the 28-year history prior to the founding of the people's republic.

Part II. A Basic Evaluation of the 32-Year History Since the Founding of the People's Republic

This part contains a basic evaluation of the 32-year history since the founding of the people's republic and points the way to recognize our achievements and mistakes.

1. The "resolution" analyzes the spectacular achievements of these 32 years. They fall in 10 different areas. The greatest achievement is the establishment of the socialist system, which is the most far-reaching and greatest social change in the history of our country and will be the basis of our country's advance and development.

2. Achievements and mistakes must be approached correctly. Our achievements are the most outstanding and basic in these 32 years. It is a big mistake to overlook and deny our achievements and successful experience. However, there were many mistakes in actual work because our party did not have enough experience in leading the socialist enterprises, and the party leadership made some subjectivist mistakes in analyzing the situation and assessing the conditions of the country. Instead of overlooking mistakes and covering up mistakes which should have been discouraged, our position should be to "uphold the truth and amend mistakes." The same position helped us out of danger and turned defeats into victories in the past and it will no doubt lead us to even greater victories from now on.

Part III. 7 Years of Basic Completion of Socialist Transformation

This part covers the period between October 1949 and 1956 when we switched from new democracy to socialism and basically completed the socialist transformation.

1. The socialist transformation of our country was inevitable and the "three big transformations" were the dictates of history. Now there are people who question or even repudiate the socialist transformation. That is a big mistake.

2. The general line for the transition period proposed by our party and the guiding principles and basic policies it formulated were correct and creatively opened a road leading to a socialist transformation compatible with the unique conditions of China. The victory it won was simply dazzling.

3. The historical implication of the party's "Eighth Congress" is that the line, principles and policies laid down by the "Eighth Congress" in 1956 pointed out the correct direction for party building and the development of socialist enterprises during the new era. The "Eighth Congress" pointed out that after the socialist system is established, the major contradiction within the country would be that between the need of people for speedy economic and cultural development and the inability of the economy and culture to satisfy the needs of the people rather than that between the working class and the capitalist class. This scientific assessment offers meaningful guidance for our revolution and construction today.

Part IV. 10 Years of All-Out Socialist Construction

This part covers a period of 10 years between 1956 and 1966 when our country embarked on all-out large-scale socialist construction and scored tremendous accomplishments. This represents the main thrust of the work of the party. The party also sustained some setbacks during these 10 years due to serious mistakes in its guiding principles.

1. In this 10-year period the party scored tremendous accomplishments in various areas as it led the people of the whole country to embark on all-out socialist construction. At the same time, the party acquired valuable experience in leading socialist construction. The material and technological base and the core of personnel now engaged in modernization construction were built and trained in this period.

2. In this period of 10 years, faulty guiding principles in party work led to many leftist errors, resulting in serious losses to the state and the people. But the party was alert enough to sum up the lessons it derived from experience and corrected the mistakes. Consequently, the national economy bounced back and grew between 1962 and 1966.

3. All the successes in this 10-year period were achieved under the collective leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. The collective leadership of the party Central Committee was also responsible for the mistakes made during this period. Although Comrade Mao Zedong was mainly responsible, he could not be held responsible for all the mistakes. At this juncture, Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in the theory and practice of class struggle in a

socialist society had become more serious and his personal arbitrary workstyle was threatening the party's democratic centralism and drifting toward a personality cult. The party Central Committee did not act in time to correct these mistakes. This led to the outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Part V. The 10 Years of the "Great Cultural Revolution"

This part presents an analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's arguments for launching the "Great Cultural Revolution" and his mistakes, a review of the course of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and an analysis of the causes of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

1. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was erroneous in theory and practice. Its theory was "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The trouble is that its assessment of the conditions of the country, analysis of the nature of the "struggle" and method of resolving the problems were all wrong. It was a departure from the orbit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, incompatible with both Marxism and reality. Launched erroneously by the leadership and made use of by the counterrevolutionary cliques, the "Great Cultural Revolution" brought about disastrous internal turmoil to the party, the state and the people of all nationalities.

2. There are two points to bear in mind in evaluating the role of Comrade Mao Zedong in this particular period: 1) Comrade Mao Zedong's serious mistakes must be clearly distinguished from the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cliques; and 2) in spite of the serious mistakes affecting the whole situation made by Comrade Mao Zedong, he did certain good and correct things both domestically and internationally and we should not repudiate all he did just because of those serious mistakes.

3. Due to the joint struggle put up by the whole party and the cadre masses during this 10-year period, we were able to mitigate to a certain extent the damage done by the "Great Cultural Revolution." Even though our enterprises were severely damaged by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we finally subdued them, and the nature of the party, the people's political authority, the people's army and society as a whole remained intact.

4. In ascertaining the causes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we have to cover the responsibility borne by Comrade Mao Zedong as well as the complex sociohistorical factors. Only by analyzing these factors scientifically can we draw a lesson and prevent the repetition of such serious mistakes.

Part VI. A Historical Turning Point

This part describes the emergence of a new period of historical development after the overthrow of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

1. The "resolution" affirms the contribution of Comrade Hua Guofeng in the struggle which overthrew the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and the valuable work he did afterward. It also points out his leftist errors in the political and economic areas, his effort to carry on and reluctance to correct an erroneous

policy based on "two blind faiths," and his encouragement and acceptance of his own personality cult as he defended the old personality cult. All these indicate clearly that it was impossible to correct the leftist errors within the party and revive its best traditions under his leadership.

2. The Third Plenum of the party Central Committee was a very significant turning point in the history of our party. It brought to an end a period of indecision in party work after October 1976 and launched an all-out effort to correct the leftist errors during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." In leading actual work, it instituted a series of significant changes which represented the revival and establishment of a correct direction based on Marxism. As the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policy of the party began to revive and develop under brand new conditions after the Third Plenum, all the work of the party and the state advanced by leaps and bounds and our country took a turn for the better economically and politically.

Part VII. The Position of Comrade Mao Zedong in History and Mao Zedong Thought

This part contains a primary key question which the "resolution" seeks to answer.

1. The great achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician. His great historic achievements are immortal. In spite of the serious mistakes he made during the "Great Cultural Revolution," taking his life as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far exceed his mistakes. His achievements are primary while his mistakes are secondary.

2. The content of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the combination of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution, the summation of the correct theory of the Chinese revolution and experience, and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. The creative theory of Mao Zedong Thought has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in the following areas: 1) The theory of the new democratic revolution includes principally the "three magic weapons," occupation of villages to encircle cities and then the winning of a nationwide victory. 2) The theory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction includes mainly the "three great transformations," strict distinction and correct handling of the two different kinds of contradictions under the socialist system, and the road toward industrialization of China. 3) The theory of building the revolutionary army and military strategy are Comrade Mao Zedong's unique contribution to Marxist-Leninist military theory. 4) The theory of party building. In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced many lasting and meaningful observations and policies on revolutionary strategy and tactics, political ideological work, education in communist morality, culture, the nationalities and foreign relations.

Comrade Mao Zedong also applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism to all the work of the proletarian party and brought into being a genuinely Chinese Communist position, viewpoint and method. These may be summed up in three basic concepts: seeking truth from facts, following the mass line and acting on our own initiative independently.

3. Mao Zedong Thought is a valuable intellectual treasure of our party and will guide our actions for a long time to come.

4. We must overcome two incorrect approaches to Mao Zedong Thought. One of these is to deny its scientific value and its usefulness as a guide to our enterprises just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his latter years. The other is a dogmatic approach which upholds whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said as immutable truth or even refuses to admit realistically the mistakes he made in his latter years and defends these mistakes in new practices. Both these approaches fail to make a distinction between the Mao Zedong Thought which became scientific principles through years of historical tests and the mistakes he made in his latter years. The distinction is very important.

Part VIII. Unite and Struggle for the Construction of a Strong Modernized Socialist State

This part presents a basic summation of the historical experience of our party in the 32 years after the founding of the people's republic and points out the objectives of struggle for our party in a new historical period.

1. The objectives of struggle for our party in this new historical period are to build up our country into a highly democratic and cultured strong socialist state with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology. Furthermore, we have to bring about the return of Taiwan to the fatherland so as to achieve the task of national unification. Our main purpose in summing up the historical experience of the 32 years after the founding of the people's republic is to uphold the four basic principles as a foundation from which to focus the attention and energy of the whole party, the entire army and all the nationalities of the whole country on this gigantic objective of building a strong modernized socialist state.

2. It is important and necessary to uphold the four basic principles because they are the political foundation to rally the whole party and all the nationalities of the whole country and also the basic guarantee of unobstructed progress of the socialist modernizations. All opinions and actions deviating from the four basic principles are wrong and all opinions and actions which repudiate and undermine the four basic principles are not permissible.

3. "Only socialism can save China." This is the most basic historical experience of the 32 years since the founding of the people's republic. Our country has already established the socialist system and entered the socialist society. Any viewpoint which repudiates this basic fact is wrong. We must struggle resolutely against all activities which undermine socialism.

4. A new China cannot exist without the Chinese Communist Party. Similarly, a modernized socialist China cannot exist without the Chinese Communist Party. Any opinion or action aimed at weakening, breaking away from or undermining the leadership of the party is absolutely impermissible.

5. Our party has established step by step a correct road of socialist modernization compatible with the conditions of our country. This road will be enriched

and developed continually in actual practice. Its main points are the experience in 10 different areas which must be earnestly studied and understood.

6. We are determined to correct the erroneous slogan used in the "Great Cultural Revolution" calling for "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" by which one class overthrows another class. This does not mean that the revolutionary tasks are accomplished, that revolutionary struggles in various areas are no longer needed. The development of socialism into communism is a great revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind. Our present struggle to build a modernized socialist state is a stage in this great revolution. We must maintain the lofty revolutionary ideal and ardent revolutionary resolve to accomplish the great socialist revolution and construction.

7. The great achievements made for the people by our party in the past 60 years. Having been through 32 years of successes and failures, repeated assessments of correctness and errors, especially the deliberations and summations of the last few years, our party has increased immensely its understanding of socialist revolution and construction. It has the courage to face up to and correct its own mistakes and is determined and capable of preventing the repetition of those mistakes of the past. We are firmly convinced that the future of socialism and of hundreds of millions of people of the whole country is great. As long as we strengthen the unity of the party and that of the party and the people under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we can unquestionably build our country step by step into a modernized, highly democratic, highly cultured strong socialist state!

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY SCHOOL CADRES STUDY RESOLUTION

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: On the Resolution's Scientific Appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought]

[Text] The Provincial Party Committee School completed its third cadres study session a few days ago. In studying the resolution, the students concluded that its appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought was based on facts, appropriate and convincing.

All thought that the resolution had appraised highly the tremendous historical contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong, that it had reaffirmed Comrade Mao as a great leader and teacher of the Chinese people, had reaffirmed the historical role played by Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding thought of the Party, and that it was a scientific summation based on historical facts. The students in this study class were mostly cadres who took part in the Sino-Japanese War and the War of Liberation. From actual experience, they have been intimately and profoundly impressed by Comrade Mao Zedong, who, at the critical moment of the Chinese Revolution had saved the revolution, and formulated correct policies and theories, correct war strategies and tactics in uniting the people and vanquishing the enemies. They said that the name of Comrade Mao Zedong is closely tied to the history of the Chinese Revolution, the development of the Party, the shaking off of the feudal yoke, and the liberation of the Chinese people. Without Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms, without Mao Zedong Thought, China would not have become what she is today.

All concluded that while the resolution reaffirmed the gigantic accomplishments of Comrade Mao Zedong, it had also pointed out, according to facts, the mistakes he made in his later years, with right clearly distinguished from wrong, achievements clearly distinguished from shortcomings, and which should be regarded as primary and which secondary. On the one hand, such an appraisal marked a clear demarcation line from deification of the leader and dogmatic treatment of Mao Zedong Thought. On the other hand, it drew a clear demarcation line from degradation of the leader and nihilistic treatment of Maz Zedong Thought. It is a just appraisal conforming to the feelings of the Party and the people. Not long ago in the past, there were all types of discussions in society on the subject of appraising Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, and there was no ideological uniformity within the Party. This puzzled and even worried some old cadres. The resolution made a just and comprehensive appraisal of this important issue and set their hearts at ease. Some comrades say, "The conclusion drawn from the resolution has taken a load off our minds."

Why is it said that "The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong were, afterall, the mistakes of a great proletarian revolutionary?" Through studying the resolution, their understanding is: first, mistakes made by a great revolutionary will not affect his overall splendid revolutionary accomplishements, just like small blemishes on a piece of jade cannot tarnish its overall lustre. Second, due to the fact that all great revolutionaries are in the forefront of the tide of time, the mistakes they make are closely related to historical conditions of the time and thereby should not be summed up as an issue of subjective factors.

To appraise in all fairness Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought is for the sake of implementing more effectively the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. All remarked that when they return to take up their work posts after the study session, they would integrate the practicality of modernized construction, continue to study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, study the new situation, resolve new problems, and to do better work on all phases.

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YOUNGER CADRES CHOSEN FOR TOP MEDICAL POSITIONS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by Staff Correspondent Yang Beilin [2799 0554 2651]: "Selecting the Young and Middle-aged Core To Be Leaders"]

[Text] Mobilizing and relying on the masses to recommend and select talented people, Sanshui County People's Hospital has chosen 28 middle-aged and young medical personnel to assume leading posts in the hospital and technical offices. Thus, the leading group is beginning to become younger, more knowledgeable, and more specialized, furthering the development of medical treatment, prevention and scientific research.

Sanshui County People's Hospital is a general hospital. Following the Third Plenary Session of the CCP and during the process of implementing the policy towards intellectuals, the hospital made an analysis of the composition of the leading group: Of the four hospital directors and deputy directors, only one hospital deputy director has specialized medical knowledge and he was old and infirm, the rest were basically non-professionals. Among the cadres of the subsections and sections (divisions), the technologically skilled core of young people was quite small. In order to change this situation, the hospital's party branch adopted the open-door method for selecting capable personnel: the relevant policies, qualifications and requirements for the selection of profesiional cadres were turned over to the masses to give them the chance to discuss and evaluate them. The people then recommended the best qualified persons, the ones who had both ability and political integrity. The party branch, in keeping with the views of the masses, decisively put forward a list of names based on their joint assessment and everyday knowledge of the cadres. They then submitted the list to a higher authority to review the appointments. For example, there is the case of the physician Huang Zurong [7806 4371 2837], a medical college graduate, who for over 10 years has consistently devoted himself to the clinical practice of internal medicine. His ideas are progressive and he has had the honor of being admitted to the party. In his professional life he has studied intensively and has had the most extensive experience in internal medicine of all the doctors in the hospital. There is also the case of the physician Lin Zhibai [2651 4249 4101], a 1960's medical college graduate who has been practicing clinical surgery for many years. He is able to perform extremely difficult major operations and is known as the "knife" of the hospital and furthermore, he has definite organizational ability. Based on the recommendations of the majority of people in the hospital, they were appointed deputy directors of the hospital by the higher level organizational unit.

After these young and middle-aged professionals assumed their posts, they gave full play to their professional skills and brought about a change in the hospital's image. After the deputy directors Huang Zurong and Lin Zhibai took up their posts, they did a fact-finding study on the professional status of each office in the hospital and in just over 6 months presented, in order of priority, more than 10 proposals that reflected their findings. In order to raise the level of technological skill among the medical personnel of the hospital, they formulated plans for each category of medical personnel to do some brushing up and engage in advanced studies, to actively conduct academic lectures on various special topics, and, in time, to sum up the advanced experiences of medical practice. In their clinical practice they developed their own expertise and methodically organized the medical staff to save the lives of some critically ill patients. In march of this year, after the young nurse Qian Qunhao [6929 5028 1170] was selected as assistant head nurse in the department of internal medicine, they helped the old head nurse organize all the nurses in the department to carry out technical training activities which lead to a noticeable improvement in the quality of nursing.

At the same time that the hospital was training and selecting young and middle-aged cadres, attention was also given to carrying out correct ideological work regarding the senior cadres, and appropriate arrangements were made for the retirement of one deputy director of the hospital and for another's retirement due to illness. The best care possible was provided for the other elderly and frail doctors and nurses. Moreover, the young cadres respected the senior cadres, and it became common practice to seek advice from the senior cadres. In this way the senior cadres were made to feel at ease in assisting and supporting the new cadres in carrying out their duties.

Health Institute Promotes Professionalism

The leading group of the 18 room Commune Health Institute in Lian County has been re-organized and during the first 10 days of this month, all the professional hospital directorships were assumed without exception by the medically skilled core, graduates of medical school. Those non-professional leading cadres who were not fit to continue working at the hospital were relocated and suitable arrangements were made.

During the decade of internal unrest there existed a group consisting for the most part of elderly and weak non-professional cadres who had no understanding of skilled medical practice. Their existence was due to the erroneous "leftist" influence and disruption. They were sent to the 18 room Commune Health Institute in Lian County to hold the leading positions. The general educational level of this group of comrades was fairly low. Even though some had the best of intentions, they did not understand medical technology so they had difficulty in performing their duties and failed to inspire the enthusiasm of the medical and nursing staff. The quality of medical treatment and nursing declined in many hospitals.

Following the Third Plenary Session of the CCP, the County Department of Public Health, with the support of the County CCP Committee, gradually proceeded to re-organize the leading groups in each commune health institute throughout the county. Cadres who still had the ability to work were reassigned work according to their abilities, while elderly and sick cadres were retired. In the meantime, a medically skilled core made up of 24 people with specialized medical training, a clear understanding of policy and organizational ability, were selected to fill the posts of hospital director and deputy director in each commune health institute. This, in turn, enabled the leading groups in commune health institutes throughout the county to take on a younger, more knowledgeable, and more specialized look, and promoted the development of medical and public health activities. Once the professionals were made hospital directors at the Dongpo commune hospital, they quickly corrected the phenomena of medical malpractice and of poor quality medical care that had occurred in the past. Ordinary surgical operations can now be carried out smoothly and the control of administering drugs has also noticeably improved. It has been praised by the higher level public health department as the most advanced public health unit in the county.

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PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN PROMOTES YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] While advances have been made in the task of selecting and promoting competent young cadres is being launched, yet, when compared with the need of the situation, a stronger emphasis and greater speed are called for. This point was made emphatically in the staff meeting of the Tianjin personnel departments held a few days ago.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the departments, commissions and staff offices of the city committee and municipality, and various wards, counties and bureas have selected and promoted 140 young and middle-aged cadres for leading posts; according to statistics of the 538 companies and large factories of the 46 bureaus in the city, 445 young cadres under 50 years of age have been promoted. Despite such accomplishments in the task of promoting competent cadres in their prime to take up leading positions in the Party, the aging situation on the leadership level is still grave: the average age of cadres leaders in wards and bureaus and those on equivalent levels is 58. The average age of cadres responsible for Party administrative duties is 62.5; 70 percent of these are above 56, and only 11 percent are under 50; and 14.6 percent of the cadres are basically unable to handle normal work. These phenomena point out clearly that the task of promoting competent young and middle-aged cadres for leading posts is not going quickly, but rather slowly.

The reason for this tardiness is still due to the influence of "leftist" thinking. Feudalistic concepts and metaphysical outlooks such as "determining rank according to seniority" and "demanding perfection in men" are the obstructing ideological forces in the task of promoting competent young and middle-aged cadres at present. The organizational departments and personnel bureaus of the Party committee of all levels should widen their fields of vision and look upon the promoting of young and middle-aged cadres as a pressing strategic task, not only to be grasped firmly, but with speed, so as to further unify ideologies and substantially strengthen leadership, uncover talent from all sources, grasp firmly the training and promoting as quickly as possible of those young and middle-aged cadres with political integrity and ability to leading positions so as to keep our cadres young, knowledgeable and professional. Otherwise, we will harm this tremendous undertaking.

The meeting pointed out that in order to maintain youth, knowledge and professionalism amidst our cadres, the management of services concerning veteran cadres such as leaves of absence and retirement must be handled efficiently. Veteran cadres have dedicated themselves to the great cause of the Party and the people for decades, made valuable tributes, and accumulated rich experiences. They are precious assets to our Party and our country. We should enthusiastically create conditions which will provide them with longevity, good health and contentment in their later years. Men must grow old, retire or take leave. We should make better arrangements for these veteran cadres. Failing to do it well will result in a loss of support from the people, in addition to being unreasonable. We should respect the aged, honor the wise, and create a good atmosphere.

The meeting pointed out that the personnel departments should endeavor to do a good job of the allocation and deployment of cadres during the period of readjustment. Our city is an old industrial city, which calls for a full-fledged development of the light and textile industries. Hence, personnel departments at all levels should inspect and study conscientiously, so as to perform tasks such as transferring, adjusting, arranging placements and making up deficiencies from surpluses among the cadres with foresight, good planning and sound organization. At the same time, we should concentrate on consolidating and strengthening the cadre forces in commerce, service trades, and all units of collective leadership.

The meeting lay special emphasis on the self-construction of the personnel departments. The personnel departments should take the lead in reviving and advocating the fine Party tradition and work style, and consciously resist unhealthy tendencies such as forming small coteries, entering by the back door, favoritism, and bribery; uphold steadfastly the mass point of view, be warm and sincere to the masses and cadres, serious in work and in words, so as to make the cadres at large willing to confide in them, and willing to make suggestions when such occasions arise. Cadres of personnel affairs should become "the bosom friend of the cadres," and the personnel departments should become "the home of the cadres."

Deputy Secretary of the city committee and Deputy Mayor Wu Zhen [0702 2182], standing committee member of the city committee and head of the Organizational Department Li Yanwu [2621 4282 0710] attended the meeting and gave speeches.

Close to two hundred cadres from various wards, counties, bureaus, institutes and colleges, staff members from the personnel departments of units stationed in Tianjin, members of the city committee and staff offices in charge of personnel administration attended the meeting.

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VIEWS ON QUESTIONS OF HISTORY OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY EXPRESSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 3

[Article signed Wen Ze [5113 3419]: "Contending Views on Questions Concerning the History of Philosophy"]

[Text] In philosophical circles there are now contending views on questions concerning the history of Marxist philosophy; the following briefly lists some of these important questions:

The Target of Our Studies

One opinion regards the target of our studies of the history of Marxist philosophy as the history of the formation and development of Marxist philosophy and its inherent law. This would include the study of the writings and the philosophical views of Marxists since the beginning of Marxism, it would clarify what led to their development, relate them to certain historical conditions, arrive at a balanced assessment and seek to find the laws of their development.

Some comrades are of the opinion that the study of the history of Marxist philosophy must not only consider and reflect the ideological achievements of the classical writers, but at the same time must also consider and reflect the contributions of other marxists to Marxist philosophy. It should not matter whether the men were from socialist or capitalist countries, whether they were leading personalities of the party or specialists in the field of Marxist philosophy, as long as they have made some contribution to Marxist philosophy, they should be included in the study.

The Question of Categorization

One opinion believes that the periodization of the history of Marxist philosophy should take the following three main points as its basis: 1. Economic development, for instance Leninism denoting the period of development from capitalism to imperialism. 2. The condition of political, revolutionary development. 3. The revolutionary practice of our revolutionary teacher.

Another opinion believes that the guideline must be the development of theory. A time without any development of theory is not to be marked off as a separate period, otherwise there might be confusion with the history of the international communist movement.

The Question of the Point of Departure

One opinion believes that man is the point of departure for Marxist philosophy. The question of the nature of man is the logical starting point for historical materialism and the premise for the formation of a materialist conception of history.

One opinion believes that the point of departure for Marxist philosophy should be economic relations. Marx distinguished the productive activities of man from man's life activities and regarded productive activities as the most basic of human activities. From man's social relations he singled out production relations and economic relations and took them to be the factors that determine man's nature.

One opinion believes that practice should be the point of departure for Marxist philosophy, because practice is the essential and natural element of man. The establishment of a practical outlook helps men achieve scientific explanations to their questions. Practice is a bridge that brings together the subject and the object. The establishment of a practical outlook will combine three views into one perfect united entity: the view on nature, the viewpoint on perception and the historical viewpoint.

One opinion believes that the point of departure for Marxist philosophy should be work, because work indicates clearly the relationship of man to nature and man to man. Marx and Engels emphasized that the relationship of man to nature is the premise for the materialist conception of history, and also pointed out that "the unity of man and nature," which is the essence of work, determines not only the development of the production force, but at the same time also the relationship of man to man, that is the production relations.

One opinion believes that the point of departure for Marxist philosophy should be the primary status of matter with consciousness in a secondary position, social existence in a primary position and social consciousness in a secondary position. They believe that Marx and Engels only after using the basic viewpoints of materialism in their observation of social life and discovering the decisive role of the economic factors in the development process of society, came to a scientific assessment of the nature of man and thus laid the foundation for the materialist conception of history.

The Position of Mao Zedong's Philosophical Thoughts Within the History of Marxist Philosophy

Everybody is agreed that Mao Zedong's philosophical thoughts occupy an important position in the history of Marxist philosophy. What are Mao Zedong's philosophical thoughts? There are differences of opinion on this question. One opinion believes that Mao Zedong's philosophical thoughts are a product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxist philosophy with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution, that they are a sinocized philosophy of Marxism. Another opinion believes that the important features of Mao Zedong's philosophical thoughts are the emphasis on the dynamic role of practice, as well as the emphasis on the dynamic role of perception and the concrete historical unity of theory and practice.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RECRUITMENT BROCHURE LISTS UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE COURSES

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 81 p 3

[Text] Science and Engineering Group (including Agriculture, Forestry, Water Conservancy, Medicine, Physical Education)

Key Institutes of Higher Learning and the First Batch of Recruiting Schools:

China University of Science and Technology (Hefei)

Department of Mathematics, Department of Physics, Department of Modern Chemistry, Department of Modern Physics, Department of Modern Mechanics, Department of Radio Electronics, Department of Terrestrial and Space Science, Department of Biology, Department of Precision Machinery.

National Defense Science and Technology University (Changsha)

Department of Applied Mechanics, Department of Applied Physics, Department of Automatic Control, Department of Electronic Technology, Department of Materials and Fuel, Department of Computers, Department of Systems Engineering and Mathematics, Department of Precision Machinery.

Qinghua University (Beijing)

Department of Architecture, Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering, Department of Hydraulic Engineering, Department of Mechanical Engineering, Department of Precision Instruments, Department of Thermal Energy Engineering, Department of Automobile Engineering, Department of Electrical Engineering, Department of Radio Electronics, Department of Computer Engineering and Science, Department of Automation, Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering, Department of Engineering Mechanics, Department of Applied Mathematics, Department of Economic Management Engineering, Modern Physics, Solid Physics and Materials Science, Reactors.

Zhejiang University (Hangzhou)

Department of Mathematics, Department of Physics, Department of Chemistry, Department of Mechanics, Department of Geology, Electrical Engineering, Industrial Electronics Technology, Industrial Automatic Control, Electrical Systems and Automation, Chemical Engineering, Petrochemical Engineering, High Polymer

Chemical Engineering, Chemical Industry Automation, Chemical Industry Machinery, Architecture, Construction Structural Engineering, Hydraulic Structure, Precision Mechanical Engineering, Hydraulic Transmission and Control, Radio Technology, Electronic Physical Technology, Semiconductors, Optical Instruments, Laser Technology, Photographic Instruments and Engineering, Inorganic Materials Science and Engineering, Low-Temperature Engineering, Surveying Testing Technology and Automation Instruments, Computers, Computer Software.

Tongji University (Shanghai)

Architecture Structural Engineering (a 5-year course), Architecture Structural Engineering (a 4-year course), Management Engineering (a 5-year course), Architecture, City Planning, Engineering Geology, Underground Construction Engineering, Surveying, Highway Engineering, Bridge Engineering, Engineering Machinery (a 5-year course), Machine Building Technological Equipment and Automation (a 5-year course), Industrial Automation (a 5-year course), Electronic Instrument and Surveying Technology (a 5-year course), Computer Engineering (a 5-year course), Water Supply and Drainage Engineering, Construction Materials Engineering (a 5-year course).

Tianjin University

Timing Instruments, Optical Instruments, Precision Instruments, Computers, Radio Technology, Electronic Instruments and Surveying Technology, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Welding, Metallography and Heat Treatment, Casting, Industrial Automation, Industrial Automation Instruments and Meters, Electrical Systems and Automation, Construction Structure, Architecture, Harbor Engineering, Shipping Engineering, Water Conservancy and Hydroelectric Projects Construction, Basic Organic Chemical Engineering, Intermediates and Dyestuff, Chemical Industry Machinery, Chemical Catalysis, Chemical Engineering, Internal Combustion Engine, Engineering Thermal Physics, Applied Mechanics, Applied Mathematics, Applied Physics, Scientific and Technological Foreign Languages (recruit applicants from the science and engineering group who score best in English), Capital Construction Management Engineering.

Xian Jiaotong University

Computer Mathematics, Solid Mechanics, Machine-Making Technology and Automation, Metal Materials, Welding, Forging, Casting, Hydraulic Transmission and Control, Thermal Energy Engineering, Thermal Power for Generating Plants, Aerodynamic Engineering, Compressor and Refrigeration, Internal Combustion Engines, High-Voltage Technology, Electrical Systems and Automation, Electrical Technology, Electrical Insulation Technology, Computers, Specialization in Semiconduction Physics and Devices, Computer Software; Electron Beam, Ion Beam and Electric Vacuum Technology; Radio Technology, Industrial Automation, Radio Components and Materials, Biomedical Electronic Engineering, Management Engineering.

South China Engineering College (Guangzhou)

Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Casting, Forging, Welding, Metallography and Heat Treatment, Automobiles, Automatic Control, Computers, Architecture, Construction Structure Engineering, Construction of Water

Conservancy and Electric Generating Projects, Shipping Engineering, Internal Combustion Engines for Ships, Electrification and Automation of Ships and Shipyards, Radio Technology, Electric Vacuum Technology, Electrical Machinery, Electrical Systems and Automation, Industrial Automation, Semiconduction Physics and Devices, Chemical Industry Machinery, High Polymer Materials Processing Machinery, Chemical Industry Automation Instruments and Meters, Corrosion and Prevention, Rubber Products, High Polymer Chemical Engineering, Basic Organic Chemical Engineering, Inorganic Chemical Engineering, Inorganic Nonmetal Materials, Gelation Materials, Pulp and Paper Making, Sugar Refining, Chemical Fibers, Chemical Engineering, Chemistry, Applied Mathematics.

Nanjing Engineering College

Architecture, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Casting, Machinery for Radios, Metal Materials, Electrical Systems and Automation, Generating Plant Thermal Energy, Engineering Thermal Physics, Electrical Technology, Radio Technology, Electronic Instruments and Surveying Technology, Computer Science and Engineering, Microwave Technology, Marine Acoustics, Construction Structural Engineering, Highway Engineering, Construction Materials Engineering, Electric Vacuum Technology, Laser Beam, Semiconduction Physics and Devices, Industrial Automation, Applied Mathematics.

Central China Engineering College (Wuhan)

Applied Mathematics, Solid Mechanics, Generating Plant Thermal Energy, Refrigeration and Low Temperature Technology, Engineering Thermal Physics, Hydroelectric Power Station Automation, Hydraulic Power Machinery, Radio Technology, Computers, Computer Software, Materials Management Engineering.

Dalian Engineering College

Department of Applied Mathematics, Department of Applied Physics, Engineering Mechanics Department, Department of Chemical Machinery, Department of Chemical Engineering, Department of Hydraulic Engineering, Department of Mechanical Engineering and Metal Materials, Department of Shipbuilding Engineering, Department of Electronic Engineering, Department of Computer Science and Engineering.

Hefei Industrial University

Precision Metrological Instruments, Vacuum Technology and Equipment, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Forging Pressing Technology and Equipment, Casting Technology and Equipment, Mechanical Equipment (a 5-year course), Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Industrial Automation, Power Plant and Electrical Systems, Electrical Machinery, Computers and Their Use, Radio Technology, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Architecture, Farmland Water Conservancy Engineering, Water Conservancy and Hydroelectric Project Construction, High Polymer Chemical Engineering, Inorganic Chemical Engineering, Powder Metallurgical Materials, Geological Survey and Prospecting of Minerals, Geophysical Prospecting of Minerals, Hydrological Geological Engineering, Geology, Applied Physics.

Northeast Heavy Machinery College (Qiqihar)

Steel Rolling Machinery, Smelting Equipment, Hydraulic Transmission and Control, Electrification and Automation of Industrial Enterprises, Computers and Their Use.

Beijing Aeronautical Engineering College

Aeronautical Materials Science and Engineering, Aeronautical Radio Engineering, Aeronautical Automatic Control, Aeronautical Hydraulic Control Engineering, Jet Propulsion, Aircraft Design, Aeronautical Engineering Mechanics, Computer Science and Engineering, Aeronautical Manufacture Engineering and Production Automation, Aeronautical Welding.

Northwest Industrial University (Xian)

Forging Press Engineering Specialization, Casting Engineering, Welding Engineering, Nonmetal Materials Science and Engineering, Aerodynamics, Aircraft Structure and Strength, Computers, Aeronautical Firepower Control, Aviation Radio Technology, Computer Software, Rocket Motors, Launcher Automatic Control (Guided Missiles), Aircraft Automatic Control (Airplanes), Aviation Machinery Manufacture Engineering, Applied Mathematics, General Mechanics.

Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College

Department of Aircraft, Department of Aircraft Motors, Aviation Automatic Control, Department of Electronic Engineering and Computers, Department of Aeronautical Manufacture Engineering, Department of Aerodynamics.

Northwest Telecommunications Engineering College (Xian)

Department of Information Engineering, Department of Electronic Engineering, Department of Computers, Department of Electronic Machinery, Department of Technical Physics.

Chengdu Telecommunications Engineering College

Radio Technology, Magnetic Field Engineering, Electronic Materials, Solid Devices, Radio Machinery Equipment, Radio Equipment Structural Designing, Laser Beam Technology, Physics, Chemistry, Electronic Engineering, Computer Engineering, Computer Science.

Beijing Industrial College

Department of Launcher Engineering, Department of Automatic Control, Department of Vehicular Engineering, Department of Engineering Optics, Department of Electronic Engineering, Department of Chemical Engineering, Department of Mechanical Engineering, Department of Engineering Mechanics, Department of Computer Science and Engineering, Department of Industrial Management Engineering, Division of Basic Sciences.

East China Engineering College (Nanjing)

Automated Machinery, Solid Jet Motors, Aerodynamics, Applied Chemistry, Environmental Engineering, Radar Signals Processing, Electronic Technology, Mechanical Technology Equipment and Automation, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Automatic Control.

Shanghai Jiaotong University

Shipping Engineering, Ship Power Mechanical Equipment, Refrigeration Engineering, Automatic Control, Computer Science Technology, Electrical Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Materials Science and Engineering, Metal Materials Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Precision Instruments, Biological and Medical Instruments, Engineering Mechanics, Applied Chemistry, Applied Mathematics.

Harbin Shipping Engineering College

Ship Power Engineering, Naval Vessels Nuclear Power Installation, Automatic Control, Computer Science Technology, Mechanical Engineering.

Harbin Industrial University

Precision Instruments Manufacture Technology, Industrial Automation Instruments and Meters, Thermal Energy Engineering, Hydraulic Pressure Technology, Computer Science (Systems Engineering), Information Engineering, Micromotor, Industrial Electrical Automation, Electrical Appliances, Electrification Engineering, Precision Machinery Designing, Machine Manufacture Technology and Automation, Casting, Forging Press, Welding.

Beijing Steel College

Metallurgical Hot Work and Thermal Energy Utilization, Casting, Metallurgical Machinery, Industrial Automation, Metal Physics, Metallurgical Physical Chemistry.

Northeast Engineering College (Shenyang)

Department of Mechanical Engineering, Department of Automatic Control, Department of Mining, Department of Thermal Energy Engineering, Department of Steel Metallurgy, Department of Nonferrous Metal Metallurgy, Department of Metal Materials, Department of Physics, Department of Management Engineering.

Central South College of Mining and Metallurgy (Changsha)

Mineral Surveying and Prospecting, Mining Prospecting Engineering, Nonferrous Metal Metallurgy, Metal Materials, Metal Materials Powder Metallurgy Specialization, Metal Pressure Processing, Metal Physics, Mechanical Physics, Industrial Automation, Computer Science, Chemistry, Management Engineering.

East China Water Conservancy College (Nanjing)

Water Conservancy Hydroelectric Projects Construction, Hydroelectric Power Plant Station, Harbor and Navigation Channels Engineering, Farmland Water Conservancy Engineering, Engineering Geology and Hydrological Geology, Hydraulic Structure Mechanics, Land Hydrology, Water Conservancy Project Automation, Computer Application.

Wuhan Water Conservancy and Electric Power College

River Mechanics and River Dredging Engineering, Power Plant Construction Structure Engineering, Water Conservancy and Hydroelectric Project Construction, Power Plant Metals, Hydroelectric Power Plant Station, Power Plant Chemistry, Power Plant Hot-Work Survey and Automation.

East China Petroleum College (Shandong, Dongying)

Petroleum Geological Prospecting, Petroleum Geophysical Prospecting, Petroleum Field Geophysics, Petroleum Drilling Engineering, Petroleum Exploration Engineering, Petroleum Field Machinery, Oil Refining Chemical Engineering Machinery, Petroleum and Natural Gas Storage and Shipment, Basic Organic Chemical Industry, Petroleum Refining, Automation of Petroleum Production and Processing, Petroindustry Management Engineering.

East China Chemical Engineering College (Shanghai)

Applied Mathematics, Chemophysics, Chemistry, Intermediates and Dyestuffs, Chemical Pharmacy, Sensitized Materials, Biochemical Engineering, Biochemistry, Chemical Engineering, Inorganic Chemical Engineering, Coal Chemical Engineering, Basic Organic Chemical Engineering, High Polymer Chemical Engineering, Compound Materials, Inorganic Materials Science and Engineering, Environmental Engineering, Corrosion and Prevention, Chemical Engineering Machinery, Fluids, Mechanization and Automation Instruments and Meters.

Beijing Chemical Engineering College

Chemical Engineering, High Polymer Chemical Engineering, High Polymer Materials Engineering, Chemical Corrosion and Prevention, Plastics Machinery, Rubber Machinery, Chemical Industry Automation and Instruments.

China Mining College (Xuzhou)

Mine Survey, Coal Mining Machinery Designing, Coal Mining Machinery Manufacture and Repair, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Electrification and Automation of Coal Mines.

Dalian Ocean Shipping College

Ocean Vessel Navigation, Ship Radio Communications, Engine Control (a 5-year course), Ship Electrical Work, Ship Automation, Computers, Ship Radio Technology.

Southwest Jiaotong University (Emei Xian, Sichuan)

Railroad Engineering, Railroad Engineering Geology, Railroad Bridges, Tunnels and Underground Railroads, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Internal Combustion Locomotives, Rolling Stock, Derricks and Transport Equipment, Engineering Machinery, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Locomotive Diesel Engines, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Electric Locomotives, Railroad Electrification, Automatic Control, Computer Technology, Railroad Transportation.

Beijing Post and Telecommunications College

Telecommunications Engineering, Radio Engineering, Computers and Communications Post and Telecommunications Machinery, Post and Telecommunications Management Engineering.

Northwest Light Industry College (Xianyang, Shaanxi)

Pulp and Paper Making, Leather, Silicate (Ceramics), Silicate (Glass), Light Industry Automation.

East China Textile Engineering College (Shanghai)

Textile Engineering, Knitting, Textile Materials, Textile Industry Management Engineering, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Industrial Electrification and Automation, Chemical Industry Automation and Instruments, Chemical Fibers, Dyeing and Sorting Engineering, Environmental Improvement Engineering.

Chongqing Construction Engineering College

Architecture, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Construction Economics and Management, Heating and Ventilation, Water Supply and Drainage Engineering, City Gas Supply Engineering, Concrete and Construction Products, Construction Electrification Automation.

Wuhan Geological College

Geology, Stratigraphic Palaeontology, Rock Mineralogy, Mineral Prospecting Geochemistry, Mineral Deposit Geology, Coal Field Geology, Petroleum and Natural Gas Geology, Rock Mineral Analysis, Hydrological Geology, Engineering Geology, Geophysical Prospecting, Petroleum and Natural Gas Geophysical Prospecting, Drilling Engineering, Prospecting Machinery, Prospecting Tunneling Engineering, Geological Mechanics.

Changchun Geological College

Geological Mineral Survey, Geology, Hydrological Geology, Engineering Geology, Applied Geophysics, Geological Instruments, Mineral Prospecting Geochemistry, Rock Mineral Analysis.

Jilin Industrial University (Changchun)

Tractors, Automobiles, Automobile Transportation Engineering, Fluid Transmission and Control, Industrial Electric Power Automation, Electronic Instruments and Testing Technology, Welding Specialization, Machine-Making Management Engineering.

Zhenjiang Farm Machinery College

Farm Machinery, Tractors, Automobile Internal Combustion Engine, Hydropower Machinery, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Casting Technological Equipment, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Department of Agricultural Mechanization, Department of Electrical Engineering.

Beijing Agricultural Mechanization College

Tractors, Internal Combustion Engines, Agricultural Machinery Designing and Manufacture, Farmland Water Conservancy Engineering, Hydropower Machinery.

Wuhan Surveying and Mapping College

Engineering Surveying, Aerial Photographic Surveying, Geodesy (Earthquake class), Map Making, Optical Surveying and Mapping Instruments, Electronic Surveying and Mapping Instruments, Computer Technology.

Shanghai First Medical College

Medical Science (a 6-year course), Medical Engineering (a 6-year course), Basic Medicine (a 6-year course), Hygiene (a 6-year course), Pharmacology (a 5-year course), Pharmaceutical Chemistry (a 5-year course), Pharmacodynamics (a 5-year course).

Beijing Agricultural University

Field Crop Genetics and Breeding, Plant Pathology, Farm Insects, Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Science, Agricultural Economy, Agricultural Meteorology.

Nanjing Agricultural College

Genetics and Breeding, Agrology and Agrochemistry, Veterinary Science, Vegetable Farming, Agricultural Economy.

South China Agricultural College (Guangzhou)

Agronomy, Crop Genetics and Breeding, Agricultural Economy Management, Agrology and Agrochemistry, Farm Insects, Plant Pathology, Fruit Trees, Vegetable Farming, Sericulture, Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Science, Fowl Raising and Treatment and Prevention of Fowl Diseases, Forestry, Agricultural Mechanization, Farm Implements Designing and Manufacture.

Shandong Oceanography College (Qingdao)

Physical Oceanography, Marine Meteorology, Marine Physics, Marine Chemistry, Marine Animals, Marine Plants, Marine Geology, Geophysics, Marine Products Processing, Marine Fishing, Applied Mathematics.

Nanjing Meteorological College

Weather Dynamics, Meteorology, Atmospheric Survey, Atmospheric Physics, Agricultural Meteorology.

East China Teachers University (Shanghai)

Mathematics, Physics (a 5-year course), Radio Physics (a 5-year course), Computer Science, Chemistry (a 5-year course), Biology, Geography, Psychology, Physical Education (apply for matriculation as in any other department), School Education, Philosophy, Library Science.

Beijing Teachers University

Department of Psychology, Department of Mathematics, Department of Physics, Department of Chemistry, Department of Biology, Department of Geography.

Fujian Teachers University

Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Physical Education (apply for matriculation as in any other department).

Chinese People's Liberation Army Engineering College (Zhengzhou, Henan)

Department of Applied Mathematics, Department of Computer Engineering, Department of Radio Communications, Department of Digital Communication Engineering.

Chinese People's Liberation Army Communications Engineering College (Nanjing)

Wire Communications, Radio Communications, Microwave Radiation Communications, Computers.

First Military Medical University (Guangzhou)

Department of Military Medicine (a 5-year course).

Second Military Medical University (Shanghai)

Military Medicine Specialized Course, Department of Oceanic Medicine.

Chinese People's Liberation Army Logistics Engineering College (Chongqing)

Barracks Construction, Underground Construction, Oil Storage and Shipment, Oil Use.

Naval Engineering College (Wuhan)

Naval Vessel Internal Combustion Engine Electrical Fields [7193-7022, possible misprint for 7193-1034], Naval Vessel Demagnetization, Naval Vessel Electrical Equipment Engineering, Mine Sweeping and Antisubmarine Weaponry Engineering, Computers.

Beijing Physical Culture College

Department of Physical Education, Department of Athletics, Department of Basic Theories.

Sichuan University (Chengdu)

Physics, Nuclear Physics, Radiative Chemistry, Chemistry.

Zhongshan University (Guangzhou)

Mathematics, Mechanics, Computer Mathematics, Radio Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Natural Geography, Economic Geography, Meteorology, Geology, Physics.

Wuhan University

Physics, Radio Electronics, Chemistry, Cytological Biology, Microbiology.

Fudan University (Shanghai)

Applied Mathematics, Radio Electronics, Physics, Department of Computer Science, Department of Chemistry.

Nanjing University

Computer Mathematics, Computer Software, Physics, Chemistry, Synthetic High Polymer Materials, Structural Geology and Geophysics, Radiative Mineral Geology, Meteorology (weather dynamics).

Xiamen University

Mathematics, Theory of Control, Computer Mathematics, Department of Physics, Physical Chemistry, Chemistry, Biochemistry, Biology, Marine Biology.

Shandong University (Jinan)

Mathematics, Scientific and Technological Intelligence, Physics, Radio Electronics, Technological Optics, Chemistry.

Beijing University

Department of Mathematics, Department of Mechanics, Department of Physics, Atmospheric Physics, Meteorology, Nuclear Physics, Radiative Chemistry, Department of Chemistry, Department of Biology, Natural Geography, Economic Geography, Geomorphology and Quarternary Period Study, Library Science.

China People's University (Beijing)

Economic Information Management.

Nankai University (Tianjin)

Physics, Chemistry, Plant Physiology.

Jilin University (Changchun)

Computer Mathematics, Physics, Radio Electronics.

Central Nationalities College (Beijing)

Mathematics, Physics.

Ordinary Universities and Colleges:

Chinan University (Guangzhou)

Medicine (a 6-year course), Mathematics, Computer Science, Physics, Chemistry, Modern Biology.

Central South Nationalities College (Wuhan)

Mathematics.

Hangzhou University

Oceanic Geology and Geomorphology, Meteorology.

Shanghai Mechanical Engineering College

Optical Instruments, Precision Measuring Instruments, Precision Mechanical Technology and Equipment, Refrigeration Equipment and Low-Temperature Technology, Heat Transmission and Hydrodynamics, Heat Conversion Engineering, Industrial Automation Instruments and Meters, Computer Application, Systems Engineering, Applied Mathematics, Applied Physics.

Shenyang Mechanical and Electrical Engineering College

Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Hydraulic Transmission and Control, Welding Technology and Equipment, Electrical Engines, Electrical Appliances, Industrial Electrical Appliances Automation, Electronic Instruments and Surveying Technology, Semiconduction Devices, Computer and Its Use.

Guilin Electronic Industrial College

Department of Electronic Machinery, Department of Radio Engineering, Department of Computers.

Xian Metallurgical and Construction College

Industrial and Civilian Construction, Architecture, Programmed Transportation Designing, Industrial Enterprise Automation, Mechanical Engineering, Mining Engineering, Ore Dressing, Nonferrous Metals Smelting, Refractory Materials, Heat Supply and Ventilation, Water Supply and Drainage, Environmental Protection.

Maanshan Steel College

Metallurgical Analytical Chemistry, Coking Chemistry, Metallurgical Machinery, Industrial Automation, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment.

Jiangxi Metallurgical College (Ganzhou)

Mining Engineering, Ore Dressing, Mechanical Engineering, Industrial Automation, Nonferrous Metals Metallurgy.

Shanghai Electric Power Specialization School

Power Plant Thermal Energy Engineering, Thermal Power Plant Automation, Power Plants and Power Systems.

Jianghan Petroleum College (Jianglingxian, Hubei)

Petroleum Geological Prospecting, Petroleum Geophysical Prospecting, Petroleum Field, Geophysics, Petroleum Geophysical Instruments, Petroleum Drilling Engineering, Petroleum Extraction Engineering, Petroleum Field Machinery.

Nanjing Chemical Engineering College

Inorganic Chemical Engineering, Basic Organic Chemical Engineering, High Polymer Chemical Engineering, Chemical Corrosion and Prevention, Chemical Engineering Machinery, Chemical Industry Automation.

Nanjing Chemical Industrial Motive Power Specialization School

Chemical Industry Electrification, Chemical Industry Thermal Energy Engineering, Chemical Engineering Instruments and Meters.

Huainan Coal College

Coalfield Geology and Prospecting, Underground Mining, Coal Mine Shafts, Coal Mine Mechanization, Coal Electrification Automation, Coal Mining Machinery Manufacture and Repair.

Shanghai Ocean Shipping College

Ocean Vessel Navigation, Turbine Management (a 5-year course), Ship Electrification Automation, Computer Technology, Harbor Machinery Designing and Manufacture, Waterway Transportation Management Engineering, Waterway Transportation Economics.

Wuhan Waterway Transportation Engineering College

Ship Designing and Building, Shipbuilding Technology and Equipment, Ship Mechanics, Ship Internal Combustion Engine, Ship Power Installation, Shipbuilding Technological Equipment Automation, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Welding, Harbor Machinery Designing and Manufacture, Ships and Harbor Electrification, Computer Application Technology.

Xian Highway College

Automobile Utilization Engineering, Automobile Utilization Engineering Specialization, Transport Designing Specialization, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Metal Hot-Working Technology, Traffic Automatic Control, Highway Transportation Management, Highway Transportation Finance and Accounting, Road Construction Machinery, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Engineering Mechanics.

Nanjing Navigation Engineering Specialization School

Harbor Hydraulic Structures, Navigation Channels Maintenance Engineering, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Engineering Machinery.

Jimei Ocean Navigation Specialization School

Ship Piloting, Ship Turbines, Ship Electrical Work.

East China Jiaotong University (Nanchang)

Industrial and Civilian Construction, Electric Locomotives, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment.

Changsha Railroad College

Railroad Transportation, Computers (software), Automatic Control, Railroad Engineering, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Internal Combustion Locomotives, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Railroad Engineering Machinery, Railroad Cars.

Dalian Railroad College

Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Welding Technology and Equipment, Casting Technology and Equipment, Forging Press Technology and Equipment, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Internal Combustion Locomotives, Railroad Cars, Industrial Electricity Automation.

Nanjing Post and Telecommunication College

Telecommunications Engineering, Radio Engineering.

Wuxi Light Industry College

Light Industry Machinery Manufacture and Equipment, Light Industry Automation Specialization, Light Industry Synthetic Fermentation Technology, Sugar Refining Technology, Grain Processing and Machinery, Fat Processing Engineering.

Tianjin Light Industry College

Pulp and Paper Making, Plastics Shaping Processing, Salt Refining, Salt Industry Chemistry, Salt Refining Machinery.

Jingdezheng Ceramics College

Ceramic Manufacture, Ceramic Machinery.

Shanghai Construction Materials Industrial Specialization School

Inorganic Materials Engineering (glass), Gelatinous Materials and Products, Construction Material Machinery, Construction Materials Industry Automation.

Chengdu Geological College

Geology, Geological Mineral Survey, Rock Mineral Analysis, Hydrological Geology, Engineering Geology, Petroleum Geology, Geophysical Prospecting, Petroleum Physical Prospecting, Petroleum Physical Prospecting Specialization Class, Terrestrial Centrospheric Probing Class (earthquake class), Radiative Minerals Geology, Radiative Physical Prospecting.

Anhui Engineering College (Hefei)

Tractors, Automobiles, Agricultural Machinery, Casting Technology and Equipment, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Machine-Making Technology and Equipment, Internal Combustion Engine, Industrial Electricity Automation.

Wuhan Grain Industry College

Department of Grain Processing Engineering, Department of Fat Engineering.

Zhejiang Engineering College (Quxian)

Pesticides Manufacture and Application.

Anhui Agricultural College (Suxian)

Machine Processing of Tea.

Shandong Engineering College (Jinan)

Electricity Relay Protection and Automation, Welding Technology and Equipment.

Huaqiao University (Quanzhou)

Applied Mathematics, Computer Software, Physics, Chemistry, Industrial Civilian Construction, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Chemical Engineering.

Fuzchou University

Applied Mathematics, Computer Mathematics, Computer Software, Computer Technology, Physics, Radio Technology, Physical Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Inorganic Chemical Engineering, Basic Organic Chemical Engineering, Chemical Engineering Machinery, Industrial Electricity Automation, Power Plants and Electric Power Systems, Electrical Machinery and Electrical Appliances, Machine-Making Technological Equipment and Automation, Casting, Metal Materials and Heat Treatment, Industrial and Civilian Construction, Water Conservancy and Hydroelectric Projects Construction, Roads and Bridges, Regional Geological Survey and Mineral Investigation, Mining Engineering, Light Industry Machinery, Food Technology.

Fujian Construction Engineering Specialization School

Industrial and Civilian Construction.

Zhongshan Medical College (Guangzhou)

Medical Science (a 6-year course).

Wuhan Medical College

Medical Science (a 5-year course) Hygiene (a 5-year course), Environmental Medicine (a 5-year course), Pediatrics (a 5-year course).

Shanghai Railroad Medical College

Medical Treatments (a 5-year course).

Nantong Medical College

Sea Navigation Medical Science (a 5-year course).

Nanjing Pharmaceutical College

Pharmaceutics, Materia Medica Analysis Specialization, Traditional Chinese Medicine, Chemistry, Pharmacy.

Fujian Medical University

Medical Treatment (a 5-year course).

Fujian Traditional Chinese Medicine College

Traditional Chinese Medical Treatment (a 5-year course), Osteological Surgery (a 5-year course).

Shanghai Second Medical College

Pediatrics (a 5-year course), Oral Surgery (a 5-year course).

Northeast Forestry College (Harbin)

Wild Animals, Felling and Transportation of Timber, Forestry Economy, Application and Repair of Forestry Machinery, Carpentry, Machine Designing and Manufacture.

Nanjing Forestry Products Industrial College

Synthetic boards, Forestry Machinery Designing and Manufacture, Forestry Machinery Application and Repair, Mechanization of Felling and Transportation of Timber, Forestry Chemical Industrial Pulp and Paper Making Unit, Forest Diseases and Insect Pests Prevention and Treatment, Forestry, Parks.

Chengdu Meteorological College

Meteorology, Meteorological Survey Technology, Meteorological Communications, Meteorological Radar.

South China Tropical Crops College (Hainan Island)

Tropical Crops Cultivation, Tropical Crop Produce Processing, Tropical Plants Protection, Tropical Horticulture, Tropical Crop Mechanization.

Jiangsu Agricultural College

Mechanical and Electrical Irrigation.

Fujian Agricultural College (Sanming)

Agronomy, Plant Protection, Fruit Trees, Tea, Animal Husbandry, Agricultural Machinery, Vegetables, Pedological Agrochemistry, Agricultural Economic Management.

Fujian Forestry College (Nanping)

Forestry, Economic Forest, Forest Protection Specialization, Felling and Transportation, Machine Processing of Lumber, Forest Products Chemical Industry, Pulp and Paper Making Specialization.

Xiamen Marine Products College (Jimeizheng)

Fishing Vessel Motors, Refrigeration Technology, Sea Water Breeding.

Suzhou Railroad Teachers College

Mathematics.

Fuzhou Teachers College Specialization Class

Geography (recruitment focused in Fuzhou, Jianyang, Ningde and Putian).

Fuqing Teachers Specialization School

Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physical Culture (recruitment focused in Putian and Jinjiang).

Jinjiang Area Teachers College Specialization Class

Mathematics.

Longqi Area Teachers College Specialization Class

Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics.

Longyan Teachers College Specialization Class

Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics.

Sanming Area Teachers College Specialization Class

Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physical Culture (recruitment focused in Sanming, Longqi and Longyan).

Nanping Teachers Specialization School

Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics.

Ningde Teachers Specialization School

Mathematics, Biology (recruitment focused in Ningde, Sanming and Jianyang), Physical Culture (recruitment focused in Ningde and Jianyang).

Anhui Finance and Commerce College (Bengbu)

Cotton Processing and Inspection.

Tianjin Commercial College

Refrigeration.

Hangzhou Commercial College

Meat and Food Sanitation, Commercial Electronic Technology.

Navy First Surface Vessel School (Luda Municipality)

Surface Vessels Department Chiefs, Sea Lane Survey.

Navy Higher Electronic Engineering Specialization School (Taiyuan, Shanxi)

Radio Communication Engineering (a 4-year course), Naval Vessel Radar Engineering (a 4-year course).

Navy Medical School (Nanjing)

Military Medicine Class.

Nanchang Army School

Military Command (already recruited).

The Liberation Army Physical Culture College (Guangzhou)

Military Command Specialization (already recruited).

The Chinese People's Liberation Army Antiaircraft Artillery School (Zhengzhou)

Military Command Specialization (already recruited).

Shanghai Physical Culture College

Fujian Physical Culture College (Jimei Municipality)

Department of Physical Culture, Department of Athletics.

Literature and History Group

Key Institutes of Higher Learning and the First Group of Recruiting Schools:

Sichuan University (Chengdu)

History, Japanese Language.

Zhongshan University (Guangzhou)

History, Archaeology, Philosophy, Economics, Jurisprudence, Chinese Language and Literature.

Wuhan University

Law, French Language.

Fudan University (Shanghai)

Journalism, History, Philosophy, Political Economy, Political Science, World Economy.

Nanjing University

Chinese Language and Literature, Philosophy, Economic Management.

Xiamen University

Chinese Language and Literature, English, Japanese, French, History, Archaeology, Political Economy, Statistics, Accounting, Public Finance, Banking, Foreign Trade (the same qualifications as those applying for specialization in English), Business Administration, Philosophy, Jurisprudence.

Shandong University (Jinan)

Philosophy, Economic Management, Scientific Socialism, Chinese Language and Literature, History, World History.

Beijing University

Chinese Literature, Chinese Language, Classical Literature, World History, Political Economy, International Politics, Law, Economic Law, Burmese Language and Literature (a 5-year course recruiting from English language candidates), English Language and Literature, French Language and Literature (test in French or English).

China People's University (Beijing)

Philosophy, Political Economy, History of International Communist Movement, History of the Chinese Communist Party, Industrial Economic Management, Agricultural Economic Management, Commercial Economy, National Economic Planning, Statistics, Finance and Banking, Financial Accounting, Journalism, Archive Science.

Nankai University (Tianjin)

Chinese Language and Literature, World History.

Jilin University (Changchun)

Political Economy.

Central Nationalities College (Beijing)

Philosophy, Political Economy, History, Chinese Language and Literature.

East China Teachers University (Shanghai)

School Education, Philosophy, Economics, Political Education, Chinese Language and Literature, History, Library Science.

Beijing Teachers University

Department of Chinese, Department of History, Department of Philosophy, Department of Political Economy, School Education (candidates for natural sciences are acceptable), Preschool Education.

Fujian Teachers University

Political Education, Chinese Language and Literature, History, Music (already recruited), Fine Arts (already recruited).

Beijing Foreign Trade College

Foreign Trade English, Customs Administration (the same qualifications as candidates for foreign languages).

The Chinese People's Liberation Army Nanjing Foreign Language College

English.

Southwest Politics and Law College (Chongqing)

Law, Criminal Investigation.

International Relations College (Beijing)

English, Japanese (to be selected from among the applicants for the English language).

Applicants for the above two categories of specialization who speak the Minnan [southern Fujian] dialect will be given preference.

Beijing Foreign Languages College

French.

General Universities and Colleges:

Jinan University (Guangzhou)

Journalism, Chinese Language and Literature, History, Industrial Economy, Commercial Economy, Political Economy, Accounting, International Banking.

Central South Nationalities College (Wuhan)

Political Science, Chinese.

Hangzhou University

German.

Shanghai Mechanical Engineering College

Scientific and Technical English, Scientific and Technical German.

Shanghai Ocean Shipping College

Water Transportation Finance and Accounting, Oceangoing Shipping Operations (the same qualifications as required of applicants for the English language).

Changsha Railroad College

English.

Jingdezheng Ceramics College

Ceramic Arts Designing (already recruited), Ceramic Arts Carving (already recruited).

Shanghai Construction Materials Industrial Specialization School

Construction Industry Finance and Accounting.

Hebei Geological College (Xuanhuaxian)

Geological Planning Statistics, Geological Finance and Accounting.

Fuzhou University

English Language College Specialization (a 2-year course).

Suzhou Railroad Teachers College

Chinese.

Fujian Teachers College

English Language, Japanese Language.

Fuzhou Teachers College Specialization Class

English, Chinese, History (recruitment focused in Fuzhou, Jianyang, Ningde and Putian).

Jimei Teachers Specialization School

English, Chinese, Fine Arts (already recruited, recruitment focused in Xiamen, Sanming, Jinjiang, Longqi and Longyan), Music Specialization (already recruited, recruitment focused in Xiamen, Jinjiang and Longqi).

Fuqing Teachers Specialization School

English, Chinese.

Jinjiang Area Teachers College Specialization Class

English, Chinese, History (recruitment focused in Jinjiang, Longqi and Longyan), Political Education (recruitment focused in Jinjiang, Longqi and Longyan).

Longqi Area Teachers College Specialization Class

English, Chinese.

Longyan Area Teachers College Specialization Class

English, Chinese.

Sanming Area Teachers College Specialization Class

English, Chinese.

Nanping Teachers Specialization School

English, Chinese, Political Education (recruitment focused in Jianyang, Sanming and Ningde).

Ningde Teachers Specialization School

English, Chinese.

Shanghai Foreign Trade College

Foreign Trade (the same qualifications as required of applicants for foreign languages), Foreign Trade English.

Shanghai Finance and Economics College

Accounting, Public Finance, Capital Construction Financing and Credit, Political Economy, International Banking, Banking, Industrial Economy, Commercial Economy, Statistics.

Jiangxi Finance and Economics College (Nanchang)

Public Finance, Capital Construction Financial Credit, Industrial Finance and Accounting, Business Finance and Accounting, Agricultural Finance.

Hubei Finance and Economics College (Wuhan)

Public Finance, Capital Construction Financial Credit, Finance and Accounting.

Anhui Finance and Trade College (Bengbu)

Industrial Finance and Accounting, Business Economy, Business Finance and Accounting, Planning Statistics.

Hangzhou Commercial College

Business Administration, Business Finance and Accounting, Commercial Planning Statistics.

Nanjing Grain and Economics College

Planning Statistics, Finance and Accounting.

Navy Higher Electronics Engineering Specialization School (Taiyuan, Shanxi)

English (a 4-year course).

East China Politics and Law College (Shanghai)

Law.

Shanghai Foreign Languages College

English, Japanese, Spanish.

Fujian Art School College Specialization Class (Fuzhou)

Play Writing (recruited ahead of schedule).

Notes:

1. Any course of study not designated as a department is a specialization course.

2. Each of the colleges, universities and specialization units is assigned a code number. All applicants for matriculation must fill out the applications according to the code numbers of the college, university and specialization unit as published in the "Student Recruiting Newsletter."

5360
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PARTY AND STATE

BLIND ALLEGIANCE TO MARXISM-LENINISM DECRIED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 p 49-53

[Article by Wen Hui [3306 8748]: "Marxism-Leninism Under Challenge--Four Criticisms of the 'Four Insistences'; On 'Upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought'; The fourth of the 'Four Insistences' is 'Upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought;' A Grave Crisis of Faith Has Arisen in Marxism; Which Is It To Be, Party Leadership or Marxism-Leninism?"]

[Text] As a matter of fact, from the standpoint of the Chinese communists, the most fundamental and most important thing has to be to uphold the scientific ideology of Marxism. This is because the scientific ideology of Marxism includes socialism, people's democracy, the functions of the party and whatever these things entail. At present, the highest decision-makers of the CCP especially emphasize "upholding the leadership of the party," identifying this one "upholding" as the core of the "four insistences." However, should party leadership deviate from the scientific ideology of Marxism, would this kind of "leadership" have to be "upheld"? Someone may say; "Our party is a Marxist-Leninist party," in which case one may ask, whether this "Marxist-Leninist" party has ever been "not so Marxist-Leninist" during half of the past 60 years? After the overthrow of the "gang of four" and before the Third Plenary Session, have there not occurred instances when the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism was very markedly not upheld? The answer to these questions can only be, yes. In that case, doesn't upholding the scientific ideology of Marxism have priority over the other "upholdings" and over the "upholding of the party leadership," and should it not be upheld first of all and with special emphasis?

Some Important Reasons for the Crisis of Faith in Marxism-Leninism

The serious questions are, first, that a crisis of faith in Marxism has arisen in China, and second, that many self-affirmed believers in Marxism-Leninism in powerful positions will still to this day in some questions firmly uphold non-Marxist viewpoints and methods.

In present-day China, there are many who basically never believed in Marxism-Leninism and there are also many who have turned from believers in Marxism-Leninism into non-believers. Why should a crisis of faith in Marxism-Leninism have arisen? There are several reasons. First, some theses of Marxism-Leninism have already become outdated (to be discussed later in more detail). Second, for many new questions and new conditions that have arisen in modern and contemporary times, there are no explanations in the writings of Marx and Lenin (to be discussed later, here only briefly noted). Third, China made a bad job of socialism during the last 30 years and the people blame Marxism-Leninism for it. Four, Mao Zedong and his men gave out their left-deviationist mistakes and their left-deviationist line as true Marxism-Leninism, while it was actually false Marxism-Leninism. The people who had believed in the false and had taken it for true, later recognized the false goods and now don't want to believe even in the genuine. Five, some corrupt party members and cadres have frequently taken advantage of their powerful positions and under the guise of phony theories frightened people, gave people harsh dressingdowns, "rectified" people, thereby arousing much animosity so that people now don't want to have anything to do with those men and their Marxism. Indications of this crisis of faith have not been eliminated even after the Third and the Sixth Plenary Session.

Indications That the Crisis of Faith has not yet been Eliminated

During the time from the Third to the Sixth Plenary Session, the CCP has expended great energy on bringing order out of chaos and has accomplished achievements in its economic readjustment. However, the leftist poison is far from being eliminated. Some people believe that they do every movement on the political stage in Marxist-Leninist style, but in fact they are very deficient. For instance, on socialist democracy, which Marxism regards as highly important, they talk a lot and do little, even sometimes proceed in exactly the opposite direction. Democracy means that the minority must obey the majority, but these people always want the broad masses (esteemed by Mao as "the true heroes") to obey their commands and their will, that is, of the self-styled Marxists. The least that democracy demands is freedom of speech, but they will not give the people true freedom of speech, even academic freedom is not tolerated. Those in high positions have the freedom to utilize the newspapers as their big stick against writers of liberated ideologies, but the common people have no freedom to fight back against these big stick tactics. The article by the special correspondent of the JIEFANGFUN BAO [PLA NEWSPAPER], which criticizes the article by Bai Hua [4101 2901], aroused public indignation, but in what newspaper could an article be published that expressed this public indignation? From Beijing to the various localities there are 20 provincial and municipal newspapers that reprint articles from the PLA newspaper, where has there ever been a newspaper that would print an article which directly criticizes anything in the PLA paper? Some argue that since the Chinese have suffered the feudal poisoning so profoundly, democracy must be introduced along the conventional ways, it cannot be rushed. There is some truth in this, but why can't certain highly placed Chinese communists take the lead in advance of the masses, "be the first in line" to demonstrate democratic conduct and "set the tune with one beat of the gong"? We hear them vociferously emphasizing that the four principles must be observed and that Marxism-Leninism must be firmly upheld, but they either are completely ignorant of, or have completely forgotten the socialist democratic doctrines of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels said in 1848: "The first step in the workers' revolution is to raise the proletariat to become the ruling class and to strive for democracy."[1] This sentence fully demonstrates the importance that Marx and Engels attributed to democracy. It may be explained as: the first step of the workers' revolution is to establish a democratic regime of the proletariat.

The Chinese revolution has gained its victory already over 30 years ago, but how much democracy have the proletariat and the entire people gained? Can this kind of a country be truly regarded as a socialist country? Since socialist democracy has not truly been realized, it is difficult to eliminate bureaucracy and a work style of prerogatives and privileges. This is the reason for great dissatisfaction among the masses. It is an important factor in the crisis of confidence in the CCP and one of the reasons for the crisis of faith in Marxism that China now experiences.

The Crisis of Faith in Marxism-Leninism is a World Problem

Some say the crisis of faith in Marxism is not only being experienced in China, but is a worldwide phenomenon. That is a fact. I have had contact with some French writers and correspondents who in the late sixties, influenced by the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Red Guard" movement, had become ardent devotees of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In France they joined "rebellious" movements, including street demonstrations, occupation of schools, etc, but now they not only do not believe anymore in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but did not even give their votes in the French general elections to the French communist party which pursues a policy of Eurocommunism. In a scholarly report on his experiences in Japan, Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678] said the Japanese workers do not yearn for socialism like 20 years ago, because they have seen nothing good come from socialism. There was a time in the fifties when many people pinned their hopes on China, but later when seeing how slow China's livelihood remained one of bitter hardships, China had no more attraction for them.

The reasons why the crisis of faith in Marxism has become a kind of worldwide epidemic are basically the same as the reasons we mentioned earlier for the crisis in China. Once, the red star shone so brightly on top of the Kremlin and gave infinite lustre to Marxism. After socialism suffered its serious setbacks in the Soviet Union, the hopes from all corners of the world flowed in one hot current toward Zhongnan Lake [seat of government] in Beijing. However, when China staged the "Cultural Revolution" and revealed the serious defects of an overweening, "Marxist" CCP and an overweening over "socialist" China, the rivers and rivulets of hot current cooled off and the crisis of faith in Marxism-Leninism deepened considerably.

At present, the CCP energetically advocates the "four insistences" and advocates to "firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought" in order to overcome the crisis of confidence and the crisis of faith, and to have the whole party and the whole people unite and advance under the guidance of the party and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. But is this an easy thing to accomplish? Let us here first discuss "upholding Marxism-Leninism."

How Do We Today Look Upon the Tenets of Marxism?

Lenin's Overstatement Regarding the Omnipotence of Marxism

Lenin gave some clear explanations of the concepts and substance of Marxism. He said: "Marxism is the system of Marx's viewpoints and doctrines. Marx is the inheritor and talented perfector of three ideological trends in the three most advanced countries of the 19th century. These three ideological trends are: the classical philosophy of Germany, the English classical school of political economics and French socialism, a combination of French revolutionary doctrines in general. Marx's viewpoints were extremely thoroughgoing and tightly knit, which even his enemies acknowledge. The sum total of these viewpoints form modern materialism and modern scientific socialism and constitute the theoretical guiding principles for the labor movements in all civilized countries of the world."[2] According to Lenin's analysis, Marxism has three components: one is the dialectic materialism and historical materialism, one is political economics and one is socialism.[3] Lenin condensed the high value that he attributed to Marxism into one short sentence: "The doctrines of Marxism are omnipotent because they are correct."[4]

Lenin made a fairly penetrating analysis of Marxism, but his formulation of its omnipotence is not very accurate.

Certain Political-Economic Viewpoints of Marxism No More Fit Today's Conditions

Are Marx's doctrines really "omnipotent"?

The philosophical principles in Marxism leave little room for argument. The priorities given to materialism, practice, the unity of opposites, the developmental viewpoints, historical materialism, etc, we must admit, are universal truths, applicable everywhere and fitting all localities. To call them "omnipotent" is not saying too much. However, those parts of Marxism that deal with political economics and socialism are not that kind of a panacea. Marx wrote "Das Kapital" in the 19th century. It analyzes 19th century capitalism. The views expressed in this book are of great usefulness regarding all capitalist production relations. However, to deal only with the value of labor, surplus value, and the laws of profit averaging at the time when capitalism developed, toward the end of the 19th century, is obviously not enough. That means that it is not enough to use only "Das Kapital" to explain modern capitalism.

To give an example, the direct production concept of the past basically comprises manual workers with the addition of technical personnel directly engaged in production in enterprises. However, following the development of science and technology, the technical and scientific level of the tools of production rose very rapidly, machines widely replaced men, even robots become more and more common, and the concept of the direct production force has already undergone a great change. That means the scientific and technological development greatly accelerated the development of the social production force and greatly influenced the economic formation of society. The economic crises of capitalism also gave rise to new and different forms. If one were to cling doggedly to "Das Kapital" in an examination of the changes of capitalism, it would be impossible to understand all these questions.

Let met cite another example. Marx set forth his thesis of the ever increasing impoverishment of the proletariat on the basis of the conditions of the working class in the 19th century, which obviously does not fit conditions in the 20th century and particularly not the conditions of today. In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels said in 1848: "The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence on his own class. The laborer becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth."[5] In 1865 Marx said: "The general trend of capitalism production does not tend to raise the average wage level, but tends to lower that level."[6] When discussing the process of capital accumulation, Marx says in his "Das Kapital": "In this transformation process of plundering and monopolizing, the whole interest capitalist tycoons continuously decrease, while the degree of impoverishment, oppression, enslavement, deterioration and exploitation steadily deepens."[7] However, what are the actual conditions? The livelihood of the workers is by no means rapidly deteriorating, especially after the war, the actual wages of workers in most countries of Europe and America have increased. Taking the manufacturing industries as example and comparing 1970 with 1949, the increases in America and England were 48.8 and 46.1 percent, respectively. In France, Japan and West Germany the increases were as high as 120 to 289 percent. After 1970, wages of workers in the manufacturing industries of these countries have continued to go up. It is a ridiculous attitude, and not at all seeking truth from facts, if some people "defend Marxism" by "proving" with methods that come close to sophism that the "impoverishment" is one of the universal truths.

Some Marxist Theories on Socialist Revolution Have Their Practical Limitations

Marx's doctrines on socialism are more brilliant than anything in the socialism of his time. He directly took over the positive elements in the utopian socialism of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but as pupil surpassed his masters. Fourier once published an advertisement calling on rich people to support with their contributions the happier new communities that he was organizing. He waited respectfully day and night but to the end of his days never saw any kind and benevolent elders. Marx was quite different from these utopian thinkers; he fundamentally remolded socialism and laid his theoretical foundation on the law of social development. However, even so, Marx's socialist doctrines are also not unassailable.

It is a well-known fact that Marx and Engels predicted that the revolution, which they had envisioned, would first break out in countries with advanced production forces and well-developed capitalism (as e.g., England, France and Germany), but in the end it was successful first in Russia, a country with rather backward production forces and not very well developed capitalism. China before its revolutionary victory was an even poorer and more backward country in a semifeudal, semicolonial state. This historical development shows that certain Marxist theories on socialism had their limitations of space and time.

Some Marxist Ideas on Socialist Economic Forms are Not Feasible in Actual Practice

To cite another example: The basic features of the economic formation in the socialism envisaged by Marx were that on the foundation of a socialized production, there would be common and joint work by the whole society, common property; distribution would be direct and there would be no need for commodity exchanges, therefore also no need for money and also no markets. Later social practice has shown that all this is not feasible. The communist chief of Cambodia, Pol Pot, once carried out this kind of socialism. The result was that he created a complete chaos in every phase of the Cambodian economy, and its political and military affairs. If people accuse Pol Pot of suffering the disease of extreme "leftism" he could very well defend himself by asserting that he followed the doctrines of Marx. Even though this was a blind and indiscriminate application, it was a manifestation of "leftism." This leftism is a divorcing of oneself from the realities, divorcing oneself from time and space and the set conditions. There is bound to be a difference between Marx's understanding of socialism 100 years ago and the practice of socialism in our days.

Many Marxist Theories Meet New Challenges in the Present World

The fact is very clear that Marxism is one field of scholarship. "Learning has no limits," and scholarship also has no limits, which means it has to be continuously supplemented, revised and developed. At Tokyo University there are two courses of economic theories, course No 1 and course No 2. The one called economic theories No 1 deals with Marxist economics, and the course economic theories No 2 deals with modern economics. Both are required courses. It is said that 15 years ago, Marxist economics was in dominant position in Japanese universities, but that it was later displaced by modern economics. Why could this situation arise? Probably because the economic doctrines of Marxism cannot explain certain important economic questions in the present society. Actually, quite a number of questions require authoritative answers, for instance, what after all is the developmental law of capitalism? What are the future prospects of the capitalism world? What new changes have occurred in the economic contradictions and economic crises in the capitalist countries? What forms and patterns should labor movements in those countries adopt? What will be the future prospects of socialism? ... To this date, there has been not one Marxist theoretician to write a substantial and convincing book that would reply to these questions. We may therefore say that Marxism is directly facing the challenge of new historical developments, new conditions and new problems.

How Do We Look Today at Leninism?

During the more than 100 years from Marx and Engels to our days, Lenin has been an outstanding theoretician in the development of Marxism. He revised and supplemented the Marxian thesis that the revolution will gain its first victory in a country of well-developed capitalism and other theses,[8] and he analyzed the characteristic traits of the post-Marx capitalism world.[9] However, Leninism, which Stalin called "Marxism of the imperialist and proletarian revolutionary period," is also not absolute truth, just as Marxism. Lenin's views and actions regarding some important problems have been erroneous.

Lenin's Theory on the Definite Impoverishment of Capitalist Workers Was Onesided

On the question of the impoverishment of capitalist workers, touched upon earlier, Lenin held a onesided view. In an article written in 1922, "The Impoverishment of the Capitalist Society," he said: "The wealth of the capitalist society is growing at an incredible speed, but the masses of workers are getting poorer day by day."[11] He explained this, based on German data: "The workers are definitely being impoverished, they are simply getting poorer and poorer, their livelihood is deteriorating, their food is bad and not enough, they crowd into cellars and attics."[12] Lenin's "definite impoverishment" was aimed against the statement of "no impoverisnment" made by "certain opportunists." However, the historical facts later made it clear that on this question it was not Lenin, but the "certain opportunists" who were right. There are still today some people in Chinese academic circles who defend Lenin's "absolute impoverishment, "some also saying that Lenin at that time spoke of "the conditions of livelihood of German workers at a certain period of time; Lenin did not refer comprehensively to the conditions of workers in various countries at that time." This is certainly not an attitude of seeking truth from facts. After he had set forth the view of the workers' impoverishment in his "Impoverishment of the Capitalist Society," he again said "Take some data from Germany as example," so how can one say that Lenin was only speaking of conditions in Germany? Actually, from the title of the article alone we can see that Lenin intended to deal with this problem as being of a universal nature.

Lenin's Theory and Policy of "War Communism" Had Dire Consequences for the Soviet Union

This is one example. Another example that can be cited from the Lenin era is the "War Communism." Beginning in 1917, Russia gradually instituted "War Communism." Lenin and the Russian communists (Bolshevik) believed that instituting "War Communism" would be a direct transition to communism. "War Communism" consisted mainly of the following: requisitioning of surplus grain, the peasants having to sell to the state all agricultural, animal husbandry and agricultural by-products, no equivalent material to be received in return; all state enterprises instituted a system of highly centralized administration with one-man leadership, all domestic and foreign trade was nationalized, commodity trade and market economy was abolished, most manufactured goods were accounted in kind, distribution to consumers was also in kind, cash wages were almost totally abolished. Lenin said: "We firmly believed at that time that the peasants will provide us with all the grain we needed, according to the system of collecting their surplus grain. We would then have been able to distribute this grain to the workers in the various factories, and that we could institute a communist production and distribution."[13] The result of the "War Communism" was an economic, political and social crisis that grew worse day by day. In the great starvation of February 1921, millions starved to death. Lenin recounted the conditions of that time with grief and remorse: "In 1921, after we pulled through, and victoriously pulled through, the most serious stage of our civil war, we met with the great, and in my opinion most serious, internal political crisis of Soviet Russia. This crisis entailed not only dissatisfaction among a large section of the peasantry, but also dissatisfaction of the workers. At that time, the mood of the broad masses of the peasantry was, not consciously but instinctively, against us. This happened the first itme in the history of Soviet Russia, and I hope it will be the last time. What had brought about this special condition, which of course was also most unhappy for us? The reason was that we advanced too far in our economic assault. We did not ensure a sufficient base for ourselves. The masses felt that it was beyond our strength to make the direct transition to a form of pure socialism and a pure socialist distribution. If we would not have been able to effect a retreat, but merely carried out some easy tasks, we would have been in danger of utter destruction."[14]

Lenin admitted fully that the "War Communism" was a failure, a mistaken "frontal attack." In the spring of 1921, the "new economic policy" was instituted and the Russian economy gradually recovered. It is a pity that there are always people, be it in the Soviet Union (where it was Stalin) or in China, who stand facts on their head and who would sing the praises of the "War Communism" as a glorious chapter of Leninism. What China did in the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" is very similar to the "War Communism," and what Pol Pot did in Cambodia can even more be said to be a true replica of the Russian "War Communism." We realize from these facts that the CCP and other communist parties that call themselves Marxist have not learned a lesson from the mistakes committed in those years by Lenin and the Russian communists (Bolshevik).

The Formulation "Firmly Uphold Marxism" Deserves Further Exploration

If we now discuss the question of firmly upholding Marxism-Leninism, we believe it will be easy to come to a conclusion.

What Things in Marxism Are We To "Firmly Uphold?"

If we take "uphold Marxism-Leninism" to mean that we are to uphold every idea of Marx and Lenin, that would be not different from saying that we are to blindly adhere to Marxism-Leninism, that we are to indiscriminately copy everything of Marx and Lenin, without giving any considerations to time, space, conditions and concrete circumstances. "Upholding" in this way will of necessity have us commit the mistake of doctrinairism. Has the CCP not quite a few lessons in this respect to absorb?

If we take "uphold Marxism-Leninism" to mean to adhere to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the question is, what are the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism? Can this question be clarified in a short time? At present, Chinese theoreticians argue that question back and forth. Even if this question is cleared up, must we not also further study whether it is all of the Marxist-Leninist basic principles that are to be firmly upheld?

The Doctrines of Marxism-Leninism Are Products of History

In my opinion, the doctrines of Marx and Engels, the same as those of Sun Yatsen and Confucius, are all products of history. At certain historical periods there may appear various kinds of ideologies suited to that period. Among these, there are of course distinctive ideas and doctrines. We can state with confidence that as long as there are internal contradictions in the capitalist society and as long as socialism retains vitality, Marxism will not vanish from the world. The cloud of Marxism that hovers over Europe and America since the late fifties and especially since the early sixties is not getting more solitary and lacking company, but rather attracts more and more attention. "Enthusiasm for Marxism" appeared in West Germany, France, Italy, America and England, and engendered quite a number of Marxist schools of thought. In Germany, 400 different publications on Marx and Engels were published in the last few years.

In the academic circles of the more than 4,000 American universities, there are now 10,000 teachers who proudly embrace Marxism. Openly published Marxist newspapers, periodicals and books increase from day to day. This shows the great vitality of Marxism. Who will not puruse this "strange shadow" at the present stage of history?

The Relativity of Truth Determines That We Cannot Blindly 'Uphold' Marxism-Leninism

However, Marxism is certainly not absolute truth, it has to undergo the test of practice. Many of its concrete conclusions bear the limitation of time, space and historical conditions. In the past, Newton's doctrines in physics were considered as without error and as absolute truth without any points of doubt. But later it was discovered that Newton's physics could basically be applied only with low speed movements, and not in the area of high speed movements, for instance speeds close to the speed of light; it was therefore replaced by the theory of relativity. If even truth like Newton's physics, for a long time hailed as arrived at by accurate science and furthermore proved by longterm scientific practice, is found to have such limitations and to be of such relative nature, then we should not be surprised if dealing with the borderlines of truths arrived at in the social sciences these are found to include some relative and even erroneous elements. Lenin said: "All borderlines of truth in scientific principles are relative, they may broaden as knowledge increases or at other times restrict."[15] "Every truth if ... applied outside the sphere where it actually is to be applied can be made into a complete absurdity and moreover under these circumstances will of necessity turn into a complete absurdity."[16] Engels has said similar things, namely that what today is recognized as knowledge compatible with truth has inherently hidden in it erroneous aspects which may become apparent in future. Their statements agree with the objective realities.

All-inclusive "Upholding" of Marxism-Leninism Leads to Errors in Practice and Doctrinairism

We can therefore affirm with certainty that it would be a mistake if we would take the statements of Marx, Engels and Lenin word for word as truths, in the same way as if we would take Mao Zedong's statements word for word as truths. This is one thing, and another thing is that some views of Marx and Engels can possibly be truth today, but tomorrow possibly be found to be untrue or contain elements of error. If we then demand the "firm upholding of Marxism," should we not first clarify which principles are to be upheld now and which not? Truth is always concrete, so that we need a concrete analysis, concrete appraisal and concrete tests. If we do not distinguish which are by now outdated, which are correct and which are erroneous, but try to uphold each and every one of the principles, the result can only be an ideological confusion and moreover lead to errors in practice.

No Indiscriminate Labelling as Criminals and Big Stick Treatment for Those Who Probe Into the "Four Insistences"

Make no mistake, Marxism is a branch of science; science and scholorship must constantly be replenished and developed. But is it not also necessary to probe and investigate which aspects must be replenished, which aspects must be developed and which universal truths must be linked with actual practice, lest we commit the mistake of doctrinairism? All these questions have not yet been solved by Chinese theoreticians; probing into these questions is either going on or not yet taken in hand. Is it therefore not inappropriate to put forward an all-inclusive and rigid "firmly uphold Marxism" under these circumstances? If doubts are raised in these matters, is it not going too far to apply the big stick treatment and name-calling, such as "you oppose the 'four insistences'," "rightist deviationist, reactionary!" Mao Zedong once said: "You can't compel people to believe in Marxism."[17] If people who disbelieve Marxism are not to be labelled criminals, why should people be labelled criminals if they raise questions as to what is to be upheld? (End of first section; we shall publish in our next issue the second section on upholding Marxism, Leninism and particularly Mao Zedong Thought)

FOOTNOTES

1. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 489.

2. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 32.

3. Cf. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 25 and Vol 19, p 1.

4. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 1.

5. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 478.

6. Ibid., Vol 16, p 169.

7. Ibid., Vol 16, p 169.

8. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 431.

9. Ibid., Vol 22, p 179.

10. "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 6, p 63.

11. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 18, p 431.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., Vol 33, p 43.

14. Ibid., Vol 33, p 380.

15. Ibid., Vol 14, p 3.

16. Ibid., Vol 31, p 44.

17. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 368.

9808
CSO: 4005/923

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE ARRESTED, SENTENCED

Hong Kong CHISHI NIENTAI in Chinese No 9, Sep 81 pp 100-101

[Article by Shan Zhi [1472 0037]: "The Arrest of Tao Sen [7118 2773], general representative of Hunan students"]

[Text] The situation concerning the student movement at Hunan Teachers College was reported in CHISHI NIENTAI in December of last year. This article provides mainly a brief review and summing up of this movement.

This movement first started when Liang Heng [2733 1854] of the Chinese Department at Hunan Teachers College gave a speech in his department at 3 pm on 19 September 1980 recommending himself as a people's deputy, and ended at 4 pm on 19 June 1981 when college authorities announced 1981 Document No 4 (On Dismissal of Tao Sen From His Student Status) to all students of the college; altogether, it lasted 9 whole months. At 9 pm on 19 [June], after college authorities promulgated the document, a public security organ secretly sentenced Tao Sen to 3 years of education through labor and immediate dispatch to a labor reform farm under guard. This event was the concrete indicator of the conclusion of this movement.

On the basis of the development and evolution of the situation, the movement may be divided into three stages. In the first stage, from 19 September 1980 to the evening of 9 October 1980, the students went to the provincial party committee for the first time to present a petition. The second stage, from 9 October 1980 to the forenoon of 16 October 1980, consisted of their struggle in the form of a fast. In the third stage, from 16 October 1980 to the afternoon of 19 June 1981, Tao Sen was secretly arrested after the whole college had undergone political study.

The First Stage: Petition Presented to Provincial Party Committee

In the first stage: The cause of the students' democratic movement that shocked overseas circles may be viewed from three aspects.

1. The aspect of the political and legal institutions of the state. The promulgation of "The Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Governments of the People's Republic of China" and "The Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of the People's

Republic of China" by the Second Session of the political life of the people of the whole country. After the two laws came into effect on 1 January 1980, various localities in the country began direct election activities at varying paces. Hunan Teachers College started its election in the middle of September.

2. The aspect of the electors. Hunan Teachers College is in the 76th electoral district, in the western district of Changsha Municipality; its electors are mostly college students. Before they entered college, they were engaged in professions at various levels; e.g., as peasants, workers, soldiers, teachers, and cadres. Hence they had a clearer perception of the political and economic situation in Chinese society, and they had accumulated and suppressed strong dissatisfaction with the bureaucratism and privileged strata that had resulted from the appointment system and lifelong tenure system. Because they entertained an idealistic and romantic trust in these new laws, and also because the deputy candidate's explosive speech had provoked them, the enthusiasm in their minds, which longed to change the existing situation and establish a new order of life, quickly erupted.

3. The aspect of the cadres. Irrespective of the subjective intent on the part of the leaders at the highest level, because the two laws had come into effect and elections were already getting started, the cadres currently in office found themselves encountering a brand new issue. The longstanding "unified leadership" and the "appointment system" and "lifelong tenure system" in existence made such concepts as "legal system" and "democracy" completely foreign to the party cadres--so much so that members of the college election leading group told the students: "The Electoral Law will become effective only through our interpretation." They also unscrupulously increased the quota of deputy candidates. Naturally, the fact that for years the relationship between the party and the masses had been remote and tense, and that party cadres had taken no responsibility for the masses under their jurisdiction and looked down upon them (the leader of the college election leading group, college Vice President Su Ming [5685 2494], openly declared that he despised the student deputies), constituted one of the causes that prompted the movement to quickly rush into hightide this time.

In view of all of the foregoing--because of the implementation of the two laws which provided the possibility for this movement, because of the electors' longstanding feelings of dissatisfaction and, in addition, because of the existence of the college election leading group which hindered the exercise of democratic rights by the electors, and for many similar reasons--the student movement at Hunan Teachers College, with Liang Heng's first public speech in which he declared his "disbelief in Marxism-Leninism" as its overture, thus began vigorously.

The Second Stage: Struggle in the Form of Fast

In the second stage: Students entered the electoral movement one after another with a positive attitude in this stage; they openly expressed their personal views on various questions. This situation undoubtedly constituted an encouragement to their attempt to eliminate the longstanding suppression and their inferiority complex and also made them feel that they were erecting a positive self-image for themselves (e.g., through the poems and songs and the wall posters they put up at the time). But the "victory" of their second presentation of a petition on 9 October (the students called it a "victory," although the meaning of such a "victory" was rather vague and almost childish) brought the students into a state of blind optimism; this resulted in their failing to study strategy and put them in a defensive position later on. In the end, the students became divided internally, and the entire movement thus found it impossible to develop any further.

There were two reasons for the rise of this situation: 1. Insufficient theoretical preparations. Because the people's thinking had remained in a closed state over the years and, in addition, the movement had exploded quite suddenly, the participants in the movement lacked a clear understanding of the nature and meaning of the movement itself. They joined it merely because of their emotional resentment toward bureaucratic privilege. (This was specifically reflected in the questions asked of the candidates and in the slogans they shouted.) 2. Improper methods. After they presented their petition to the provincial party committee for the first time, the students regarded themselves as having won a "victory." This "victory" merely meant that the two demands made by the students were satisfied that evening: a) the demand that the provincial party committee regard the students' procession as legitimate; and b) the demand that the provincial party committee send out an investigation team. Actually, these two demands were entirely superfluous, because the Constitution already has explicit provisions on processions and, besides, the provincial party committee could very well do things perfunctorily by sending out a completely meaningless investigation team. Subsequent developments proved this point. In the end, the problems were not solved at all, and the students had to present a petition once again, thereby forcing themselves into a passive position.

Ordinarily, election is a right conferred upon a citizen by law; if anyone hinders a citizen in his exercise of this right, the latter should immediately appeal to the law and let the law adjudicate the case. In the case of these students going to the Hunan Provincial Party Committee to present their petition, the result, at most, was to cause the provincial party committee to dismiss Su Ming, the leader of the college election leading group, from office. Had the students brought an indictment and the case had been sent to court for trial (the people's procuratorate of the western district had already agreed to handle the matter at the time), then the significance of this student movement would have been distinctly different. Looking back, this has also had to do with the electors' own lack of any perception of the legal system. Naturally, they can hardly be blamed for this; for years the party and government were not separate, and the party committee often interfered with judicial administration. Everybody was under the control of the party committee of the unit to which he belonged, and matters big and small were all handled by the party organization. This made it natural that few people could believe they should be protected by the law.

The Third Stage: Students Divided; College Authorities Counterattack

In the third stage: Because of the internal division among the students after the fast (mainly because most students did not agree that Tao Sen and others should have gone to the capital to make accusations), the enthusiasm of many of them began to subside and the movement thus gradually calmed down. Just as Tao

Sen and others were maneuvering in Beijing, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress dispatched a three-man investigation team to conduct an investigation at Hunan Teachers College. Immediately after [the investigation], which lasted half a month, the election office of the National People's Congress handed down Document No 60, a document of eight articles whose main content was the proposition of how to deal with the errors in the work of the college election leading group. The second article criticized Vice President Su Ming by name and pointed out that it was his rude attitude that had provoked a radicalization of the contradictions. The last article of the document especially stressed that leaders at various levels should not attack or retaliate against the students. This document, however, came from a government department. Therefore, even though the college authorities made a public written self-examination, at a meeting of the party committee they still refused to acquiesce, saying: "This is not the voice of the Party Central Committee."

In 1981, after Document No 2 had been handed down by the Party Central Committee, the college authorities began to launch an overall attack against the students. They decided to suspend classes throughout the college for 3 days in order to conduct a study class in which on the one hand they let all students indicate their attitude on the "four adherences," and, on the other hand, they began to carry out public criticism with respect to the expressions and conduct of Liang Heng and Tao Sen. During those 3 days of political study, the results expected by the college authorities were not achieved. On the afternoon of the last day, on the contrary, a big-character wall poster was put up at the college; its contents satirized the clumsiness of the performance of the college authorities and sang the praises of the student movement. This big-character wall poster really stimulated the people's hearts at the time and attracted the attention of the vast ranks of teachers, students, staff, and workers. After taking a picture of this big-character wall poster, the college authorities tore it down and immediately launched an investigation by taking this as a counterrevolutionary incident. From then on, the students no longer raised their voices. The college authorities used all the methods employed in China's political movements of the past and did a great deal to create disunity and demoralization [among the students]. In the end, they succeeded in turning part of the students around to attack those students who had cooperated with one another. Finally, the college authorities exercised their power to take away Tao Sen's status as a student; thereafter, a public security organ secretly sentenced him to 3 years of forced education through labor. This was something not provided for in the Law on Criminal Procedure. In the case of Liang Heng, because he had already secured a visa to emigrate to the United States, the measure was limited to launching a vehement attack on his ideas in the province's institutions of higher learning.

Results and Effects

To sum up, this student movement in Hunan came to a close with the painful defeat of the students themselves. But the positive meaning which this movement imparted to the people's political life was perhaps beyond the calculation of the bureaucrats. Although all the participants in this movement quieted down, they have by no means lost heart. This restrospective article is itself a proof of this. Objectively summing up this movement, we can derive from it the following points:

1. The younger generation of China's intellectuals may become the vanguard of social reform once again, although they themselves are not yet quite mature.

2. The law, under the rule of bureaucrats and the privileged, is to a considerable extent false and deceptive.

3. Order maintained through violence and terror has made people even more indifferent toward politics and social life, and the relationship between the party and the masses has become even more tense.

4. In a certain given period (such as from the beginning of the election to the time prior to the dispatch of the Central Committee's Document No 2), because of the need of the highest level to carry out a power struggle and, in addition, because of certain appropriate means that the people can use, it is possible to get rid of some very bad bureaucrats and thereby ameliorate the people's situation to a certain degree.

5 July 1981

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 227

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22 October 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 227

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THAILAND'S PREM VIEWS KAMPUCHEAN ISSUE

OW080738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--Prime Minister of Thailand Prem Tinsulanon said here today that the Soviet-backed Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea continues to pose a tremendous challenge to Thailand's and ASEAN's efforts to restore peace and stability to the region.

Speaking at the National Press Club, the prime minister said although Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea, it nevertheless has a strong desire to see it brought to an end, for humanitarian reasons as well as for the stability and prosperity of Southeast Asia as a whole. However, he noted, an early end to the fighting in that country is not likely until a political solution can be found on the basis of the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea and other relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions.

Prem Tinsulanon went on to say the UN conference held in New York last July was a particularly important development. More encouraging still was the successful meeting in early September of three Kampuchean nationalist groups resisting Vietnamese aggression. Out of that meeting came a declaration of their collective intent to work together to free their country from foreign domination and to restore their people's right to self-determination. This is a vital task which deserves the strong support of the world community, he added.

He welcomed the United States' close working relations with ASEAN in the search for a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem.

The prime minister said as a "front-line" state in the struggle against the Soviet-backed Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea, Thailand will likewise continue to bear the responsibility for its own defense. Its ultimate success will also depend, however, on the support, both material and moral, of those countries with which Thailand shares a common interest in peace and stability.

On his talks with U.S. President Reagan and senior officials of the administration yesterday, the prime minister said these talks have reaffirmed his belief that relations between the United States and Thailand, "which have enjoyed already a long history of both cooperation and friendship, have never been closer than at the present time."

Prem Tinsulanon arrived here Monday for a working visit after attending UN General Assembly and is scheduled to leave tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/1

'XINHUA' CITES THAI PREMIER PREM'S UN ADDRESS

OW060244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0214 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of Thailand, this afternoon reiterated that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all states to non-involvement in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components to any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem.

The Thai prime minister was speaking at the 36th session of the General Assembly. He said that the situation in Kampuchea "continues to be of serious concern not only to Thailand, which is in the front-line, but also to the international community."

He stated that Thailand "is indeed gratified" at the outcome of the international conference on Kampuchea convened in July this year. The conference reaffirmed the fundamental principles, provided a reasonable framework for the comprehensive political settlement and outlined some modalities for achieving a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean problem, he observed.

Thailand hoped that the General Assembly this year would endorse the results of the conference and would proceed to build on the reasonable foundation, he declared.

Referring to the Indo-Chinese refugee problem, the Thai prime minister said there are half a million Indo-Chinese displaced persons from Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam in the holding centers in Thailand and in encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border. "This human tragedy has caused much human suffering and created both internal and external problems for Thailand as well," he said.

The ultimate solution of the problem "depends on a comprehensive political settlement particularly of the Kampuchean conflict," he stressed.

In Afghanistan, he continued, the situation directly involved a major power on account of its armed intervention and occupation of that country, which had in turn resulted in increasing tension and rivalry.

He declared that Thailand's position is to support wholeheartedly the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future free from external interference and coercion. "Thailand joins in urging the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, as well as in making the call for respect of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and nonaligned status of Afghanistan by all concerned," he stated.

CSO: 4000/1

BRITISH LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE ENDS AMID STRIFE

OW030920 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Brighton, England, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Britain's Labour Party today ended an annual conference which saw a new round of bitter internal strife.

In spite of their failure to wrest more power at the top of the party, the so-called left wing still claimed "successes" in making the conference adopt a number of policy decisions in their favour.

The conference voted in favour of an "unambiguous commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament." It voted against Britain's withdrawal from NATO.

The unilateralist resolution passed at the conference also advocates "unconditional opposition to the replacement of Polaris by Trident or any other system, and to the deployment of cruise missiles, the neutron bomb and all other nuclear weapons in or by Britain" and demands the closure of all nuclear bases in Britain as its "direct contribution to the creation of a European nuclear weapon free zone."

The conference repeated last year's resolution that the next Labour government should pull Britain out of the European Economic Community. Moving a step further than that, it turned down the call for a referendum to let the British people decide whether to come out or stay in the EEC.

On economic affairs, the conference approved an "alternative strategy" in sharp contrast to the monetarist economic policy of the conservative government.

The conference strengthened party leader Michael Foot's authority 11 months after his election to the post. Gladdened by this result, he appealed for party unity and a spirit of tolerance.

Deputy Leader Denis Healey retained his post by narrowly defeating his left-wing challenger, Anthony Benn. This was followed by another victory for the right wing who ousted five left-wing members from the National Executive Committee. The balance of power was thus altered between the two factions in this most important policy-making body of the party outside parliament.

But left-wing leader Anthony Benn refused to admit his defeat. "This is only the beginning, not the end," he told his supporters.

It remains to be seen whether Michael Foot can succeed in repairing the damage caused by the internal wrangling since the last general election and bringing the warring left and right factions together before the next general election in 1984.

CSO: 4000/1

YUGOSLAV PARTY VIEWS 'GRAVE' ECONOMIC SITUATION

OW011212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) held its 21st session today to discuss the internal economic situation and decided to hold the 12th LCY congress next June.

Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee, spoke at the session on the present economic situation and task in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia, he said, was facing a very grave economic situation and it was imperative to make every effort to overcome the present difficulty by relying on its own strength. The daily growing deficit in international payments and the piling debts to foreign countries have become an obstacle in the way of further development of the productive forces and improvement of the standard of living. The important and pressing task at present was to halt further deterioration of the economic situation and get rid of the danger of losing the ability to make repayment.

Culafic stressed that the only way to develop social economy was to stabilize the economy and there was no other choice. For this purpose, it was imperative to re-examine investments in all domains, reduce consumption and slow down the rise in living standards, economise in every way, oppose extravagance, and cut down overlapping administrative organizations. Culafic criticised squandering of social assets by giving banquets and making tours abroad on all kinds of pretexts.

He pointed out that the difficulty had not come from self-management, but the failure to carry out self-management well.

A number of proposals were raised at the session to cope with the present difficulty and unhealthy tendencies were criticised.

The session approved changes in some leading members of the LCY presidency.

CSO: 4000/1

BRIEFS

SINGAPORE ENVOY TO THAILAND MET--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--Liao Chengzhi, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, met at the Great Hall of the People this evening with Owyang Chi, Singapore ambassador to Thailand, and his family members. Owyang Chi, 84, arrived in Beijing 28 September on his third visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. The Singapore guests were entertained at banquets 28 September and yesterday given by Wang Bingnan, president of the host association, and Han Nianling, vice-minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [OW301521 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 30 Sep 81]

RECEPTION FOR JAPANESE BUDDHISTS--Beijing, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--The Buddhist Association of China gave a reception here this evening in honor of a delegation from Japan-China Friendship Yuko headquarters with Jitsuo Fujii as its advisor and Kakujun Inaoka as its leader. Zhao Puchu, president of the host association, Jitsuo Fujii and Kakujun Inaoka made speeches at the reception. They wished that the friendship between the Buddhists and other peoples of the two countries would be strengthened daily and developed. [Text] [OW071409 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 6 Oct 81]

JAPAN INCREASES AID TO EGYPT--Tokyo, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government has reiterated that it would continue extending positive cooperation to Egypt's nation-building program. It also declared that its aid to Egypt would increase. A decision to this effect was taken by the Japanese cabinet after reviewing the Middle East situation following the death of president Anwar al-Sadat. The Japanese Foreign Ministry held that "Egypt's stability is an essential factor for ensuring Middle East security. It is the key to Japan's Middle East policy." It has decided that the loan in cardinal numbers to be provided to Egypt would increase to 45,000 million yen annually as of next fiscal year. In the fiscal years from 1973 to 1980 Japan's total loans to Egypt came to 148,500 million yen with the 1980 loan reaching 37,500 million yen. Under the Foreign Ministry's policy, Egypt will be the recipient of the biggest loan from Japan outside of Asia. [Text] [OW081230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 8 Oct 81]

FOREIGN BUDDHISTS WORSHIP IN XIZANG--Lhasa, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--Over 800 Indians and Nepalese have paid homage to the Buddha at Kangrinboge of the Gandiise range and Mapam Lake in the Burang County, Tibet, since the beginning of this year. Among the worshippers were 18 Indians, including congress members, ministers, professors of Buddhism and journalists. Kangrinboge of the Gandiise range and Mapam Lake are regarded as "magic mountain and lake" by Tibetan Lamaists and Buddhists in India and Nepal. It is said that the brother of Sakyamuni, founder of Buddhism, preached Sutras in this "magic mountain" and bathed in this "magic lake." Many devoters in the past travelled long distances for 1 or 2 years to reach Burang County. Some died on the way. With the constant development of relations between China and Nepal and improved relations between China and India more worshippers are coming. A worship reception office was set up in Ngari Prefecture in September. [Text] [OW070728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 7 Oct 81]

PEN CENTER PRESIDENT TO ZURICH--Paris, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--Ba Jin, head of the Chinese Pen Centre delegation to the 45th international Pen conference, left here today for Zurich, Switzerland, while the other members of the delegation were flying back home. During the session held in Lyon, Ba Jin met and discussed with Pen Centre leaders of France, the United States, Poland, Japan, Britain, and other countries on the efforts to increase cultural contacts and interflow. After the conference, Ba Jin and other delegation members paid a call on the aged French writer, Vercors (pseudonym of Jean Bruller), and Irene Lipkowski, leader of a French women organization. Five of Ba Jin's works have been translated into French, including "Family," "Cold Night" and "The Garden of Repose." [Text] [OW301540 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 30 Sep 81]

FORMER BELGIAN MINISTER ON NATO'S DEFENSE--Brussels, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--It would be dangerous to allow the power gap detrimental to Europe to widen while Moscow does not slow down the pace of arms race it has been pursuing for many years, wrote former Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans in the latest issue of Belgian military weekly VOX. Tidemans, who is also the president of the European Popular Party, noted in the article that the 220 SS-20 missiles deployed by the Soviet Union have seriously impaired Europe's defence. Under such conditions, he continued, the installation of the Pershing II missile and the cruise missile decided by NATO members is "of great importance to the credibility of the West's defence system in Europe." If the plan was not implemented, Europe would be threatened by nuclear blackmail every day, he declared. On the neutron bomb, Tindemans pointed out that in view of Soviet superiority over NATO in the number of tanks, "neutron bombs, as a theatre defensive weapon to check tank attacks, will become a typical weapon in Europe's defence." "As history has taught us again and again, imbalance of power encourages aggression and imperialism would only stop where it meets resistance," he affirmed. [Text] [OW060722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 6 Oct 81]

USSR'S CONTROL OVER DRA--Tokyo, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--The Soviet military interventionists are practising a neo-colonialist policy in Afghanistan by intensifying their economic plunder of and control over Afghanistan, SANKEI SHIMBUN reported today. Since the Soviet occupation troops entered Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has ceased to pay Afghanistan for its supply of natural gas because it insisted that the Afghan Government should continue this supply as part of payment for its debt to the Soviet Union. It was said that the Afghan debt including the cost of maintaining the occupation army totalled U.S.$3,000 million. As a result, the fertilizer and power plants in northern Afghanistan now have to use coal in place of gas. The Soviet Union has also turned Afghanistan into its favourable market. Under the trade protocol signed this year, the two countries are required to exchange an equal amount of their home-made cement despite the fact that Soviet-made cement is inferior in quality while Afghan cement is up to the world standard and sold at a good price in the Asian market. All highways in Afghanistan are under the Soviet military control. New highways under construction in that country are running toward the Soviet border. By building a new highway network in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union aims to raise the stategic position of the area and turn it into a stronghold for the Soviet thrusts to the Indian Ocean. [Text] [OW261544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 6 Sep 81]

CSO: 4000/1

PARTY AND STATE

ANNIVERSARY OF 1911 REVOLUTION LED BY SUN YAT-SEN COMMEMORATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Dai Yi [2071 6654] and Li Wenhai [2621 2429 3189]: "A Review of Patriotism During the 1911 Revolution Period"]

[Text] During the 1911 revolution period, the patriotic spirit displayed by the Chinese people played a tremendous role in boosting their morale, in transforming the Chinese society and in pushing the wheel of history forward.

Carry on Historical Patriotic Tradition

At the beginning of the 20th century, China sank further into the semi-colonial status. In the face of armed aggression mounted by many imperialist powers against China, the increasingly decadent rule of the Manchu government placed the Chinese nation in critical danger of annihilation. In an effort to save the country from this danger of annihilation, many dedicated citizens devoted their energy to groping in a dark tunnel until they finally took the road of the revolution. In this connection, our great democratic revolutionary Sun Yat-sen said: After the Boxer movement failed, "the situation in our country became so critical and ominous that some dedicated citizens vied to do something to save the nation; and this was the seed of the revolutionary storm." ("Where There Is a Will, There Is Success")

At the crucial moment of the revolution, under the impact of patriotism, millions upon millions of people went to the battlefield, joined the struggle and laid down their lives heroically. The inaugural editorial of TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINA spoke highly of our motherland, saying: "China is the world's oldest civilization. Located in the world's largest continent, China is Asia's biggest country with a lovely history that spans several 1,000 years and lovely classic books recording events of the last 3,000 years. China where our 400 million compatriots live consists of 20 provinces crisscrossed by 5 mountain ranges and 4 beautiful rivers. Throughout the vast country, they can speak the same lovely tongue and communicate with the same lovely written language. China! China! We will worship and adore you and wish you well! We also want to loudly acclaim in the face of the entire nation: Long live China!" However, at that time, our lovely motherland fell prey to the imperialists. Endless wars tore the country apart, caused sufferings and misery everywhere, and made life more difficult than ever. By then, the people faced an impending danger of national annihilation. To the revolutionary group of that time, our motherland was both majestic weak, both rich and poor, both beautiful and shabby. This striking contrast made people realize even more that it was tragic, shameful and infuriating to see a country fall and die; and to feel even more that heroic struggle to save their country and people in defiance of death should be respected, admired and eulogized. The most celebrated propaganda publications at that time were REVOLUTIONARY ARMY which bitterly and indignantly warned thepeople of the impending threat to carve up our country; WARNING BELL which sorrowfully reported disasters and misfortune that hit our country and people; RECOLLECTION which angrily accused the imperialists of committing all sorts of crimes of aggression. All this deeply touched the hearts of the people, inspiring their patriotic zeal and boosting their revolutionary morale. At the beginning of the 20th century, the surge of the patriotic tide further awakened the masses causing the antiimperialist and antifeudal democratic revolution to take root in the hearts of the people, and to be understood, accepted and supported by them.

Although the various revolutionary groups which were organized during the period of the 1911 revolution had definite differences and even some differences in principle in their political views and platforms, it can be said that patriotism was their common idological base. This patriotic spirit was clearly reflected in their declarations, charters, oaths, and even in the names of organizations. The purpose of the earliest revolutionary organization, the Xingzhong Hul, was to "revitalize China to save its people from a castatrophe and to protect its entity from falling apart." As the situation developed, the subsequent revolutionary organizations became richer and clearer in the goals of their struggle, political programs, organizational discipline and strategic concepts. But they consistently cherished the basic idea of delivering the motherland and revitalizing the Chinese nation. Organs of some revolutionary organizations even went so far as to declare: "We can take pride in calling patriotism our common doctrine." (Declaration of TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINA)

The patriotic spirit drove the revolutionary people to take action to fulfill various missions regardless of sacrifices. Before plunging into the sea and drowning himself, Chen Tianhua [7115 1131 5478], in his "letter of determination to die," earnestly urged his comrades never to forget to "revive their nation." He said that he hoped that his death would arouse others "to bear their lovely country in mind, to study hard, and to save their motherland." Before trying to assassinate the five cabinet ministers about to go abroad, Wu Yue [0702 2887] wrote a farewell letter to his wife asking her to constantly raise her "patriotic spirit." Before the Huanghuagang uprising, Lin Juemin [2651 6030 3046] and Fang Shengdong [2455 5116 3159] wrote letters to their respective parents and wives proudly and affectionately telling their beloved ones that their willingness to die for the just cause stemmed from the belief that "their action may have an immediate impact on the destiny of their motherland and may bring perpetual happiness to the nation." To them, patriotism was not an abstract slogan but a spiritual force of the highest order which can inspire the people to give up their lives for a cause.

Integration of Patriotism and Revolutionary Democracy

The patriotism of the period of the 1911 revolution had a new content and characteristic, that is, it combined with revolutionary democracy, and became an ideological weapon to overthrow the feudal monarchy.

Our country's several thousand year history produced many national heroes who made outstanding contributions to their motherland. In their times, however, patriotism was always closely associated with loyalty to the emperor. There was no way to draw a line between the two things. They often pledged their loyalty to certain emperors or kingdoms of certain royal families. On the narrow base of conducting a life-and-death struggle for them, they performed earthshaking undertakings. In modern history, during the Opium War, the Chinese-French war, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 and the Boxer movement, the Chinese people joined many generals and soldiers of the Qing Dynasty in fighting heroically against the armed aggression of the imperialist powers, made heroic sacrifices, and displayed a noble patriotic spirit. During these bloody battles against the imperialists, most of them still considered themselves faithful subjects of the Aixin Goro dynasty, fighting to preserve the kingdom of the great Qing Dynasty. During the 1911 revolution, the Chinese people learned from practice that patriotism absolutely had nothing in common with the sense of loyalty to emperors. In order to truly love their country, to avoid the tragedy of national destruction and to develop and revitalize their nation, they had to first overthrow the Manchu government. In this connection, Sun Yat-sen said: "We all understand that the Manchu government is corrupt and hopeless. Unless autocracy is overthrown and its system is thoroughly reformed, our motherland cannot be saved." ("Documents on the Revolution Before the Founding of the Republic of China")

During the last decade of the 19th century, the basic belief of the progressive school of thought in China was that the only way to save the nation was to patch up and reform the decadent Qing government. During the first decade of the 20th century, the basic belief of the progressive school of Chinese thought was that the only way to save the nation was to wage a revolution to overthrow the rule of the Qing Dynasty. In other words, the concept of patriotism underwent a basic change in a short period of time, effecting a total break with the tradition of loyalty to emperors.

There were two main reasons why the bourgeois revolutionaries united patriotism and the struggle to overthrow the feudal autocracy:

First, the decadent Manchu government was the principal factor that led the nation to the abyss of poverty and backwardness and sped up its decline. The Manchu government still stubbornly rejected any reform despite the fact that the national, social and political crises had reached very serious proportions. This led the people to see clearly that there was no way to repair the dilapidated apparatus of the Manchu government, that it could not be saved, and that its continued existence would be the greatest calamity for the country and the people. "The Manchu government is actually the biggest obstacle to the enriching and strengthening of China." (Wu Yue's "Proposals") The people had no alternative but to overthrow this reactionary feudal political regime in order to clear the way for the realization of wealth and power.

Second, what was more important was that the Manchu government virtually had become "a foreign court." In exchange for support for its rule from the imperialists, the Manchu government was willing to take orders from them, and to submissively give up national interests, and "bribing them with land property and cash.

in order to curry favor with them, it was willing to sacrifice countless people's lives, to give up countless rights, to cede immeasurable tracts of land and to squander enormous amounts of money. If you review its political policy, there isn't one that doesn't play into the hands of foreigners and send us to our doom." (Han Ju's [3352 7457] "Construction of a New Government") In order to achieve independence, freedom and wealth and power for the nation and the people, it was essential to break with this traitorous regime.

The revolutionaries emphasized that it was necessary to distinguish the country and nation from the monarch and royal family--"If we do not want to see our country falling apart, we should distinguish between the imperial court and the country." (Shen Xiangyun's [3088 5046 0061] "Letter to Zhang Zhidong [1728 0037 3159]") Since a country is not private property of the monarch, the downfall of a dynasty does not mean the destruction of a country and a people. While praising the descendants of the Song and Ming dynasties for displaying their national righteousness so as to inspire the current struggle, the revolutionaries at that time pointed out that their blind loyalty to a single royal house should not be followed. "The descendants of the deceased Song and Ming dynasties always praised emperors Zhu and Zhao as representatives of their country. Today, it seems ridiculous because they could not tell the nation from a royal family." ("Mental State of Nationalism" by Zhu Zhixin [2612 1013 0207]) Although the proponents of the constitutional monarch chanted the hymns in praise of the endeavor to love the nation and preserve the race, they spared no effort to defend the decadent rule of the Manchu government and to stubbornly oppose the revolution. What they did was "harmful to the country instead of benefiting it."

When patriotism and revolutionary democracy converged, it immediately formed an ideological foundation in preparation for the ultimate overthrow of the more than 2,000-year-old feudal monarchy.

Merge of Patriotism and Concept of Learning From Foreigners

Another special feature of patriotism during the 1911 revolution was a call for learning from the foreign countries. At that time, the revolutionaries were full of confidence in the victory of the revolution and the future of their motherland. They believed that as long as their countrymen kept up their efforts to learn from foreign countries, they could certainly catch up with and overtake these countries.

China is a country known for its long history. For a long time, it had taken its place in the front rank of the world and was celebrated for its splendid civilization. But lately, it stagnated and lagged behind other countries, and fell victim to aggression by many imperialist powers. Using the theory of "natural selection" to explain the contemporary Chinese history, the bourgeois revolutionaries said: The current era was one marked by rapid advance. The world as a whole was in a period of acute competition. In an environment of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest," only by constantly strengthening ourselves and continuing to make progress could we survive. Otherwise, others would be butcherknives and our nation would become a piece of meat or fish and our nation could not possibly escape destruction. Although this theory failed to explain the nature of imperialist aggression in a scientific way, it was instrumental in awakening the Chinese people at that time to the impending danger of national disaster. The revolutionaries said: "Weakness will court humiliation." If our people were awakening and the country making progress, the vicious imperialists would feel reluctant to embark on any adventure against us. For this reason, in an effort to save our country from destruction, our primary task should be to mobilize the people to transform our society and to achieve self-renewal. "We should also remind the people that citizens make up a nation, and therefore should assume responsibility for its survival." (Inaugural Editorial of YUNNAN JOURNAL)

The revolutionaries pointed out: The key to the goal of self-strengthening lies in our efforts to learn from foreign countries and to search for truth of national salvation. First, we must study Western politics, and introduce the bourgeois political, legal and educational systems to China. Sun Yat-sen said: "The aim of studying foreign revolutionary politics and establishing the democratic institution is to absorb what is superior to us. This is why we should put into practice the lofty political philosophies and the latest political concepts of foreign countries in China." ("The Principle of the People's Rights") Second, we must study science and technology, open factories, develop mineral resources, build railways, open shipping lines and raise the level of productive forces. "Western science is superior to us. As a result of advances in science, man can perform miracles that rival the work of God." ("The Principle of Nationalism")

However, diehard feudal conservatives indiscriminately rejected and disdained foreign things. Clinging fiercely to what they called "national heritage," "they scoffed at and condemned those for urging to learn from foreigners." The revolutionaries retorted: "If we want to resist foreigners, we must first study their strengthsn." (WARNING BELL) "Why should we reject things that prove superior to us? Can we resist them if we fail to study their advantages? (RECOLLECTION) They maintained that at that time, no one should be ashamed to learn from others. To the contrary, everyone should be ashamed if he fails to learn from them.

At the same time, in criticizing the slave mentality characterized by blindly worshiping, fearing and fawning on foreigners, the revolutionaries pointed out: Some people worshiped foreigners "as God, serve them as their godfathers. 'They had extreme fear of the foreigners' that whenever they met a foreigner they called him a foreign mandarin and master. In this way, they voluntarily sank their status of hosts to that of the subservient. This mentality of worshiping foreigners resulted from a series of our defeats at their hands, leading us to attach too much importance to foreigners. Actually, a foreigner is also only a person, not a monster with three heads and six arms. How could anyone say that no one could beat him?" ("RECOLLECTION") Xenophobia and slave mentality has nothing in common with the patriotic spirit and therefore should be rejected. To do away with the xenophobia and slave mentality, we must strengthen the sense of national dignity and self-confidence. At that time, the progressive representatives of the Chinese national bourgeoisie believed that the Qing Dynasty was certain to be overthrown, and the revolution would certainly be victorious. Sun Yat-sen maintained: China could certainly achieve a great leap forward in the political, economic and cultural fields, "catch up with" the capitalist powers, and make necessary contributions to all mankind.

Although Sun Yat-sen and his comrades in arms could not live to see the realization of this ideal, their heroic struggle and tremendous achievements have proved instrumental in clearing the way for this purpose.

9574

CSO: 4005/937

REASONS FOR FAILURE OF 1898 REFORM MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Ma Hongliang [7456 3163 2651]: "The 1898 Reform Movement"]

[Text] The 1898 Reform Movement was led by a reformist group of the Chinese bourgeoisie at the end of 19th century. Its goal was to save the country from impending peril and then make it strong. It is so called because of its climax in 1898.

This patriotic political movement took place at the end of 19th century, when contradictions between the feudal elements and the broad masses of people, and particularly between imperialism and the Chinese nation, were sharper then ever. In 1895, the Qing government was defeated by Japanese militarism and the partition of China by the powers appeared to be imminent. It was a time when "all 400 million people were shedding tears, because the Divine Land was nowhere to be found." Kang Youwei [1660 2589 3634], then in Beijing, rallied around himself some 1,300 provincial graduates from various provinces and submitted a joint petition to Emperor Guang Xi to oppose the "Shimonoseki Treaty" and to put forward three proposals, namely, refusal to sign the treaty, removal of the capital for continued resistance, and a reform to revitalize China. This petition is called the "presentation of a memorial by riders of public carts" in history. These patriots' memorial to the throne failed to get through the gate of the Forbidden City guarded by the diehards; but the mobilization of more than 1,000 provincial graduates to submit the petition in disregard of their future career and the safety of their families and themselves, and in defiance of the government's prohibition of "scholars' intervention in politics" sounded the warning of the impending national crisis and raised the outcry for national salvation. This was indeed an unprecedented event.

"The state was shattered and the powers were about to join in the scramble; people with national interests at heart wanted the country to be revitalized." ("Collected Poems and Articles of Kang Youwei," p 193) To turn the tide and to learn the way of revitalization, Kang Youwei formed "Learn To Be Strong" societies in Beijing and Shanghai, and published WANGUO GONGBAO [INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN] and ZHONGWEI JIWEN [NEWS AT HOME AND ABROAD] in Beijing and QIANGXUE BAO [LEARN TO BE STRONG JOURNAL] in Shanghai, and whipped up the reform movement under the slogan "Reform To Become Strong." Liang Qichao [2733 0795 6389], Tan Sitong [6223 0843 0681], Tang Cai Chang [0781 2088 1603], Yan Fu [0917 1788] and others also published SHIWU BAO [CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS], XIANGXUE BAO [HUNAN JOURNAL] and GUOWEN BAO [NATIONAL NEWS] in Shanghai, Changsha and Tianjin. All these journals made a deep impression on thinkers throughout the country, and the bourgeois reformist group headed by Kang Youwei gradually became a political force. These reformists gained the support of Weng Tonghe [5040 0681 7901], Emperor Guang Xu's tutor and concurrently president of the Board of Revenue; and Chen Baozhen [7115 1405 4631], governor of Hunan. On the basis of resisting aggression and carrying out reforms, and in the struggle against capitulationism, national betrayal and conservation in the empress dowager's faction, they gradually joined forces in the hope that through political and economic reforms from top to bottom they could develop capitalism in China and thus attain the goal of national salvation.

In the winter of 1897, Germany dispatched battleships to forcibly occupy Gaozhou Bay, while tsarist Russian aggressor troops took over Lushunkou and Dalien Bay by force. The partition of China appeared to be imminent. In January 1898, Kang Youwei submitted his "Memorial on policy Concerning the General Situation" in which he sharply pointed out the situation then confronting China: "The independence of a nation depends on its readiness to change, while not changing means doom; thorough change means strength, while minor changes still spell doom." He also proposed these concrete reform measures: 1) all ministers pledging to carry out the reform; 2) setting up a "petition center" to encourage free expression of views; and 3) establishing a "bureau of institutions" with 12 affiliated departments handling matters concerning law, finance, education, agriculture, industry, commerce, railways, posts, mining, travel, army and navy respectively, and carrying out the reform measures; and 4) setting up a "bureau of civil affairs" for every circuit to promote local autonomy. In April, Kang Youwei and his associates founded the "Protect the Country" Society in Beijing. The inaugural meeting of the society was held at the Guangdong Guild building, and Kang Youwei was elected to address the meeting. He recounted the series of national disasters suffered since the Opium War and pointed out that within 2 months [since the occupation of Gaozhou Bay by Germany], "there had been 20 incidents in which China had forfeited sovereign rights and surrendered territory." He shouted: "Everybody will be responsible for the national peril, but everybody has also the right to save the state!" He added: "If our 400 million people will arise, the foreigners will not dare to look down on us."

Emperor Guang Xu, whose original name was Aixijueluo Zaitan [1947 5647 6030 5012 6528 8407], did not want to become the monarch of a subjugated nation and was eager for the reform. Therefore, he readily accepted the reformists' proposals and on 11 June, despite overwhelming opposition, resolutely issued an edict concerning "the formulation of a definite state policy", proclaimed a series of reforms, and appointed the reformists to implement the new policies. In the economic sphere, a bureau of agriculture, industry and commerce was established to encourage land reclamation and private enterprise, and to reward inventions and new discoveries. Anyone who could invent or discover any method to promote production would be rewarded with either an office or certain patent rights. A general bureau was formed for railway construction and mining, and the former courier stations were replaced by an extensive postal service throughout the country. There was also reform of public finance and the compilation of state budgets. The special privileges granted by the state for the Bannermen were abolished, although provisions were made for them to make their own living. In the cultural and educational spheres, the civil service examination system was reformed with the abolition of the stereotyped "eight-legged" essay writing and the use of practical forms. A modern school system was established, including the founding of the Metropolitan College, the establishment of the Book Translation Bureau for the translation of new foreign books, the establishment of publishing houses and academic societies, and the sending of people abroad for study and travel. In the political sphere, sinecure posts and overlapping organizations which were always left idle were abolished. Officials of all ranks as well as the people were permitted to petition the throne, and official hindrance was strictly forbidden. In the military sphere, irregular forces were disbanded and a training program was adopted for the army and the navy. This new program remained in force until 21 September and was referred to as "The 100 Days Reform" because of its existence for exactly 103 days.

Only 4 days after the proclamation of the "formulation of a definite state policy," the empress dowager began to clip Emperor Guang Xu's wings with a reshuffle of personnel. Weng Tonghe of the emperor's faction was dismissed and Ronglu of the empress dowager's faction was appointed viceroy of Jili Province, to be in command of the Beiyang (Northern) Army, composed of the Kansu Corps under Tong Fuxiang [5119 4395 4382], the Wuyi Corps under Nie Shicheng [5119 1102 2052] and the modern trained corps under Yuan Shikai [5913 0013 0418]. Ronglu was then the "all-powerful commander in chief and prime minister and no one dared to face up to him." On 20 June, however, Yang Shenxiu [2799 3234 0218] and Song Bolu [1345 0130 7627], censors of the emperor's faction, impeached Xu Yingkuo [6079 2019 7503], president of the Board of Rites, for "being conservative and stubborn in resisting the new policies" in a counterattack. Then on 8 July censor Wen Ti [2429 1229] again accused Kang Youwei of "ganging up with some officials to seize the control of state policies." On 4 September, two presidents of the Board of Rites, Huaitabu [2037 1044 1580] and Xu Yingkui, were dismissed for obstructing under secretary Wang Zhao [3769 3564] from approaching the throne and violating the imperial edict which encouraged people to express their opinions. On the following day, Emperor Guang Xu conferred on Tang Sitong, Yang Rui [2799 6904], Liu Guangdi [0491 0342 0966] and Lin Xu [2651 2485] the rank of Grade 4 officials with the duty of implementing the new policies. They were then called the "Four Secretaries of the Grand Council." The empress dowager's faction was also secretly preparing for a counterattack. This was not only a power struggle within the ruling class of the Qing Dynasty, but also a contest between innovation and conservatism or between progressives and reactionaries. Grand Secretary Xu Tong [1776 2717] said: "We would rather see the state perish than to have its laws changed." Tang Sitong said: "China cannot become strong again until the feud between the two factions ends in a bloodbath." These remarks aptly summed up the essence of the struggle between the new and old factions.

Under strong pressure from the feudal diehards, Emperor Guang Xu and the reformists tried to enlist the assistance of Yuan Shikai to restrain the empress dowager's faction. However, Yuan Shikai turned around and secretly reported everything to Ronglu. On 21 September, the empress dowager began a palace coup and Emperor Guang Xu was imprisoned in Yingtai, while Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled to Japan. On 28 September, at 1600 hours, Tan Sitong, Yang Rui, Lin Xu, Yang Shenxiu, Liu Guangdi and Kang Guangren, all six of them, were beheaded at Chaishikou in Beijing. They are known as the "Six Gentlemen of the 1898 Reform Movement" in history.

Thus the 1898 Reform Movement was finally strangled by the feudal diehard forces. The main cause of its failure was that the newly emerging Chinese bourgeoisie could not become an independent political force, while around the emperor the forces were not strong enough to resist the empress dowager's faction. Because of the limitations of the age and the classes, the reformists could not possibly realize the nature of imperialism and feudalism and were widely separated from the broad masses. Hence their tragic failure.

9411
CSO: 4005/918

MOTIVES, EFFECTS OF WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT REEXAMINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Qiao Huantian [0829 6703 3944]: "The Westernization Movement"]

[Text] From the 1860's to the 1890's, some of those adaptable feudal statesmen in the Qing Government imported advanced guns, machinery, and science and technology from capitalist countries of the West in order to "inject some tonic" into that tottering regime: this was what people called the Westernization movement. Those who engaged in such activities were called Westernizers. Yi Shu, Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtong, Li Hongzhang, and Zhang Zhidong were representative personalities of this faction.

The rise of the Westernization movement was by no means accidental. Its causes were diverse. In the first place, at the beginning of the 1860's, a peasant revolution was spreading like a raging fire and had become the Qing government's "serious internal trouble." Those like Zeng, Li, and others who were charged with the direct responsibility of "exterminating the long-haired rebels" were of the opinion that unless foreign guns were utilized, this "internal worry" could not be relieved. Secondly, after sustaining the blows of the two Opium Wars, part of the ruling class felt deeply that foreign capitalism was seriously threatening the Qing government's existence in military, economic, and ideological areas, and they maintained that "whether the foreigners are for us or against us is invariably dependent on whether we in China are strong or weak enough." Hence, people like Zeng, Zuo, and Li proposed to take advantage of the opportunity of "exterminating the long-haired rebels" and to a seriously study and acquire various manufactured machines and practical strength available overseas," "as the foreigners are glad to show off what they are good at." Furthermore, the idea of people like Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, and others to "learn from the barbarians" their superior techniques in order to "control the barbarians" also caused the Westernization movement to erupt. Zuo Zongtong was one who clearly suggested that his resorting to "Westernization" was specifically to put into practice Wei Yuan's idea of "learning from their superior techniques in order to control them."

The actual situation at the time was such that the Qing government was suffering defeats both internally and externally and, through such internal and external warfare, it was directly experiencing the harsh effects of the Western countries' fine instruments, strong ships, and powerful guns. Thus it was natural that this Westernization movement was to begin with the military aspect. The period from the

1860's to the middle of the 1870's constituted the first stage of the Westernization movement. During this period the Westernizers, while purchasing guns from foreign countries, at the same time created a number of military industries in Anhui, Jiangsu, Fujian, Zhidi, Hubei, Sichuan, Gansu, and other provinces. The most famous of these were the Anqing Munitions Factory, Jiangnan Manufacturing Main Office, Jinling Machinery Plant, Fuzhou Shipyard, Tianjin Machinery Plant, and Hubei Gun Factory. These military industries' production funds were allocated by the state treasury, and the guns, ammunition, and vessels produced were distributed by the government for use by the troops. The cost of these products was never accounted for, nor did they participate in any market exchange in the form of commodities.

Along with the rise of these military industries, the Westernizers imitated England, France, and other countries in "opening up coal mines, building railroads, and developing commerce." This was the second stage of the Westernization movement--that is, when railroads, shipping, the telegraph, mining, metallurgical refining, textiles, and establishments and undertakings of the like were copied. From the 1870's to the 1890's, the Westernizers created altogether over 20 civilian enterprises. The most important among them were the Shanghai Merchants Steamship Company, the Kaiping Bureau of Mines, Taiwan Jilong Coal Mine, Tianjin Telegraph Office, Tianjin-Shanhaiguan Railroad, Lanzhou Wool Bureau, Shanghai Bureau of Machinemade Cloth, Hubei Iron Administration, Hubai Textile Bureau, Guizhou Iron Works, Heilongjiang Mohe Gold Mine, etc. These enterprises respectively adopted the methods of official management, commercial management under official supervision, and joint official-commercial management. As for their machinery, it was acquired the same way the military industries and departments had done, by purchase from England, France, Germany, the United States, and Japan. Some "foreign technicians" also were employed.

Along with the establishment of these civilian enterprises, the Westernizers at the same time shifted the focus of such military industries from land to the construction of modern naval defenses. By the middle of the 1870's, the Taiping Army and the Nian Army, and similar peasant uprisings had been suppressed, and contradictions between the Qing government and foreign capitalism became sharper. In view of experiences like the Tianjin religious incident, Tsarist Russia's occupation of Yili, and Japan's dispatch of troops to Taiwan, etc., the Westernizers proposed to "purchase iron vessels, torpedoes, and all useful munitions quickly" in order to reinforce the defense of strategic points along the coast. Hence, in 1875 the Qing government granted its approval to allocate 4 million taels in customs duties and lijin taxes each year to build within 10 years the three naval units of the Southern Sea, the Northern Sea, and the Guangdong Sea. By 1884, all three units had become sizable, but during the Sino-French conflict the Fujian naval unit was totally annihilated right away, and the Southern Sea unit also suffered great losses. In 1885, the Naval Office was established to take charge of all matters concerning naval defense. In 1888, Li Hongzhang expanded the Northern Sea naval unit into the Northern Fleet and also built the Lushun wharf and Weihaiwei harbor; it became the largest naval unit of the time. However, because naval funds were mostly shifted by Empress Cixi to the building of Yiheyuan, it was not until the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 that any more vessels added.

In addition, in order to train solid, useful technical personnel, the Westernizers from 1862 on undertook at various points to establish the Capital Language Institute, the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute, the Guangzhou Language Institute, the Fuzhou

Shipbuilding School, the Tianjin Naval Academy, the Tianjin Military Academy, the Guangdong Naval Academy, the Hubei Self-Strengthening School, and others--totaling more than 20 modern schools. The curricular arrangements for these schools went radically against the normal tradition of several thousand years in China, with foreign languages and modern science and technology replacing Confucian learning as the main subjects. Apart from these schools run by the provinces, the Westernizers also sent more than 200 students in different groups to certain countries in Europe and America between 1872 and 1886. After these students completed their studies and returned home, they were mostly assigned as core forces to enterprises such as telegraph, shipbuilding, manufacturing, and others. People like Zhan Tianyou, and Yan Fu thus became the most outstanding among those who were known to all. All this also became the content of the Westernization movement.

The Westernization movement came to a close along with the annihilation of the Northern Fleet during the 1894 Sino-Japanese War and the loss of influence of Li Hongzhang and others in that year. There were many causes for its failure, but the most fundamental reason was that, in a situation in which the feudal production relations in the entire society underwent no change, all plans to develop modern industries were like building a tower on sand. They could scarcely succeed.

9255
CSO: 4005/898

'BA YI RADIO' ON PROMOTION OF YOUNGER CADRES

OW050243 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] The 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee emphatically pointed out that promoting more young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts at all levels is a pressing strategic task; that it is imperative to resolutely abolish the lifelong tenure of cadres, a system that is definitely harmful; that cadres getting on in years must step down and that cadres who combine ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life should be promoted to leading posts.

However, due to opposition by that top authority at the central level, the extremely important task of reducing the cadres' average age cannot be accomplished to this day.

Moreover, conditions are not lacking for solving the age problem of cadres quickly. As we all know, young and middle-aged cadres account for more than 60 percent of our country's 20 million cadres. About 4 to 5 million specialized and technical cadres have been trained since liberation. We have plenty of qualified people.

As pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang, cadres in their forties and fifties are a valuable asset of the country. Promoting them to leading posts at various levels will be in the interests of the state and the people. First, they are in the prime of life and can work untiringly for 15 or 16 hours each day. Second, they were generally educated before the "cultural revolution" and are better equipped with scientific and technical knowledge. Third, being middle-aged, they have accumulated rich experience in political life. They have shared weal and woe and been through thick and thin together with the masses in the most difficult period in our history. They have seen with their own eyes the great losses to the country and the sufferings of the people caused by arbitrary individual rule, bad work style and wrong ways of leadership. Therefore, they will not repeat historical mistakes. In short, only those cadres in their forties and fifties can lead our country out of the blind alley and onto the correct road of national construction.

However, due to all kinds of obstacles, only a very small number of cadres in their forties and fifties have been promoted to leading posts. According to State Council statistics, on the average only one young or middle-aged cadre has been promoted into the leading body in each of the enterprises and establishments directly under the State Council in the past few years. The number of young and middle-aged cadres assigned to state organs at the central level and leading bodies at the provincial and municipal level is even smaller. Absolutely no young or middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading posts in higher leading organs such as the Political Bureau or Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. Most of the members of the Political Bureau and Military Commission are advanced in years. For example, Ye Jianying is 83 years old; Comrade Deng Xiaoping is 77; Comrades Li Xiannian and Chen Yun are 76; Peng Zhen, Nie Rongzhen and Huang Kecheng are about 80. In Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang are cadres in the prime of life. In fact, they are both over 60. Other leaders are approaching 70.

Since the 6th plenary session put forth the task of reducing the average age of cadres, an example should have been set in promoting young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts at the central level. However, not only has this failed to happen, but on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction, 77-year-old Yang Shangkun has been appointed secretary general of the Military Commission.

Unless cadres in the prime of life are widely promoted to leading posts, it is impossible to solve the problem of reducing the average age of leading cadres, and it is impossible to consolidate the leading bodies at the central and local levels. In short, the earlier old cadres in their seventies and eighties step down and cadres in their forties and fifties are promoted to first-line leading posts, the greater will be the benefit to the country and people.

CSO: 4005/30

CARE FOR RETIRED CADRES EMPHASIZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 81 p 2

[Commentary: "Succeed in the Task of Organizing and Caring For Retired Cadres"]

[Text] The present group of reports introduces the deeds of some retired cadres who continue to serve the party, work for the people and contribute to the construction of the four modernizations. Their awareness in insisting on revolution is highly commendable. They should be held in esteem, loved and praised.

There are some 40,000 retired cadres in our province. With the passage of time, the number of retired cadres will be increasing year by year. Those retired cadres are mostly old comrades who have worked and labored for decades. They possess special knowledge and rich working experience. Having undergone party education for longer period of time, they have a high level of political consciousness and socialist enthusiasm. Many of them can still engage in works beneficial to the party and the people. Therefore, how to succeed in caring for retired cadres has become an important task for the party and the government. Party committees and government at every level should put this task on the agenda, establish and improve necessary agencies to care for retired cadres, organize support and help them to solve concrete problems such as reading documents, placement for their children, medical care and easing their economic hardships so as to ensure that politically they receive full attention and in real life they are thoughtfully provided for. Agencies for the retired cadres must actively organize them for political, cultural and scientific studies, sponsor literary, recreational and travelling activities, frequently talk with them, encourage them to care for each other, help each other and make them happy and enjoy a meaningful life in their later years. It is also necessary to listen to their opinions and organize them for some social work according to their special abilities so that they can continue making contributions to the construction of the four modernizations. It must be understood that success in caring for the retired cadres is important in carrying out the task of "three in one" for adjusting leadership and for realizing step by step "three modernizations" of cadres.

Man does get old. This is an irresistable law of nature. Retirement of old cadres is stipulated by state law and should be complied with. However, to be a member of the communist party and a revolutionary, be it on the job or in retirement, one must not forget the oath taken upon entering the party and the intention of serving the people. Retiring from work without retiring from revolutionary conviction, he must continue to work for the people. This is the earnest hope the party invests in retired comrades.

9507
CSO: 4005/911

THRIFTY LIFE STYLE PRAISED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 3

[Commentary by Deng Dun [6772 4163]: "Speaking About Lin Zexu on Official Tour of Duty"]

[Text] Commissioner Lin Zexu upon leaving Beijing for Canton to prohibit opium purposely drafted a proclamation to be heralded along the way: "This office is on official tour of duty as commissioner which is different from ministerial high offices. The burden of reception incurred on local postal stations is acknowledged and great appreciation is due to them. At overnight stops, family-style food is sufficient, no need to prepare a whole banquet. Do not prepare special delicacies so that unnecessary expenses can be saved. This is not meant to be ceremonious... These words will be backed by law. Abide by them without transgression." It was so meticulously stipulated and the language was so sincere. Moreover, "words will be backed by law." It was not mere euphemisum; historical evidence proved that Lin Zexu was not just spouting hot air. He really merits our respect.

This was about a feudal personality connected with a feudal event. It is well known that Lin Zexu defended but the interest of his social class. Nevertheless, his style on official tour of duty makes some of our comrades pale in comparison. For some comrades to go on "official tour of duty," (or called "inspection," or "examination of work") before his departure, "advance" personnel already left for the location. Upon his arrival, it goes without saying that a "full banquet" was served. Even if one was concerned with the authority of "regulations," he would merely say "don't do it again." No one backed his words with law or took a drastic action to "boycott banquet."

"Thrift makes success, extravagance leads to ruin" sums up the experience from centuries of history. We the proletariat and the communist relied on the tradition of strenuous revolutionary struggle to score one victory after another before the regime was established. So should we hold on to it now that the regime is established. Here I am reminded of an anecdote of Peng Dehuai on official tour of duty.

During the Korean War, once Marshall Peng went on to inspect a certain troop of the volunteer army. An administrator of the troop told the cook to prepare eight dishes. At meal time, Marshall Peng, looking at the table, immediately called the guard to summon the administrator and asked him softly:

"For whom are these sumptuous dishes prepared?"

"For leading cadres and those from the ministry."

"Can three people consume all this food? If you have a party at home, you would be calculating carefully. My meal allowance can only pay for two dishes. Who is going to pay for the rest? To exceed the ration system is not right. We must treat national resources with the same care as we treat our own."

In comparison, can those who are extravagant at the state's expense and squander people's hard labor remain unaffected? It is the time now for them to wake up and seriously implement the "regulations."

9507
CSO: 4005/911

STUDY 'RESOLUTION' FOR SAKE OF GOOD WORKSTYLE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by Kang Di [1660 6611], Secretary for Standing Committee, Commission for Inspection of Party Discipline, [Jiangsu] Provincial Party Committee: "Study the 'Resolution,' Unify Our Thinking, Establish Good Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Today, people often ask this type of question: Why hasn't our party workstyle yet taken a fundamental turn for the better, even though it is showing considerable progress? Why do devious workstyles still seriously prevail in some localities and units? This merits profound reflection. The reasons why devious workstyles still exist can only be multifarious. Viewed from our work, at least the following three aspects are involved: First, our ideological perception is not yet sufficiently consistent as to the serious and harmful nature of such devious workstyle. Second, we have not yet exerted sufficient efforts to put forth positive struggles against such devious workstyles within the party, and we have not been able to fully make use of the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism in constantly cleansing the dust from ourselves. And third, our reward and punishment measures have not been distinctive enough; we have not applied discipline strictly enough.

We must unify our perception of the establishment of good party workstyle and our rectification of devious workstyle through study of the "Resolution." In this regard, there is quite a lot of muddled or even very erroneous thinking among some of our party members and even certain party organizations today. Some are satisfied merely with the correctness of the line, principles, and policies of our party but overlook the assuring role of our party workstyle in realizing the party's line, principles, and policies, thinking that it is of no importance whether or not they grasp our party workstyle. On the question of grasping our party workstyle, they may sometimes pay lipservice, but deep in their minds they think otherwise, and insofar as devious workstyles are concerned, they simply open one eye and close one eye and let [devious workstyles] spread on their own. Some put the grasping of the construction of our party workstyle in opposition to the grasping of our economic construction, in the belief that grasping party workstyle would affect the enthusiasm of the cadres and hamper the development of production and the livening of the economy. Thus they not only fail to grasp such devious workstyles but, on the contrary, even condone and shield them and allow certain people to take advantage of the convenience in their work and strike up relationships together to seek private gain, thereby giving an unrestricted "green light" to such devious practices as free entertainment and the presentation of gifts and such illegal conduct as giving or accepting bribes and blackmail and extortion. Others openly promote and support the practice of resorting to devious measures, show their enthusiasm for working on "the science of striking up desirable relationships" and for establishing "households of good relations," and take free entertainment and the presentation of gifts or even the carrying out of bribes as ways to run things and to solve problems, in the belief that unless this is done, no practical problems will be solved. [Such persons] allege that "since a commodity economy still prevails, free entertainment and presentations of gifts are inevitable"; that "if one's free entertainment and presentations of gifts are limited, the development of his business is likely to be limited as well, whereas if one's free entertainment and presentations of gifts are generous, the development of his business is also likely to be profuse"; and that "when one spends a little money for the sake of making a lot of money, what he loses is far less than what he gains." Such erroneous talk and practice on their part confuse the different characters of the socialist commodity economy and the capitalist commodity economy, mix the goals and means of socialist competition and capitalist competition in the same vein, and equate the style of socialist management with that of capitalist management. As a matter of fact, many devious practices have developed and spread far and wide precisely under the erroneous ideological guidance of certain leading organs and leading cadres. If we should ask whence the obstacles to the rectification of such devious practices come, they mainly come from this factor. If the erroneous thinking of these comrades is not corrected, it will be hard for the devious practices of the localities, departments, and units under their leadership to be corrected. Therefore, unification of our perception is of primary importance. Studying the "Resolution" enables us to understand this historical experience from the several decades of our party's fighting process: When our party workstyle is good, our party leadership is strengthened; when our party workstyle is not good, our party leadership is weakened. This is because the party's line, principles, and policies are realized by means of our party members and party cadres exerting their leadership over the masses, and because the masses also base their treatment and their understanding of our party through the good or bad workstyle of our party members and party cadres who carry out the party's policies and the good or bad workstyle of our party's leading organs. Consequently, the workstyle of a party, especially the workstyle of a party in power, is a major question that is tied to the realization of the party's leadership or even to the party's life and death. We must never treat it lightly.

We must use the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism to launch positive struggles against all erroneous ideas and behavior that violate the "guiding principles" and the state's policies and edicts, rules and regulations, and against all devious practices. Criticism and self-criticism constitute one of our party's three major workstyles. Relatively older comrades are all aware that our party members and cadres have all grown up by continuously carrying out criticism and self-criticism in the past. But today some comrades neither wish to resort to self-criticism nor dare to launch criticism against others. This is because some of them are "officials" and therefore are proud of the contributions they have made. They think they are smart and hence are not subject to criticism. There are also some who happen to be too selfish. Today they worry about not being able to strike up a good relationship with this person; tomorrow they are afraid of attack and retaliation; the day after tomorrow they are afraid of offending people; and the day after that they worry about not being able to acquire a certain advantage. Thus they are swayed by considerations of gain and loss and by all kinds of worries, and hence they dare not struggle against incorrect thinking and conduct. There are also comrades who confuse correct criticism with swinging the stick, and who start to jump very high as soon as they face criticism, saying that "the stick is being swung again." In the case of certain leading cadres, in particular, they fail to demonstrate a clear-cut attitude when confronted with the question of right and wrong; they dare not support what is good nor criticize what is bad; they refuse to control what they should control and handle what they should handle; and they waver and remain vague on everything. Thus, in some localities and units no resistance or crackdown is offered with respect to devious trends, nor exaltation with respect to legitimate practices. Comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly pointed out in his "1 July" speech: "Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people, and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party." "As long as we fully revive and carry forward this fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism, the organic body of our party will undoubtedly continue to show inexhaustible vitality and will never show signs of decay."

We must resolutely run things according to the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and strictly enforce party discipline. Today, some comrades look but see nothing and listen but hear nothing about devious practices; they refuse to criticize them and refuse to struggle against them. Some comrades offer favoritism as a shield to those who resort to devious practices, plead their cases in their behalf in order to turn major cases into minor ones and minor ones into nothing, and even openly hold out against dealing with them. There also are comrades who are deterred by the power and position they face and thereby fail to deal fairly with things. Of course, dealing with those who resort to devious practices is the same as dealing with others who make mistakes: The party's principle in this regard is always to "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the illness to save the patient's by stressing education as the principal measure and by taking punishment as an auxiliary measure without relishing penalties. Meting out necessary disciplinary punishment to someone has the goal of educating the person who has made the mistake as well as other comrades. But in reality, if discipline becomes lax, it automatically creates a condoning effect. The discipline-inspection organs at various levels are the functional departments by which party committees grasp party workstyle and party discipline. Such organs must pay attention at all times to political and ideological unity within the party and spend their main energy heightening the fighting stamina of party organizations and maintaining party leadership and party prestige. They must take the carrying out of struggle against devious practices as one of their important tasks. With respect to devious practices and cases of violations of discipline, they must investigate and deal with each case they discover and also investigate and deal with as many cases as they discover. They must mobilize and support party members and cadres and the masses in their struggle against devious practices. The more important the cadre whose conduct violates the law or discipline at the expense of the promulgations of the party and the state, the more courageously the higher level party committee must exert itself in criticizing him, stopping him, and meting our disciplinary punishment to him. In the case of those who commit offenses with clear knowledge and who refuse to change their ways even after repeated education, it must increase the punishment, up to expulsion from party membership. Those who commit corruption by accepting bribes or who encroach upon state or collective property by [using] the convenience of their office must all return or repay what they take. All those who hinder the examination of devious practices and disciplinary questions, whether they are individuals or organizations, should be punished according to party discipline.

I think that if we can carry out the above three measures, the devious practices which prevail at present are bound to be corrected, and our fine party workstyle is bound to be revived and carried forward.

9255
CSO: 4005/892

PENG DEHUAI'S 'FEAR' EXPLAINED, APPLAUDED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 8

[Comment by Zhang Yuwen [1728 5124 3306]: "What Was the 'Great General Peng' Afraid Of?]

[Text] In an article describing Comrade Peng Dehuai talking to his subordinates, Ba Jin said he "talked to them like a senior person to his children." When he saw [the article], Commander in Chief Peng felt very uneasy and wrote a special letter to Ba Jin. In the letter he said: "The phrase 'talked to them like a senior person to his children' may be changed to 'talked to them as if he was addressing members of a harmonious family.' I hope very much to see such a change; would this be permissible? Secondly, I am a very small man. Describing me in too big [terms] makes me somewhat afraid!"

Everyone knows that Comrade Peng Dehuai, who was praised by Chairman Mao as the "Great General Peng," was a selfless and dauntless communist warrior of great fortitude. He dared to "cross his sword atop his horse" before a powerful enemy on the one hand, while on the other hand he was not afraid of mountainous pressure from within the party. Yet, he was "somewhat afraid" of praise. Why is "praise" so fearsome? Is this not worthy of our deep reflection?

"Priase" may be of two kinds: one is inflated by "trumpeters," while the other results from good men seeking truth from facts from the bottom of their hearts. Intentionally exaggerated praise is actually "buttering-up," a sugar-coated bullet; its harm hardly needs to be explained. Then, would praise which is the result of seeking truth from facts be harmless to the praised--especially to those persons occupying leadership positions? This also may not be the case, because some people, once praised, may find their spiritual defense against arrogance and impetuosity immediately disintegrating; they thereby lose their ability to resist personal worship, they deviate from the masses, and they deviate from the organization. Bad things such personal arbitrariness and patriarchal workstyle also begin to spread as a result. As an ancient saying put it: "If those above like something, those below will like it even more." Actually, not only if you "like" it, but even if you don't "like" it to begin with in your own heart or even dislike it somewhat: if you fail to come out and severely criticize and firmly stop it, those below will think that you have acquiesced and agreed with it. Then they will "praise" you even harder, and that will provide those of a devious mind with an opportunity. In the case of a great number of people who from having a humble and modest disposition with their guard up against arrogance and impetuosity to having a complacent, proud, conniving outlook, the evolution always took place gradually in an atmosphere steeped in "praise."

A thorough materialist is fearless. But he is "afraid of praise alone," because once "praise" becomes profuse, one's "materialism" hardly becomes "thorough." On 14 September 1918, when Lenin had recuperated from his would in an [attempted] assassination and saw that during the period of his treatment the newspapers had published many articles praising him, he angrily said to his secretary: "This simply won't do, I am a person just like anyone else...but now they have made me so prominent. This is too fearsome!" It looks as though all Marxists are "afraid" of "praise" of themselves.

In view of the painful lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the Party Central Committee has proposed that it is necessary to prohibit all forms of personal worship. This puts before leading cadres of all levels the question of correctly treating "praise." With respect to exaggerated praise, we should naturally criticize and expose it relentlessly; but with respect to the kind of praise that results from seeking truth from facts, we should also naturally adopt Commander in Chief Peng's position of earnestly "chatting" with the praiser. In a word, our leading comrades should raise their vigilance toward all kinds of praise and cultivate a prudent and apprehensive awareness. This will be good to our cause, to the masses of the people, and to the leaders themselves.

9255
CSO: 4005/898

SICHUAN'S FIRST SECRETARY SPEAKS ON CRITICISM ON LITERATURE, ART

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 81 p 4

[News report by Xinhua News Agency telegraph from Chengdu on Aug 24: "Criticism on Erroneous Thoughts and Works Must be Launched: Tan Qilong [6223 0796 7893] Speaks About Praise, Criticism and Self-Criticism on Literary and Artistic Creations"]

[Text] First Secretary of CCP Sichuan Provincial Party Committee Tan Qilong spoke about the question of praise, criticism and self-criticism on literary and artistic creation at the meeting conferring prizes on distinguished literary and artistic works.

He said that literary and artistic workers should enthusiastically praise the party, praise socialism, praise the people's army and praise the people. This is the demand of the people.

Mentioning the flood disaster Sichuan recently suffered, he pointed out that had this great natural disaster happened in the old society, people would inevitably have suffered from broken homes, death and wandering. However, today because of party leadership, the socialist system and the people's army, the army and people are united in one will to struggle together. In the aftermath of disaster, tranquility prevailed and people's basic livelihood was assured. Production was recovering and everywhere one sees the touching scenes of people rebuilding their homes. If the party, the socialist system, and the people's army are not praised, what then can be praised?

He said that after smashing the gang of four, a hundred flowers bloomed and a hundred schools of thought contended; literary and artistic creation prospered and a large number of good works were produced. However, an extremely small number of people were spreading erroneous thought, producing bad works, and even speaking against party leadership and the socialist road. We must engage in criticism and self-criticism on erroneous thoughts and works so that literature and art can develop in the direction of serving the people and serving socialism. Criticism should aim at encouraging people to be good and start from the desire for unity by way of seeking truth from facts, presenting the facts and reasoning things out. At present, a small minority of people are reacting to criticism as if it were persecution. This is against the party tradition of criticism and self-criticism.

9507
CSO: 4005/911

'BA YI RADIO' ON PERSECUTION OF PLA BY DENG, HU

OW060551 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Five years ago, Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and leading comrades of our army including Xu Xiangqian, Xu Shiyou, Chen Xilian and Li Desheng, with the support of the masses of commanders and fighters, crushed at one blow the Jiang-Wang-Zhang-Yao gang of four, thereby putting an end to the 10 years of bloody fascist rule. Veteran party and army leaders such as Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, whose murders the gang of four planned but lacked enough time to carry out, and tens of thousands of other cadres and intellectuals thus have lived to this day and have assumed leading party, government and army posts. In contrast, our army's leaders and the large numbers of army cadres, who contributed to the downfall of the gang of four have been charged with all kinds of crimes and subjected to merciless attacks and persecution in the past several years.

Comrade (Zhu Yuanshi) pointed out in a recent article: It was very difficult to check the turmoil of the "cultural revolution" during Comrade Mao Zedong's lifetime. This was because on the eve of the "cultural revolution," the Party Central Committee was already powerless to restrain Comrade Mao Zedong in any way. And the gang of four, with Comrade Mao Zedong's energetic support, became emboldened and did as it pleased. It even persecuted cadres and the masses with methods not permitted to be used even on enemies. This was one side of the picture. On the other side, even after the death of Comrade Mao Zedong, the gang of four had followers all over the country, and the force of habit of the "cultural revolution" prevailed. Under the circumstances, if not for the decisive actions of the leading comrades of the army, particularly the leading comrades of the Nanjing, Guangzhou, Beijing and Shenyang PLA units, at the risk of their lives, it would have been absolutely impossible to overthrow the gang of four so easily. An unprecedented civil war would have broken out throughout the country. Who would have won is an open question. But the country and people would have suffered from it whatever the outcome. Millions of heads would have fallen.

Moreover, after the downfall of the gang of four, it was exactly the leading comrades of our army who supported the reinstatement of the veteran cadres, particularly Comrade Deng Xiaoping who had been dismissed from all posts inside andoutside of the party. They not only tightly protected Comrade Deng Xiaoping against the wish of Comrade Mao Zedong and the gang of four but, afterwards, firmly supported him to take charge of the work of the Party Central Committee and the Military Commission.

However, after the domestic situation became stabilized, the principal central leaders promptly followed the habitual practice of feudal emperors, of "cooking the dog when the hare is dead" and "laying the bow aside when the bird is killed," and began to play down and check the active role of the army in the party and the country and elbow out, even attack, our army's leaders. In the 5 years since the downfall of the gang of four, tens of thousands of army cadres have been persecuted under various pretexts or have suffered to varying degrees because of involvement in the "three supports and two militaries."

Since he became chairman, Hu Yaobang has repeatedly brought charges against veteran army cadres before Deng Xiaoping, complaining that those veterans, because of their seniority and power, are difficult to handle. He plans to carry out extensive replacements of principal leading cadres throughout the army while Deng Xiaoping is chairman of the Military Commission. This will be an extremely wrong thing to do. Coercion has never been a wise and effective method of leadership.

CSO: 4005/31

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI' RAPS AIMS, RESULTS OF PRC MILITARY DRILL

OW031325 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The military exercise held in Nei Monggol Autonomous Region revealed two problems: 1) the military training conducted in the past few years did not meet the needs of actual combat; 2) it was unwise to hold the exercise to show to the West, particularly the United States, China's determination to resist the Soviet Union.

These problems cropped up during the exercise mainly because the leaders of the PLA units did not fully understand the directive issued by the General Staff Department last year that training must as much as possible meet the needs of actual combat. For instance, major antinuclear and antichemical warfare equipment was not pulled out of dangerous positions quickly enough; the "enemies" were not expelled quickly enough; bunkers, shelters and other such structures were not used. In addition, some units were interested only in the [word indistinct] of their own divisions and regiments and failed to coordinate with fraternal units. Of course, the offices under the General Staff Department will eventually make an overall summary report on this exercise. However, one thing is sure: they failed to make overall, full preparations before the exercise.

Also, it was improper to choose Nei Monggol region as the site for the exercise. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission, said: "This exercise is more important politically than militarily." But whether this predetermined political objective can be achieved is dubious. First, since the relations between China and the Soviet Union have already worsened to a great extent, there is no need to further aggravate them. Second, it is very naive to think that the exercise, by regarding outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union as the imaginary enemies, can change the Reagan administration's attitude toward our country.

Over the past several years we have almost unconditionally supported all U.S. policies. However, the Shanghai communique on Sino-U.S. relations has gradually turned into no more than a scrap of waste paper. The recent "act on U.S. relations with Taiwan" actually reflects the practice of the two-China policy.

Moreover, it should be noticed that the many measures taken recently by the United States to strengthen its strategic position in Southeast Asia are not meant to prevent Soviet expansion as some shortsighted people allege. It goes without saying that the Soviet strategic focus is in Europe. Now that the United States is supplying the ASEAN countries with huge military aid and increasing its military loans to Indonesia, it is obviously regarding our country as its potential enemy. The U.S. trade volume with the ASEAN countries now exceeds 21.1 billion dollars while U.S. investments in these countries exceed 4.5 billion dollars. These important strategic and economic interests have forced the United States to counter China's increasingly powerful influence in these countries.

Premier Zhou also repeatedly emphasized this when he was alive. This is also precisely why U.S. strategic guided missiles are aimed at more than 100 major targets in our country. By worsening Sino-Soviet relations one cannot expect to bring about a true Sino-U.S. alliance. It should be pointed out that any military exercise from now on should proceed from actual conditions and from China's long-term interests, even though its political importance is given priority.

CSO: 4005/31

ZHOU YANG REPORT ON LU XUN

OW282040 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1150 GMT 27 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--At the 25 September meeting in Beijing to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun, Comrade Zhou Yang delivered a report entitled "Persist in Lu Xun's Cultural Direction and Develop Lu Xun's Militant Tradition." Excerpts of the report follow:

During the 100 years since Lu Xun was born, earthshaking changes have taken place in China as well as in the world. Now our great nation, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has surmounted every difficulty and danger after long, tortuous and complicated struggles and is advancing with new strength and confidence toward the goal of building a socialist, powerful and modern country. Lu Xun was unable to see the birth of new China in the Orient, but during his lifetime of only several decades he made incalculable contributions to this great change, which is unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history. Moreover, the influence of his works and thinking is worldwide.

The great thinking of an era is invariably the social product of that time. Lu Xun's thinking was born at a time when the Chinese people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles had suffered setbacks and failures and was developing again with immense vigor. Lu Xun came into being as a great figure at the time of the drastic change; he was created by the revolutionary struggles.

His talent and cultivation did not make him a mere writer and scholar; it turned him into a heroic fighter standing at the forefront of the times in fighting thoroughly against imperialism and feudalism, an outstanding pioneer in the ideological emancipation movement and a great communist.

Lu Xun's thinking developed through a relatively long process of pain and intensive contradictions, from learning foreign affairs to supporting the reform movement to supporting the democratic revolution aimed at overthrowing the rule of the Qing Dynasty. Lu Xun's thinking developed in step with the development of the times. As early as the "4 May movement" period, he sided with the pioneers who took the journal new youth as representative of their central thinking, including the earliest communist Li Dazhao. He also directly joined a number of international antifascist struggles in support of the proletariat and progressive personages of foreign countries. In the rigorous domestic and international political struggles and in the movement to oppose the Kuomintang's counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression," Lu Xun became a staunch standard bearer for the proletarian revolutionary culture of China and acted as an unwavering proletarian revolutionary and a great communist fighter. Lu Xun's road was a typical reflection of the road taken by the outstanding Chinese intellectuals of the 20th century in continuing to pursue truth and advance--a road of continued advance from patriotism and democracy to socialism and communism.

Lu Xun created brilliant literary works. Not fearing the difficulty involved, he scaled the height of China's modern literature and art and became the greatest founder and trailblazer of our new culture.

Lu Xun made contributions in many fields, but his most prominent historical merit was on the cultural front. He used his outstanding feats to point out a new direction for the Chinese culture. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out correctly: "Lu Xun's direction is the direction of the new Chinese culture." Generally speaking, this is a national scientific and mass direction. The cultural direction that Lu Xun stood for is not out of date because of the completion of the new democratic revolution. It will further develop with the advance of our program of socialist modernization. Lu Xun's direction is still the one that we should keep to and develop. His heritage remains to be the treasure for our promotion of the socialist spiritual civilization and an indisputable forerunning guide and beacon light for the advance of the Chinese culture.

Without exception, the great culture of a country has its striking national characteristics and its own originality. It belongs to both the nation and the world. In other words, we can say that because it is a nation's culture it is part of the world culture. The inscription "the soul of our nation," written by Lu Xun's old friend Shen Junru after Lu Xun's death precisely indicated the high value people attached to him. With his outstanding creativity and national style, Lu Xun portrayed the suffering and indignation of our nation. More importantly, he portrayed our nation's most valuable quality, its most honorable thinking and sentiments and its most persistent fighting spirit. From Lu Xun himself and from his works we can find the essence of our nation's rich thinking, the wisdom, warmheartedness and creativity of the Chinese people in the semicolonial and semifeudal society and the real soul of our nation.

During the period of the "4 May movement," Lu Xun fiercely attacked Chinese traditional culture, but he was never a national nihilist. He was good at distinguishing between the essence and dross of our traditional culture. With intensive and extensive concern and indignation, he had to attack the weak points of our nation in order to revive it. No one else in the history of Chinese ideology and culture had made such conscientious and profound analysis and criticism of our people's negative features. At the same time, however, Lu Xun never forgot that in our nation there were a lot of hardworking people who were willing to give their lives for the interests of the people and that these people were the backbone of our nation and constituted the force for the survival and advance of our nation. Lu Xun was a man who fully respected foreigners and was good at learning their strong points. However, he was also a man with a high sense of national pride and dignity and a great patriot as strong as iron and steel.

On the one hand, Lu Xun practiced the "takeover doctrine" in absorbing foreign culture to develop our own national culture. On the other hand, he introduced the achievements of our national culture to the world so as to spur on the development of world culture. He upheld the idea of blending the national with the international and integrating patriotism with internationalism. He opposed both complacense and the style of improperly belittling ourselves, worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreigners. He looked down upon the "waiter style," which lacks national pride and is servile to foreigners. He also despised the comprador writers who thought China was lagging behind others in everything. Just as in dealing with opium, he tried to sweep away the dispirited culture, either introduced from the West or created at home, which poisoned the young people. He was indeed a defender of the spiritual health of our people and young men. Lu Xun's experience tells us that a good national writer should at all times be loyal to most people of his nation and should be good at developing the nation's fine cultural tradition. At the same time, he should have the farsightedness to break through the narrow national limitations, grasp the trend of the progress of world culture and be adept at assimilating foreign culture to enrich ourselves so the culture of our nation will continuously advance. Lu Xun was exactly such a man to boldly assimilate the strong points of foreign writers while having a profound knowledge of our own national culture. He knew very well the history and current condition of the Chinese nation. Because of this, it was not accidental that he became a great representative of Chinese culture, which occupies a significant position in the world.

To inherit Lu Xun's militant tradition in promoting the socialist spiritual civilization, we should carry forward his revolutionary spirit and scientific spirit in a way suited to today's actual situation. We should also do well in combining these two kinds of spirits. All social activities carried out by Lu Xun, including those in the literary and art fields, were based on his enthusiasm in cherishing the motherland and the people and in trying to make social reforms. While carrying out these activities, he always took a scientific approach.

After Lu Xun had decided to uphold the Marxist scientific world outlook, there was a further improvement of his scientific spirit, and his knowledge of Chinese society and the rule for the development of literature and art attained a still higher level. He called Marxism "the fundamental and practical social science," which he believed was conducive to the advance of literature and art.

Exactly as he himself said, Lu Xun accepted Marxism after he had drawn "lessons from facts." Among the truth-seeking Chinese, Lu Xun was one of the earliest people to come in contact with Marxism, but he did not accept it at that time. It was not until he had seen the 1911 revolution and other numerous incidents that he came to realize that only the Marxist analysis of human society and the road charted by Marxism were correct and that Marxism was suited to China's condition and required for saving our country. Then he resolutely corrected his ideological "deviation" and accepted the science of Marxism. In the hard years of white terror when "every family was a portrait of distress" in the wake of the "12 April" incident of 1927, Lu Xun boldly stepped forward and openly stood under the banner of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since Lu Xun's faith in Marxism was based on his deep understanding of the Chinese social condition and the law governing the development of history, he did not display the least sign of dogmatism when using Marxism to guide his words, deeds and writing. He was able to understand people, comment on world affairs and analyze the complicated social contradictions in a way more thorough and deep than ever. He had a more profound and practical understanding of the actual revolutionary struggle, the state of the revolutionary ranks and their strength and weakness. Over and over again he stressed that a revolutionary should "understand the reality of revolution." He pointed out: "Revolution is painful. It is bound to have dirt and blood and is by no means as interesting and perfect as some poets have thought. In particular, revolution is a practical thing, requiring a variety of humble and troublesome work. It is by no means as romantic as some poets have thought. In addition, revolution requires destruction, but construction is needed more. Destruction is a delightful job, but construction is a troublesome thing." For this reason, he was never intimidated by blood stains nor overcome by difficulties and setbacks. In the extremely difficult period of the revolution, he still believed that only the new rising proletariat had a future. In the march of the revolutionary ranks, some withdrew, some ran away, some became disappointed, and some rebelled, but his faith persisted in the revolutionary cause. He was deeply aware that all these were inevitable phenomena in the course of the revolution. With such a firm revolutionary faith, he fought to the last moment of his life, showing the most valuable revolutionary integrity and political quality of an intellectual believing in communism.

All his life Lu Xun applied his revolutionary spirit and scientific approach to his artistic practice and persisted in taking the road of revolutionary realism in his creative work. Since the "4 May" era, he always followed orders of the revolutionary forerunners and even referred to his own writings as "order-following literature." On the other hand, he was always faithful to artistic truthfulness, loudly calling on writers and artists to boldly open their eyes to observe society. He repeatedly stressed that a revolutionary writer should first of all be a revolutionary and personally experience a revolutionary life, for this was the only way not to misrepresent the revolution. While stressing that revolutionary writers should look reality in the face, Lu Xun also pointed out that they should have lofty goals and ideals. Lu Xun's scientific attitude lay not only in his attention to reality but also in his emphasis on proceeding from reality and tirelessly pursuing lofty goals and ideals. One important reason for the high level of maturity of Lu Xun's works was the fact that his realism was a combination of reality and ideals, able to fire men with enthusiasm to reform society and increase their strength to struggle toward their great goal.

Lu Xun's scientific attitude was not only applied to his creative work but also prominently embodied in his social and literary criticism. Lu Xun's militant life was a life devoted to a thorough criticism of the feudalistic and bourgeois old society and old culture. He regarded his essays as a reflex action and a means of attack and defense, and he maintained that "a writer's task is to make a prompt answer or stand against harmful things."

Lu Xun often pointed out that we needed strong critics who knew social science and we needed scientific criticism. This kind of criticism first of all should be out of "warm good intentions," that is, pure motives and the goal of unity. This kind of criticism is criticism seeking truth from facts and aimed at helping those criticized. Lu Xun never avoided mentioning his own viewpoints. Just as he was strict with himself, he often had disputes with his comrades in arms. He never easily let go of his comrades' shortcomings and mistakes, but sharply criticized them. He often warned them to pay attention to overcoming "left" ideas and sentiments. On the other hand he was always sincere toward them and correctly affirmed their strong points and achievements.

Summing up the painful historical lesson, all of us who experienced the 10 years of internal disorder must never give up the weapon of criticism. We must never give up criticism and self-criticism. We must learn to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and correctly handle and solve contradictions among the people themselves. In order to make our criticisms suit the socialist spiritual civilization, it is necessary to raise the level of our literary criticism and criticism in various other fields (including self-criticism), making such criticism more effective and scientific.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art" that our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers. Serving the people and socialism--this is the orientation we must adhere to. Before his death, Lu Xun highly appraised Gorkiy saying that all of Gorkiy's lofty ideals came true and that the most important reason for this was that "he was one of the people and shared their grief, anger and joy." Lu Xun was also a person who mixed himself with the masses and shared the masses' feelings. Throughout his life, he always had the sincerest, warmest and deepest love for the masses of the people. He cried out for them and fought for them. As a great writer, Lu Xun fought with his pen, coordinating his writing with the Chinese people's struggle for liberation under the leadership of the CCP. He used his pen as a dagger and a spear mercilessly exposing the darkness and crimes committed in China by imperialism, feudalism and domestic and foreign reactionaries. Through his personal struggle, Lu Xun contributed a tremendous force to ushering in the Chinese people's liberation. He was a most outstanding figure among our country's great revolutionary forerunners. His voice represented the aspirations of the Chinese people for revolution and liberation in the semicolonial and semifeudal society. His voice aroused strong sympathy among the masses of the people precisely because he was truly representing the Chinese people. Here lies Lu Xun's enduring strength. Comrade Mao Zedong called on all Communist Party members to emulate Lu Xun--"fierce-browed, I cooly defy a thousand pointing fingers and head-bowed, like a willing ox, I serve the children"--and become oxen for the masses of the people, devoting their entire lives to the service of the people. He asked us to emulate the very essence of Lu Xun's great character--his ardent love for and dedication to the people.

At first Lu Xun did not clearly see the role and place of the masses of the people in the entire course of history. After he accepted Marxism, he more consciously found that the material strength to reform China was with the masses of the people and that China's literature and art should pay chief attention to the masses of the people who constituted the vast majority of the nation. In 1930, in view of the prejudices of some bourgeois writers in our country, he emphatically pointed out: "The majority's strength is great and important. If those who aspire for reforms fail to deeply understand the masses' feelings and to try to guide and improve them, then whatever brilliant writings and great ideas they may produce, romantic or classic, will have nothing to do with the masses, but only for a few persons to express admirations for one another and derive some self-satisfaction in their studies." A major sign of Lu Xun's ideological maturity in his later years is that he saw that the great material strength to reform China, the strength to determine victory or defeat, lay in the masses of the people.

To make the masses of the people the masters of culture, Lu Xun and his comrades made great efforts to popularize literature and art. He resolutely opposed the aristocratic and scholar-bureaucrat tendencies in writing and literature, opposed the intentional choice of difficult words and affected elegance and opposed turning writing and literature into "something for the privileged" and "tools of the privileged class." With great enthusiasm he advocated the reform of the written Chinese language and promoted the picture-story books, modern woodcuts and folk theatrical arts. At that time, popular works of literature and art loved by the people, such as picture-story books, were not taken seriously by many people. Lu Xun stepped forward, however, to defend them most touchingly. Lu Xun was a highly accomplished intellectual in China, but he was also a fervant advocate for the popularization of science and literature and art. He set a good example in combining popularization and the raising of standards.

Lu Xun also resolutely opposed artistic tailism characterized by unprincipled catering and yielding to the masses. He had a revolutionary writer's high sense of mission and social responsibility toward the masses of the people. As a revolutionary intellectual, a revolutionary writer and artist, his lofty duty was "to give beneficial guidance" and not "to cater" to the masses. Lu Xun said: "Some people maintain that everything must meet the masses' approval. Some even say that it is necessary to 'cater to the masses,' and deliberately use coarser words to please the masses. Those individuals certainly make a painstaking effort, but by acting in such a way they are becoming literary hacks for the masses." In making such a conclusion, Lu Xun was by no means deliberately exaggerating so as to create a sensation. In our era, if literature and art do not focus on the overall and long-range interests of the masses of the people, if they do not observe and understand life from the standpoint of the progressive elements of the masses, but lower the ideological level, substitute something vulgar for what is popular in the name of the masses and use some stimulating things to cater to the appetite of the backward among the masses and pollute the masses' minds, will it not turn writers and artists into new literary hacks?

Lu Xun had a high sense of responsibility to the people. He placed the people's interests above everything else and always considered the objective social effects of literary works when published. It is particularly admirable that he made a conscious effort to remold himself and seriously analyzed himself. Today, our socialist revolutionary writers should learn from Lu Xun's keen sense of responsibility. It is wrong to regard this sense of responsibility as a kind of shackle to individual freedom. All revolutionary writers and artists with high aspirations should make this sense of responsibility an important part of their own artistic life and should not waver at any time. Only with this sense of responsibility can the orientation of our literature to serve the people and socialism become firm and capable of withstanding the test of history.

Lu Xun warned young writers and artists not to use literature as a stepping-stone to success, not to forego hard work after publishing one or two volumes of poems or novels and making a few small achievements and not to think that publishing a few essays or magazines for a year or so was a "great, unprecedented feat." At the same time, Lu Xun also hoped that literary critics would pay attention to protecting and inspiring the enthusiasm of young people to make long-lasting efforts, and not to "assassinate" them either by flattery or by abuse. This sincere and earnest teaching merits attention by all of us.

The development of China's new culture that was opened up by revolutionary Chinese writers and artists represented by Lu Xun is incomparably broad. As long as we adhere to the line of the 3d plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee and the four fundamental principles directed by the Party Central Committee, conscientiously study the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, insist on literature and art serving the people and socialism, unswervingly implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and arm our ranks with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our literature and art assuredly will win still more brilliant victories. In the past century, our country has in the great struggles against feudalism and imperialism produced such cultural giants as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun. Today, our country has entered a new historical period, and it is all the more necessary for a group of socialist cultural giants to come forward. Today, we solemnly commemorate the centennial of Lu Xun's birth to express our high respect for Lu Xun and also to place an earnest hope on the generation of new people of our country. In this age of ours there have already appeared many writers and artists who are taking the road of the new culture opened up by Lu Xun and other forebearers. We hope that from now on more vanguards and trailblazers will appear to break through brambles and thorns and charge forward to build up our country's socialist spiritual civilization.

Although the road we have followed is by no means smooth, our country has come a long way after all and the Chinese nation is now full of vigor and vitality. In the past few years, in the field of literature and art, we have revived and carried forward the fine tradition of revolutionary realism since the "4 May" and also radiated the new brilliance of revolutionary romanticism. Either in reflecting social life in depth and in breadth or in artistic forms, a number of outstanding writers and their works are pushing socialist literature and art to new levels and states. However, there are also quite a few shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Some writers and artists lean toward bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous tendencies and have not been promptly criticized and struggled against--which they deserve--by the leadership. The weak and lax state of leadership over literature and art urgently needs to be overcome. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we must correctly use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, develop our achievements and overcome shortcomings so that our ranks of writers and artists will become more united, stronger and more militant and so that our literature and art will develop more healthily. We firmly believe that in this great country of ours in the east with its long-standing culture and historical tradition, a brand-new great socialist renaissance of an eastern type will certainly arrive. Let us usher in its arrival by increasing our efforts a hundredfold and a thousandfold.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI UNIVERSITY SELECTS YOUNG CADRES AS LEADERS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Courageously Selecting and Training Young Cadres, Shanghai Jiaotong University Strengthens Leadership Group"]

[Text] In recent years, Shanghai Jiaotong University's party committee has courageously selected and trained talented and capable young cadres to strengthen the university's leadership group.

In 1977, the average age of five persons serving as secretaries and presidents and vice presidents was 63.6, and the president and vice president, Zhu Wuhua [2612 3670 5478] and Zhou Zhihong [0711 1807 1347], were already 70 and 80 years old. In 1978 the university chose four young cadres to fill the leadership group, and from outside the university chose two vice presidents, thus lowering the average age of the leadership group to 57.7. The young cadres made up 45 percent of the group. In 1980, the party committee agreed to the reassignment of two presidents who were over 70 to positions as second-level consultants and at the same time adopted the method of combining wide-ranging middle-level cadre recommendations and leadership agency examinations. With the approval of higher authorities, a 66-year-old first-level professor was made president, and two young and vigorous cadres were made first vice president and vice president. Through this readjustment the party and government separated, each doing its own job. In February of this year the party committee held an election and elected a young cadre to be deputy secretary of the party committee. Now the university leadership's average age is 54.5 years old, and young cadres make up 63.7 percent of the leadership group. Graduates of the university also make up 63.7 percent of the group.

The university now has 62 persons who are ministerial- and departmental-level cadres; of this number, 25 were selected after the smashing of the "gang of four," 40 percent are about 45 years old, and most have a college education. In addition, departments are electing chairmen and deputy chairmen in order to strengthen young cadre forces. The party committee has conscientiously studied and observed and sought out reserve forces as the foundation for strengthening leadership in the future.

Shanghai Jiaotong University has also dealt appropriately with the question of arrangements for old cadres and specialists who have been transferred to second-level positions, such as formulating "Several Views on Developing the School Consultant Role," establishing consultant groups, and further developing their role as guides, supervisors, and consultants. The university has designated persons to take care of the study and lives of old cadres who have left or retired.

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STATISTICS ON NATIONAL COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAM APPLICANTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Article: "Changes in Students Participating in This Year's National College Entrance Examinations; Increase in Proportion of National Minority Applicants, and Increase in Proportion of Applicants for Science, Engineering, Agriculture, and Medicine Over Last Year"]

[Text] According to materials supplied by relevant sections, this year 2,589,000 persons applied for national college entrance examinations. The proportion of students registering for examinations in science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine and the proportion of students who will graduate from urban middle schools this year is higher than last year. The proportion of domestic national minorities and students of overseas Chinese, Hong Kong-Macao, and Taiwan Province registry has increased over last year.

This year there will be screening in Sichuan, Shaanxi, Gansu, Xinjiang, Shanxi, Hunan, Hubei, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Shandong, Jiangsu, Guangxi, and Henan, with an estimated 3.6 million students participating in the preselection. After the screening, the number who will take the examinations will be 1.25 million.

Applicants by sex: more than 1.7 million males, or 66.3 percent (last year, 65.1 percent), females: 870,000, or 33.7 percent (last year, 34.9 percent.)

Examination category: letters: 680,000 applicants, or 26.4 percent (last year, 33.2 percent); science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine: 1.83 million applicants, or 70.9 percent (last year, 66.8 percent); arts and physical education: 66,00 applicants, or 2.6 percent.

Applicant category: this year's graduates of urban middle schools: 640,000, or 24.9 percent (last year, 20.3 percent); this year's graduates of rural middle schools: 1.14 million, or 44.4 percent (last year, 50.1 percent); intellectual youths who have returned from the countryside, or intellectual youths who have gone to the mountains and villages: 460,000, or 17.8 percent (last year, 17.2 percent); workers, cadres, and soldiers who have transferred to other occupations: over 60,000, or 2.4 percent (last year, 3.4 percent); others: 270,000, or 10.5 percent (last year, 8.7 percent).

Of students participating in the national college entrance examinations, applicants from national minorities number 139,000, or 5.38 percent (last year, 5.2 percent), which is higher than last year's ratio. Young people of overseas Chinese, Hong

Kong-Macao, and Taiwan Province registry number more than 1,700, or .07 percent (last year, .05 percent). In addition, there are over 540 who applied directly to Jinan University and the Overseas Chinese University and who have not participated in the national college entrance examinations. Over 270 of them have already been accepted by these universities. With the addition of these students, over 2,000 young people who are overseas Chinese, or are from Hong Kong-Macao and or Taiwan Province, are participating in the entrance examinations. (Editor's note: The figures given in our report on 2 August were incorrect and are hereby corrected.)

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN INTELLECTUALS PLAY ROLE IN FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Role of Intellectuals in Four Modernizations Fully Manifested; 23 Sichuan Professors and Associate Professors Selected for Leadership in Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, 23 professors and associate professors from Sichuan have been chosen as heads or deputy heads of institutes and schools in 15 institutions of higher learning, including Southwest Agricultural College, Chengdu College of Telecommunications Engineering, Chengdu Geological College, and the Sichuan College of Finance.

The 23 professors and associate professors who have been chosen to join the leadership ranks of institutions of higher learning include party members and nonparty members. One-quarter of them are below the age of 55. They have been teaching in institutions of higher learning for a long time and have made important contributions to teaching and research. Professor Liu Mingzhao [0491 2494 6856], who has been made dean of Southwest Agricultural College, has been teaching for nearly 40 years. He has broad knowledge and profound attainments in genetics, biophysics, and biological statistics. He and other faculty and students bred eight superior strains of cotton, making a contribution to the development of cotton production in Sichuan. The "heyu [0678 3768] No 1" corn variety, developed under his guidance, has already spread to a large area in Sichuan. His books "Cultivation" and "Evolution of World Cotton Cultivation" have a very high academic level. After Professor Lo Zhetan [5012 5832 3384] of the Chengdu Geological College graduated in 1942, he then went abroad for further study in the United States in 1948 and earned an M.S. In 1950 he returned to China and has held the positions of deputy chairman and chairman of the Department of Geology at Chong Qing University, of the Department of Drilling at Beijing Petroleum College, and of the Department of Petroleum at Chengdu Geological College. In his scientific research he has not feared difficulty and has dared to explore and be creative, constantly introducing new theories, new techniques, and new methods, and has aspired to surpass advanced world levels. He is one of the first specialists in China to research raising the recovery ratio of oil strata, and he has accumulated a great deal of experience in forcing out oil with foam, CO_2 water flooding, and by heating the oil stratum. He has published many treatises and writings." "On the Sedimentary Features and Reserve Strata of Triassic Oolitic Carbonatite in Ancient Faults of South China Basin" which he helped write, was an exchange contribution to the 25th International Geological Association Conference and was well received by the international journal ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY. For the past 31 years, Professor Lo Zhetan has made important contributions in training petroleum and geological technical specialists and in developing China's petroleum. Late last year he was made vice dean of Chengdu Geological College.

After these 23 professors and associate professors assumed positions as heads and deputy heads of schools and institutes of higher learning, they worked hard as leaders in teaching and in scientific research as well as organizers of teaching and scientific research, and they played an important role in the teaching, scientific research, and executive management of their schools. After comrades Gao Zhiren [7559 0037 0088] and Yang Feng [2799 7685], professors at Sichuan Agricultural College, were made vice deans, they were really willing to work hard. Under the leadership of the college party committee, they humbly listened to the opinions of the faculty, organized the improvement of the teaching and research work of the entire faculty of the college, and received good marks from the masses. After Professor Gu Deren [7357 1795 0088], who is a specialist in pulse theory, color television, and radio technology, was made vice dean of Chengdu College of Telecommunications Engineering in February of this year, he went to the departments and laboratories to understand the situation and, together with the faculty, he studied and resolved problems in instruction and scientific research. He also made many proposals for building laboratories and readjusting the college's instructional system.

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LIMITS TO LITERARY LICENSE LIMNED

Lenin on Literature

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 81 p 4

/Article by Zhang Yuzhong /1728 3768 6945/ entitled: "Dialectics of 'Creative Freedom'"/

/Text/ Of the many articles which have recently been written on the democracy of art and creative freedom, nearly all have cited the following saying by Lenin: "It is beyond dispute that literature is a matter which least lends itself to a mechanical norm, standardization and the dictum of the minority acceding to the majority. It is beyond dispute that this is a matter in which an individual's creative talent and interests must be given free rein."

Thus, Lenin, in making clear in an incisive manner the special laws innate to literature, demands that due respect be accorded the creative nature of art and the esthetic interests of a particular writer in the process of literary creation. It is for this reason that he termed the "literature of the party," which is "a part of the total concern of the proletarian class," as truly "free literature." As is well-known, literature is a reflection of the objective life in society rather than a mechanical copy of it. It is the re-creation of art by making use of the form as a model. This involves the instillation and fusion of such elements as the subjective microcosm of the individual's thinking, his esthetic interests and his emotional style. For this reason, it is only by according him the fullest creative freedom that proletarian literature can be made to flourish. Having been through the 10-year period of Fascist dictatorship imposed by the "gang of four," we should allow writers to exercise their artistic and creative talent to the full in their literary creation.

Truth, however, has its limits. The overstepping of such limits is bound to result in error. What was also said by Lenin in the same piece of writing has seldom been touched upon in recent years. Lenin said, "Not only must we establish a free press, but we are also certain that it will be established. This freedom not only implies shaking off the oppression of the police, but also capitalism and entrenched privileges, and even the individualism of anarchism of the bourgeoise." He pointed out sharply that "to live in society and to live freely and apart from society is an impossibility." The fact is that literature, being the "cogwheel and the screw" of the machinery of the entire proletarian revolution, "simply cannot be an individualistic enterprise divorced from the entire enterprise of the proletarian class." For this reason, it cannot have "absolute freedom" and be free from any restraint. People are fond of mouthing the saying "emancipate the mind and break through forbidden ground." What do these words actually mean? In my opinion, it means emancipation from the ultra-leftist line, from idealism and metaphysics and breaking through the forbidden ground of cultural dictatorship imposed by the "gang of four." We should speak fearlessly and in a forthright manner against such anachronisms. However, we must not break through what is proper and correct the way we break through "forbidden grounds." For instance, we must not only refrain from breaking through the four basic principles which served as the foundation for the establishment of the republic, but must resolutely strive for their implementation. Again, while there is nothing wrong to write about love, any indulgence in writings of a sexual nature will certainly be censured. At the present time, it cannot be denied that there are some comrades in the literary circles who take freedom and democracy to mean freedom from any restraint whatsoever and who consider it permissible to run amok at will. There are those who write articles openly advocating that writers should have the courage to take an "opposite stand" against the party. Articles have been written in favor of egotism, subjectivism and the subconscious and urging writers to refrain from writing about meritorious achievements which are beyond "their own feelings." Some writings are passive in style and pessimistic in tone. They tend to exaggerate particular instances and certain bright and dark sides of society as being representative of the bright and dark sides of the entire prevailing society. Some writings strive to play up what is startling, agonizing and blood-curdling and are partial to the undesirable trend of indulging in plots of a bizarre nature. Furthermore, poems and songs have been written such as "The General and the Soldier" whose aim it is to distort the relationship between the officers and men in the people's army. How can people derive strength and hope from works of this nature? How can such works serve to activate the positive socialist attitude of the people to expedite the implementation of the four modernizations?

If that is meant by "creative freedom," it will, without a doubt, create havoc to the entire cause of the proletarian revolution. It can also be said that a small number of writers, given the absolute freedom they seek, are certain to deprive the masses of their freedom. For this reason, we must at all times and under all circumstances act in accordance with dialectical materialism and avoid going to extremes. While "we should permit the free competition of all types and varieties of literary works," we must call on writers to take a profound view of life and to look at people as they are and produce what is true to the times. It is only thus that we can be sure that proletarian works of literature will bring into full play what was said by Lenin about "serving thousands and tens of thousands of the laboring masses, their country's best interests, their country's power, and their country's future."

Liberal Trend Attacked

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] The Literary and Art Union of the province recently met to study and to discuss the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, to review Chairman Mao's comments on the works of literature and art, to study and discuss the instructions handed down by comrades in leadership positions in the Central Committee of the CCP on literature and art, to discuss ways and means to strengthen and improve upon the party leadership in literature and art, to launch a campaign to criticize works of literature and art in a correct manner and to rectify the liberal trend in literature and art since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP.

In the course of the discussion, it was unanimously agreed that since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, the situation as regards the battleline of literature and art in our province has been favorable and that there has emerged a new phase of unprecedented activity. However, under the influence of the liberalization tendency of the capitalist class, there has also emerged works which follow the wrong trend and certain mistaken viewpoints which run counter to the four basic principles. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that those engaged in literature and art, by failing to speak out against this erroneous trend and erroneous works in time and in a fearless and forthright manner, have displayed an attitude of laxity and weakness. It was agreed that unless these problems are corrected in time, our literature and art will be in danger of being sidetracked from being dedicated to the service of the people and of socialism.

Those present at the meeting engaged in an animated discussion on ways and means to strengthen and improve upon the party's leadership in literature and art. It was pointed out by some comrades that, under the long-term leadership of the party in literature and art, those engaged in such pursuits have willingly accepted the party leadership, that the works of literature and art have become the "cogwheel and the screw" of the entire revolution, that Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong have always been the guiding thought in the work of revolutionary literature and art, that all the achievements in literature and art have resulted from strong and effective party leadership and that there can be no socialist literature and art in the absence of party leadership. Note was also taken that since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, the flourishing state of literature and art was made possible by the leadership in hewing to the correct political line of the party. At the present time, there has appeared a liberalization tendency among those engaged in literature and art who seek to weaken and to shake off party leadership. This cannot be tolerated. In the past, due to the damage done by the "gang of four" and certain policy errors committed by the party in exercising its leadership, some damage was done to the entire field of literature and art. That, however, cannot be used as justification for shaking off the correct leadership of the party. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, the Central Committee of the CCP has pursued a correct political line. In the works of literature and art, the party has clearly pointed to the direction of "dual endeavors," resolutely implemented the "two hundred" policy and the "three don'ts" principle, directed much attention and given due respect to the works of writers and artists, provided leadership to literature and art according to the regulatory laws pertaining to literary and artistic works, liberated to the largest possible extent the productive potential of literature and art, given full impetus to and brought into full play the positive attitude of those engaged in literature and art and lent great support to large numbers of those engaged in literary and artistic work. It is incumbent upon those engaged in literature and art to submit willingly to party leadership and the guidance of the party's political line, adhere strictly to the four basic principles, direct their efforts toward the production of a larger volume of literary and artistic works that are in tune with the spirit of the times, and heighten the enthusiasm of the people for socialist development.

In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that there exists among the literary and art circles an undesirable practice, namely, the resentment of criticism and the dismissal of all criticism as an "attack." As a result, all literary and artistic reviews dwell on what is good and remain silent on what is bad and indulge in flattery without regard for principles. If this abnormal situation is not corrected, it will not only hamper the adoption of the correct view of the world on the part of writers and artists, but will also be prejudicial to the development and blossoming of literature and art as well. We must use criticism of literature and art as a weapon to set a method for criticism and we must give consideration to the effects of such criticism. We must not, under any circumstance, repeat the "leftist" mistakes of the past. The method of criticism characterized by the practice of giving people derogatory names indiscriminately, of launching an assault at will, of inflating minor matters into serious offenses to incriminate a person, of launching an attack without reason just for a moment's gratification, and of waging merciless struggles and cruel attacks can only do harm to our comrades without helping to resolve ideological problems. It was agreed that in criticizing literature and art, we must be mindful of certain demarcation lines, namely, the demarcation between academic and political problems, the demarcation between the influence exerted by a momentary lapse in correct thinking and the influence exerted by reactionary thought, the demarcation between the contradictions among the people themselves and the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and the demarcation between a temporary lapse of understanding and the stubborn persistence in holding on to one's errors. All problems relating to ideology and to contradictions among the people themselves should, for the sake of unity, be resolved in a new spirit of unity and on a new basis following a period of criticism and struggle.

During the discussion, the participants also engaged in a spirited exchange of views on how to prevent and to overcome the laxity and weaknesses of leadership in literature and art, and how to develop young and middle-aged writers.

Writers Must Serve Masses

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Ma Weian [7456 3956 1344] entitled "Writers Must Listen to the Opinions of the Masses"]

[Text] From its first draft to its formal adoption, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Republic of China" took a year and three months to come into being. As many as 7 drafts were submitted at different times to various bodies for their joint discussion. This "Resolution" is realistic, scientific and based on what is true. The entire process of its drafting was characterized by adherence to the truth. This process made clear that the truth can be arrived at by hewing to the line and by culling the collective wisdom of the masses.

This has served to pose a question: If it is fitting to submit this important party resolution repeatedly to those inside and outside the party for their opinion, should not writers also pay more heed to the opinions of the masses?

Our literature is dedicated to the service of the people and the socialist cause. A literary work is a reflection of the writer's views on life in society. Whether or not this reflection is correct and profound is something on which the masses who constitute society have every right to express their opinions. Being the parties for whom literary and artistic works are created, the masses naturally have the full right to pass judgment on their merits and on whether or not they are appreciated in the light of their standard of acceptance. It was Comrade Zhou Enlai who said that "A work of art is subject to the approval of the people, and it has value only insofar as it is appreciated by the people."

Perhaps some comrades fear that since a literary creation is not the same as a political resolution, to listen to too many points of view would tend to cramp a writer's personal style. Although this fear is not entirely without justification, it is necessary to look at it analytically.

A literary creation must, of course, bear the stamp of a writer's style. Whether it is distinctive and multi-faceted is an important gauge as to whether or not the literature of a certain period is flourishing and mature. The absence of a variety of styles in the works of authors is an indication of a literary decline. However, an author should not take the heeding of the opinions of the masses to mean the hampering of his literary style. Listening to the opinions of the masses does not mean giving it to the masses. After having heard the opinions of the masses, an author should analyze what is correct, what should be taken into account, and what should be kept for reference purposes. After having accepted and absorbed the opinions of the masses, a writer has still to decide what changes he should make. On the basis of his personality and style, a writer has still to cull from and to assimilate the best opinions of the masses and to decide how they may be reflected in his work. He must keep faith with the artistic structure of his entire work rather than to make a change here and a change there in deference to a particular opinion as a matter of form. Listening to and digesting and assimilating the opinions of the masses will not cause a writer to lose his personal style, just as people eating the same food will not have the same weight, the same type of face, and especially the same personalities.

There are other comrades who contend that writers and artists should retain their "courage" and self-respect. Others even go so far as to make the statement in public that "the secret of my success lies in my being true to my own feelings. I am what I am. I do not listen to the advice of my friends and I do not allow myself to be swayed."

In actual human society, there is no place for a loner who refuses "to be swayed by others." Those who claim that they are not "swayed by others" have, in fact, already been "swayed" by others. Not only writers, but also all revolutionaries, should be true to their own feelings and refrain from insincere utterances. The question is whether one's feelings are healthy and correct and whether utterances made in sincerity have any validity. How do we draw the boundary line between isolating oneself from the masses, the comrades and friends on the one side and individualism and subjectivism on the other? While it is true that writers and artists should have their own pursuits and their own personalities, they should not set themselves up in opposition to the masses and without regard for their needs. Self-respect also entails respect for the masses. To show no respect for the masses is to be guilty of egotism. In his artistic pursuit, a writer should proceed in the general direction that responds to and meets the needs of the masses. To pursue a goal that is irrelevant to the needs of the masses is to run into a blind alley. Respect for the opinions of the masses is a discipline which should be cultivated by all revolutionaries. What is more, the masses are not all committed to the denial of a writer's individual pursuits. Is it not an asset to artistic creation when one's pursuit receives the welcome and support of the masses? The central idea embodied in Mao Zedong's literary works represents the merging of literature with the people and the masses of the time. It is absolutely necessary that those engaged in literary work should find a clearcut solution to the problem of the relationship between themselves and the masses. It was Gorki who said that "It is when a writer is deeply aware of the flesh and blood kinship between himself and the people that he comes to acquire beauty and strength. He must seek what has yet to be found, and look for new words and phrases, new rhythms, new forms and new designs. A poet is an echo of the world, and not merely of his own soul."

Those who indulge in writings which expose the dark side of life within the party and society should in particular go into the masses and listen to their opinions. The purpose of exposing the dark side is to correct what needs to be corrected, and not merely to lay them bare just to satisfy one's whim of the moment. By listening to the opinions of the masses, a writer can make his work more precise and profound and avoid being one-sided. The achievement of the above is all to the good. Writers should imbue themselves with the spirit of a high degree of responsibility toward the party and the people and avoid being over-confident. Over-confidence is a form of superstition. Our suggestion is that writers should have confidence in the masses while retaining their own self-respect. Undesirable as it is to be lacking in self-confidence, self-confidence to the exclusion of everything else will lead to serious errors. Writers should listen not only to the critical remarks of the masses, but also those from a variety of sources rather than the opinions of one particular segment and one particular group of people. They should avoid being arrogant. Criticism and self-criticism provide the motive force that enables us to develop our endeavors. We should use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to overcome various kinds of erroneous tendencies. At the present time, we must in particular direct our criticism in a stern and forthright manner and wage an effective struggle against the prevailing tendency in society to sidetrack socialism, to shake off party leadership and to advocate for capitalistic liberalization. Literary criticism serves to restore order and to establish the correct attitude toward criticism and to develop literary criticism according to the Marxist mold.

It was pointed out in the "Resolution" that "following the basic completion of the inception of socialism, the major contradiction that remains to be resolved is the contradiction between the increasing demands made by the people in a materialistic civilization and the productive capacity of a backward society." We must achieve a heightened understanding of the need to relate the problem of getting writers to listen to the opinions of the masses to the major contradictions in our socialist society. The purpose of material production is to improve the economic life of the people, while spiritual production merely serves to satisfy their cultural and artistic needs. By paying more attention to the opinions of the masses regarding their work, writers cannot but help to resolve this major contradiction. It is our sincere hope that writers and artists will address themselves to this problem and help to find a gradual solution through their efforts.

9621
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COUNTRYSIDE AS SUBJECT FOR CREATIVE WRITING DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492]: "A Great Future for Writing on Rural Themes"]

[Text] Summary: In the past 2 years, some well-received creative works with rural themes have been produced. We must recognize the importance of these creative works in view of the important role played by peasants in our long revolutionary struggle and in the four modernizations. We must carefully sum up their experiences, discover their special features, including their national and mass styles and their methods of expression, and produce more good works for the entertainment of 800 million peasants. We must conscientiously implement the "200" policy and continue to improve the quality of the works so that literature and art can serve the people and socialism more effectively.

In the first 2 years following the downfall of the "gang of four," some writers who were familiar with rural life produced artistic works portraying rural scenes with certain success. However, because of the limitation of the realities of life in the countryside and some other factors, not many of these works were of a high level and really able to generate the expected appeal. With the implementation of rural economic policies after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the situation in the countryside has greatly improved and many writers and artists have turned their attention to rural areas. Those writers who had long been there were further inspired, and in the past 2 years some creative works with rural themes have been warmly welcomed by the broad masses of peasants and city dwellers. In such circumstances and with the gradually enlarged scope of literary and artistic creation, the question of using rural themes in writing has further aroused the attention of the broad masses as well as people in literary and art circles. Here are my personal observations on this question:

1. We must appreciate the importance of creative works with rural themes in view of the significant role played by the peasants in our long revolutionary struggle and in the four modernizations.

In China, it has long been an established fact that 80-90 percent of the population are peasants. During the democratic revolution, our party learned the truth of the saying that "the basic problem of the Chinese revolution is the problem of the peasants" only after many reverses and failures. It was on the basis of such knowledge that our party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zdeong, could lead the Chinese revolution, establishing rural revolutionary bases, using the countryside to surround the cities, and finally seizing political power throughout the country.

China has undergone great developments and many changes during the 30 years since the founding of the people's republic. However, there are still 800 million peasants among our 1 billion population, and the rural economy still has a strong bearing on the entire social life and the progress of the four modernizations. Practice has proved that in undertaking any part of our four modernizations program, we must consider the present situation of the peasants and the rural economy. We must also fully assess the needs of the peasants and consider the methods to satisfy these needs before we can achieve any spectacular success; otherwise, we will commit errors and even fail to accomplish anything. Cultural advancement, as a component of the four modernizations, should likewise proceed from the hard fact that there are 800 million peasants among our 1 billion population, and we must satisfy the daily growing needs of these peasants' cultural life before we can accomplish anything. It is unthinkable for us to talk glibly about thriving literature and art without giving any thought to rural themes.

Our stress on the importance of rural themes does not mean that we are advocates of the "theory that subject matter decides everything." The evaluation of literary works can be decided only on their ideological and artistic quality instead of on the subject matter chosen. But there is a difference between important and unimportant subjects, after all. In choosing the subject matter, the writer should certainly think of the interests of the revolution, because the relative importance and urgency of different aspects should be compared before the final choice is made.

2. We must strive to portray the lifestyle and destiny of the peasants and present their different images. This is our fine literary and artistic tradition which must be cherished, continued and developed.

The development of our revolution and construction began with the solution of the peasants' problems; our new literary and art movement should likewise begin with the portrayal of rural life. Many writers from Lu Xun and Mao Dun on down to the fine scholars of the present age have carried forward the fine tradition with great success, and this tradition has been based on the important place occupied by the peasants in our country's social life as well as the close relationship between our party and the peasantry. For a certain period beginning in the late 1950's, leftist mistakes produced very unpleasant effects on agricultural production and the peasants' livelihood. In the early 1960's, the unjust repudiation of the "the theory of middle characters" and "the theory of the deepening of realism" was a setback for some writers devoted to the portrayal of various typical images in rural life according to the requirements of realism. The perverse action of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing during the 10 years of upheaval in particular further disrupted the close relationship formed over a long period of revolution and construction between the party and the peasants, with the result that many writers, proficient in depicting rural life, became victims of persecution and attacks. They lost their right to creative writing, and the growth of the traditional revolutionary literature and art, which was good at depicting rural life, was checked or even strangled.

The implementation of the two documents concerning rural economy in the new period, the redress of grievances on the agricultural question and the successful handling of the problem of China's countryside with 800 million peasants have given a new life to creative writing on rural themes. We should have confidence and mettle not only in the use of rural themes in presenting in-depth descriptions of how our peasants in different historical stages have experienced various difficulties and setbacks and have finally embarked on the road of successful development, but also in the production of more good works in various forms to add new chapters to our glorious history. We believe that as long as we firmly adhere to the four basic principles, the "dual purpose" orientation and the "200" principle of the party in literature and art; resolutely emanicipate our minds, and continue to go deep into the realities of life to observe, experience, analyze and study all people and all vivid forms of life as well as the different forms of struggle in the countryside, we can certainly continue to create more and better works with rural themes.

3. We should fully affirm and carefully cherish the fine start as well as the achievements already gained in creative writing on rural themes. All this will serve as the starting point for us to continue our march and our ascent.

It is a gratifying sight now that a number of budding talents adept at depicting rural life have emerged. The large varieties of themes, the novelty of their contents, the in-depth expression of ideas and the new methods of presentation have combined to produce a magnetic power. The movies "A Family Full of Joy" and "Laughter at Moonlight Bay"; the documentary films "They Are Doing Well" and "Ducks Turned Treasure"; the dramas "Luofengtai [Wind Terrace]," "Zhao, Qian, Sun and Li," "Decorated with Lanterns and Streamers"; the operas "Niu Duoxi in a Sedan Chair" and "Hard to See a Full Moon"--all of which have won awards from the Department of Culture--are representative works.

I would like to talk about some experiences which deserve to be summed up in the light of the success of the above movies, dramas and other creative works. My views are as follows:

First, proceeding from the continued development of agricultural production and the fast changing appearance of the countryside, including the change in rural life since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, these works have shown how the hundreds of millions of peasants, under the party's leadership, have once again become masters of their own destiny in a historical change, and how the countryside will continue to flourish for a long time to come through the description of the present rural life. This is the first salient feature of creative works with rural themes in recent years.

The situation in the countryside has changed mainly because of the strong vitality demonstrated by the party's rural policies. Besides emancipating the peasants from the spiritual fetters of the leftist policies of the past, these rural policies also called on the peasants to act as masters of their own destiny, to devote their talents and energy to productive labor, and to show a strong determination in building a new world. This is the impression we got from the drama "Luofengtai." Here the contradictions are focused on the election of a production team leader, but the value of the drama is that instead of confining himself to the election, the writer also depicts the "old obstacles" as the aftermath of the leftist policies over many years against a background of fresh vitality brought forth by the Third Plenary Session, and he then proceeds to show the difference between the two destinies of all the peasants in Luofengtai. "Xu Mao and His Daughters" is a bold portrayal of people's destiny, and through the change of destiny shows the reform of social life. This new development in creative writing has prompted the revival of revolutionary realism. This novel has already been made into a movie and a drama to be shown on the screen and the stage. We believe that some other good novels, such as "Chen Huansheng Goes to Town," "At the Country Fair" and so forth will also attract the attention of movie drama producers and will someday find their way to the screen and the stage.

Second, rural themes used in movies and theatrical works, as in literary creation, stress the artistic portrayal of people as the central task and in a typical way. These works depict the changes in the countryside and in the people's spiritual outlook after the implementation of the party Central Committee's policies. However, instead of the stereotyped method of "illustration with diagrams," real life, stirring episodes and vivid dialogues are used to portray the characters and their personal traits; and their images, thus portrayed, show the special features of the age as well as the new relationships among the people. Such are the merits of the movies "A House Full of Joy," "Laughter at Moonlight Bay" and other prize-winning works. There are also some works with unique themes and new methods of portraying characters.

Third, some of these movies and theatrical works are written in the form of comedy. This is a big improvement and a departure from the old methods of portraying tragic scenes. Just as the playwrights themselves said, the use of the new method is possible only because of the tremendous change in the peasants' life and in their spiritual outlook, which has impressed and educated the writers. From this, we can see that if we continue to go deep into the realities of life and thus draw our inspiration and strength from the people's life experiences, it will help us not only remold our world outlook but also improve our artistic creation.

Here, we have touched on the question of exploration and innovation of methods and forms of expression in creative works with rural themes. In order that movies and other theatrical works may be more suitable for depicting new life experiences and for the peasant audiences of different cultural levels and different tastes, we must be sure that our artistic works meet the requirements of today's audiences, particularly the young audiences, and continue to develop their good taste by producing fine works and bringing up new talents.

All artistic forms and methods of expression should constantly change along with the devlopments of the age, the evolution of lifestyle, the progress of science and technology, and the change in people's tastes. Rural life, the peasants' way of thinking and lifestyle, and the relationships among people have all undergone great changes nowadays. For all artistic forms, including national forms (such as traditional opera) and imported forms (such as movie and drama), there is the question of how to cater to the taste of the rural audience more effectively. Therefore, on the basis of inheriting the national tradition, our writers and artists should look further for the forms and methods of expression according to the national and mass styles before they can keep up with the progress of the age. For example, traditional opera is originally a national heritage welcomed by the broad masses of peasants. However, it has to be constantly upgraded instead of remaining at the same old level. In movie and drama, great progress has been made in adapting to the national style after more than half a century's efforts, and by now, they have become part of our national culture. However, further progress is still necessary in achieving national and mass styles for the movies and dramas intended for the rural audiences, in order that they can be completely understood and thoroughly enjoyed by the 800 million peasants. If the peasants do not understand the movies or dramas and refuse to see them, these movies or dramas will not be of any educational value, and the goal of satisfying the peasants' cultural needs cannot be attained.

4. We should firmly uphold the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," provide correct guidance on the use of rural themes in creative works, and actively help solve the many problems relating to the enrichment of creative works. Proceeding from the realities of life, we should also adhere to the principle of revolutionary realism. The key to further improving and developing creative works with rural themes is to constantly improve the quality of such works without reducing their output.

First, we should improve and strengthen our leadership over creative works. A good start has already been made in the production of movies and dramas depicting the realities of rural life in the new historical period. Now is the time to follow up by further enriching creative work and improving its quality. This calls for planning and organization. There should be more works of really high quality before there can be a general improvement; and the production of more high-quality works requires time, support and favorable conditions.

As to the guiding ideology in creative works, there should be a general agreement on the way to portray positive characters and new socialist people. In his "congratulatory message" to the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In literature and art, we should make greater efforts and achieve greater success in portraying and training new socialist people. We should create pioneers of the four modernizations and show that they have revolutionary ideals and scientific approach; lofty sentiments and creative ability; a broad vision and a brand new mental outlook of seeking truth from facts. Through the images of these new people, we should arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses and encourage them in their historical task of pioneering for the four modernizations."

To accomplish the task of creating new socialist people, we should first have a better understanding of these people in the countryside. They should be from a new generation of peasants with advanced ideas, high integrity and good workstyle. They can also be those typical persons who have been backward and are now advanced; or those who formerly took the wrong path but, after a process of education and remolding, have turned over a new leaf and joined the ranks of the new generation in the countryside. The march of time is endless; the new life offers unlimited opportunities; and people's thinking changes constantly. Therefore, our understanding of the "new people" cannot be always based on the same standard, and it would be an even more serious mistake for us to idolize the new socialist people or portray them as saints born perfect. In portraying peasants, it is certainly wrong to ignore the main aspect by omitting the good points reflecting the new ideology which they embody. At the same time, however, it would be unrealistic to ignore the defects which have been left over from the old society and picked up by many, and then portray these people as being "all perfect." By creating typical characters of flesh and blood, we can either use the ideology and sentiments of advanced characters to influence people so as to keep the wheels of history turning in its advance, or sum up certain experiences and draw lessons from some of these typical characters so that people in general will become more intelligent and more capable of carrying out innovation. We must not create characters who tend to become formalized and generalized and are so pale and weak that people become tired of seeing them. Such characters may even spoil people's appetite for creative works with rural themes.

Second, in enriching creative works with rural themes, we should also bear in mind two other considerations: On the one hand, some people do not care to write on rural themes because there is not much to write about, because they are afraid that the rural policies may change again and therefore they dare not write, or because movies and theatrical works with rural themes may not be able to attract a large audience in the cities, and therefore they do not want to write. These views should be clarified, because they are certainly one-sided. On the other hand, we must uphold the principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and strive for more varieties of themes, forms and styles, so that the works may not become monotonous. We should also guard against the tendency toward mass production at the expense of quality.

Lenin said: "Great political reforms in history have always gone a long way before they could be digested." The same applies to politics and literary and artistic creation. At present, our countryside is undergoing a great reform, and there is a process of digestion, understanding and learning for our writers, directors and actors. Therefore, we cannot urge the writers and artists to produce a great deal of high-quality works quickly. However, people must first eat before they can have anything to digest. Similarly, we must be thoroughly familiar with the realities of life and with people and then go through the process of thinking, refining and generalizing before we can proceed with creative works. Our writers must not at any time or under any circumstance forget to firmly uphold the principle of proceeding from the realities of life and the principle of realism in creative work.

Material and spiritual lives in our country are now improving rapidly along with the socialist modernization, and the 800 million peasants are earnestly hoping for a rich cultural life with more entertainment from high-quality creative works. We must discard the former narrow concept of cultural work in the countryside, emancipate our minds, and gradually expand the scope of our cultural service to the countryside in different forms and styles. We should think of the peasants whenever we are engaged in any type of cultural work. Through the efforts of the writers and artists who have gone deep into the realities of life and artistic practice, not only creative works with rural themes, but also our task of serving the countryside as a whole will take a gigantic step forward!

"This article is composed from the speeches at a symposium held by the Department of Culture on creative work with rural themes.)

9411
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COMMEMORATION OF PEOPLE'S EDUCATION UNDER SOCIALISM

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [RESEARCH IN EDUCATION] in Chinese No 7, Jul 81, pp 2-7

[Article by Zhang Jian [1728 0256]: "The Establishment of the People's Education: A Great Cause Under the Leadership of the Party--In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party"]

[Text] The great, accurate and glorious CCP was born 60 years ago. Our party led the Chinese people in their great revolutionary struggle and arduous undertakings. On the foundation of the victorious conclusion of the New People's Democartic revolution, we are now advancing on the new long march of the socialist revolution and four modernizations, striving to build a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured, powerful socialist state. Our party integrated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution and in the space of 60 years--a very short period in the long process of human history--not only created a socialist economy that works for the welfare of the people, based on the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of all exploitation, established a people's democratic dictatorship in which the people are masters of their own house and a socialist political regime in which all oppression has been abolished. We also established the great undertaking of educating the people, abolishing ignorance, stimulating the people's intelligence and nurturing men of talent and skills, thus laying the initial foundation for building up a socialist material civilization and a spiritual culture.

From the May 4 Movement to the first revolutionary civil war, our party's proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation fully realized that the people's educational undertakings are a powerful and effective means to transform the old China and build a new society, and that schools are the important front for the education of the people and the nurturing of cadres. The great leader of the party and cofounder of the party, Mao Zedong, was not only a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist, philosopher and poet, but also a great educator of the people. Prior to the May 4 Movement, when he was studying at the Hunan First Normal College, he pioneered night schools for workers in Changsha, organized workers to acquire elementary education and propagated revolutionary ideas for the salvation of the country and the people. He later established the Hunan Self-Study University and organized young students to study revolutionary theories. At the time of the first revolutionary civil war, he instituted peasant study groups at Guangzhou, Wuhan and at the seat of the central authority to train a core contingent of cadres for the revolutionary movement of the peasantry. Comrade Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856], one of the founders of our party, propagated Marxism at Beijing University, guiding young students toward the revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai [0719 1869 0171] once hald the position of head of the Political Department of the Huangpu Military Academy, nurturing several eminent military men. Comrade Liu Shaoqui [0491 1421 1142] established workers' clubs and night schools at the Anyuan coal mines, arousing the workers to rise in revolt. Comrade Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101] was one of the men who established Shanghai University, nurturing revolutionary cadres, etc., etc. These are activities of some of the revolutionaries of the older generation on the educational front as they were engaged in nurturing revolutionary cadres.

In the second revolutionary civil war, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, further favorable conditions were created for the education of the people due to the fact that the party led the people in arming the revolution and in establishing revolutionary base areas.

In order to develop the education of children, youths and the masses, Lenin elementary schools, various night schools and literacy classes were instituted all over the central soviet districts, and the soldiers of the Red Army were also organized for the study of politics, military science and general education. At that time the rate of children of school age in schools exceeded that rate in areas under the rule of the Kuomintang. Exhilerating results were achieved in wiping out illiteracy among youths and adults. The war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, with their continuous expansion and development of base areas, saw not only the establishment of anti-Japanese elementary schools, popular night schools and literacy classes, but also of ordinary middle schools and normal colleges. In his article, "The United Front in Cultural Work," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out at that time: "In our educational work we must not only have concentrated regular elementary and middle schools, but also dispersed irregular village schools, newspaper reading groups and literacy classes. We must not only have modern schools, but also make use of the old private schools in the villages, which we should reform." This provided the way for a comparatively speedy development of the education of the people.

Whether it was education of cadres, education of children and youths or education of the masses of workers and peasants, all education was carried out under the unified leadership of the party committees at various levels and by a mobilization of forces of various quarters. During the war of resistance against Japan, education in the base areas behind the enemy lines was carried out while at the same time we were engaged in fighting and in production. Particularly in Yenan, it was a way of grasping production in one hand and grasping education in the other hand, making education of the people and nurturing of cadres a strategic task in the fight for nationwide revolutionary victory. The Central Committee of the party instituted and operated the world-famous Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, North Shaanxi Public School, Central Party Academy, the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, Women's University, Yenan University, the Luxun Academy of Literature and Art, the Youth Cadre School, the Bethune Academy of Medicine, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Academy of Public Administration and various cadre schools. The largest among all the cadre schools was the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, which in addition to its main campus had 12 branches and in the course of time trained over 100,000 military and political cadres. Many men who had gone through the cadre schools of Yenan or the anti-Japanese base areas later advanced to core positions of leadership on various fronts.

In looking back at the great undertaking of popular education instituted by our party in the Yenan period, the major problems that we solved and the basic experiences that we gained are the following:

1. Determination of a new-democratic educational policy that suited China's specific conditions. This policy conformed exactly to Comrade Mao Zedong's statement in his "On New Democracy," in that it was of a nationalist character, opposed imperialist oppression and stood for the honor and independence of the Chinese nation. At the same time as it took account of the special characteristics of our nation, it also made use of the advanced educational systems of other countries as models. It was scientific and opposed to all feudal and superstitious ideologies. It advocated seeking truth from facts and stood for objective truths and for the unity of theory and practice. It was of a mass character, serving, in the first line, the toiling masses of workers and peasants that constituted over 90 percent of our nation. It made a distinction in degrees between the knowledge of the revolutionary educational cadres and the knowledge of the revolutionary educational masses and again linked these two up with one another. It made a distinction between raising the educational level and popularizing education, and again linked these two up with one another. Because there was at the time an urgent demand for a large contingent of cadres due to the revolutionary war and the establishment of base areas, the party leadership made cadre education the focal point in its undertaking of popular education. In the education of cadres at their posts or education in cadre schools, it became established policy to study as a central task the actual problems of the Chinese revolution and to take the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as guidelines, doing away with a static and isolated method of studying Marxism-Leninism. The educational policy that Comrade Mao Zedong formulated for the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College was: "Firmly established a correct political orientation, a work style of hard work and plain living and a flexible strategy and flexible tactics." The school spirit was to be: "Be united, alert, earnest and lively." In the light of the war situation and the ideological condition of the students, the Military Affairs Committee of the Central Committee in its "Directive on Rectification of Problems at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College," pointed out: "All work in the college is directed toward the transformation of the students' mentality; political instruction is the key link." It put forward the following demands directed toward the students: "(1) They shall be taught to grasp Marxism-Leninism and to overcome bourgeois and petty bourgeois mentalities. (2) They shall be taught a sense of discipline and organization and to oppose organizational anarchy and liberalism. (3) They shall be taught to go down to the grassroots in their work and be opposed to underestimating actual work experiences. (4) They shall be taught to draw close to the workers and peasants, be determined to serve the workers and peasants and be opposed to scorning ideas and knowledge of workers and peasants." Practice has proved that all these precepts were in full accord with the objective realities and played an important part in guiding the operation of the cadre schools and the training of revolutionary cadres.

2. Stating the unequivocal aim to train men who are both Red and expert. All cadre schools demanded that their students are themselves mentally with Marxism-Leninism, that the students foster a lofty communist ideal and firm confidence in the certain victory of the revolution, that they acquire an outlook on life of wholeheartedly serving the people, above all the masses of workers and peasants, and acquire the noble character of willingly sacrificing everything for the revolution. The schools

also demanded that all personal study and work must consciously follow the organizational plan. Concrete demands in vocational respects were also made on the students of different cadre schools in view of the special needs of the revolutionary war and of the development of the base areas. For instance, the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College organized its students every term, with different objectives as targets, to study the military ideas of Mao Zedong, to practice fighting at close quarters, night fighting, target shooting, bayonet fighting, grenade throwing, etc., and to master flexible strategies and tactics. The Luxun Academy of Literature and Art proceeded from the cultural needs of the base areas and the interests of the students in organizing the students to study literature, music, fine arts and drama. The Institute for Marxism-Leninism nurtured party cadres with theoretical specialization and organized the students to study systematically the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The institute later also established research institutes for history, party history, philosophy, politico-economics, questions of the Chinese revolution and dissemination of education in order to have some of the cadres who prepared for theoretical work to have one field of particular emphasis. The students at the Bethune Academy of Medicine trained for high proficiency in internal medicine and surgery as particularly applicable under the conditions of the revolutionary war.

3. Flexible and diversified educational system and a limited but concise curriculum. Due to the urgent needs of the revolutionary war, the duration of studies at the various cadre schools was rather short, the minimum being several months and the maximum 1 or 2 years. The courses within each school also varied in length depending on the varying conditions of the students and training objectives. Worker and peasant cadres with low levels of general education had to be brought up first of all to at least junior middle school level by supplemental coaching in elementary education before they were admitted to studies of revolutionary theory and to special vocational or professional courses. Some students who originally had been university students were made to engage mainly in self-study and attend classes only as a supplementary way of studying. Orginary students with middle school education, or having reached middle school level through self-study, were mainly to combine classroom studies with self-studies. To take the third class of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism as example, this class consisted mainly of six courses: philosophy (main lecturer Ai Qisi [5336 1142 1835]), political economy (main lecturer Wang Xuewen [3769 1331 2429]), Western revolutionary history (main lecturer Chen Changhao [7115 2490 3185]), Chinese revolutionary history (main lecturer Yang Song [2799 2646]), elements of Marxism-Leninism (main lecturer Wu Liangpint [0702 0081 1627]), foundation of the party (main lecturer Chen Yun [7115 0061]). In addition, comrades in responsible positions in the Central Committee of the party gave reports on specific subjects. For instance, Comrade Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy" was first a report given at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism and only later published in the CHUNGGUO WENHUA [CHINESE CULTURE] of Yenan. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" was also first a report at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism and only later published in JIEFANG [LIBERATION], a Yenan magazine. The lectures by the main lecturers and special lecturers were of a high standard and the content was in general characterized by: (1) Integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution, explaining the profound in simple terms and with vivid eloquence, blending ancient foreign knowledge with the rich experiences of our revolution. (2) Limited quantity of material but presented in concise form, concentrating on the basic essence of Chinese and foreign knowledge and data, ancient

and modern, and leaving out everything nonessential, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China. (3) Compilation of the gist of all teaching materials and outlines by the main lecturers personally. In general, the teachers first lectured and then distributed the teaching materials. The courses and the teaching materials were all very much welcomed by the students.

4. Implementation of an instructional principle of linking theory with practice. The teachers were not only to make use of the very rich actual material as the substance of their instructions, but also to raise questions for discussion by the students, aiming such questions at the ideological realities of the students. In his lectures on the establishment of the party, Comrade Chen Yun held one class on "How To Be a Member of the Communist Party" (listed as one of the documents to be studied during the Yenan rectification movement). This course raised such questions as: What are the qualifications of someone joining the Communist Party, will he truly support the party program, observe the party statutes and party discipline, how will he handle conflicts between personal interests and the interests of the revolution, will he be honest and faithful to the party, etc. The students, in integrating these questions and linking them with their own knowledge, were to express their own views. Some party members who were unable to express clearly certain important personal circumstances at the time of joining the party, also took advantage of this opportunity to give supplemental explanations. This "shooting the arrow straight at the target" method of teaching that linked theory and practice, was very effective.

5. To carry out simultaneously study as well as productive work, teachers and students set to work together and studies were carried out diligently and economically. To break the blockade of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region by the Kuomintang, to overcome the economic difficulties and respond to Comrade Mao Zedong's appeal "Everyone to set to work and there will be ample food and clothing," the anti-Japanese base areas launched a great production drive. In these special circumstances the cadre schools all carried out a combination of education and productive work, engaging in studies and productive work simultaneously. Some schools also decided to be self-sufficient in grain for half a year and for most of their vegetable and pork requirements. The students also took part in reclaiming wasteland, cutting firewood and cooking, raising pigs and sheep, spinning and weaving cloth, and other productive work. The students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College also undertook the digging of caves and building of school buildings. Comrade Mao Zedong therefore pointed out in his "Direction of the Youth Movement" that the reason for the young students of Yenan becoming models for the youths of the whole nation was that they studied the theories of revolution, researched the principles and methods of fighting in resistance against the Japanese and of achieving the salvation of our country, that they carried out a production movement and reclaimed thousands of acres of wasteland; even Confucius never did anything like this.

6. Respect for teachers and solicitude for students. Educated youths and worker-peasant cadres united as friends. Most of the teachers at the cadre schools of that time were revolutionary cadres in leading positions, some were revolutionary scholars specialized in certain fields and some experts. All these taachers enjoyed the respect and support of the students. The teachers on their part showed solicitude and care for their students, some times like parents for their children. The students at that time were mostly of two kinds: one section were educated youths

from all parts of the country and from abroad who had come to study in pursuit of the revolutionary truth to save their country and their people, and one section were worker-peasant cadres who had participated in the revolutionary struggle or in constructive work in the base areas. The former had a high level of education, but lacked practical experiences; the latter had a high level of education, but lacked practical experiences; the latter had practical experiences, but a low level of education. However, Comrade Mao Zedong taught the educated youths: "Final distinction between revolutionary, nonrevolutionary and counterrevolutionary intellectuals depends on whether they are willing to and actually drawing close together with the masses of workers and peasants." He also taught the worker-peasant cadres that they must exert themselves to acquire an education and study the revolutionary theories, that they should respect and unite with the intellectuals--to rise in revolution. As a consequence there was mutual respect, mutual learning from each other and a friendly unity between the educated youths and the worker-peasant cadres.

2. In the early period after the liberation of the whole country, the Central Committee of the party stated: The educational undertaking of new China is based on the educational system of the old liberated areas, and takes the advanced experiences of Soviet Russian education as a model and adopts certain beneficial ideas from traditional Chinese education. At that time we appropriately took over the operation of the old schools, recovered our educational sovereignty from the hands of the imperialists and, based on the needs of national reconstruction, took in hand the readjustment of departments and faculties of higher education and the reform of teaching. We instituted the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for all teaching personnel, thereby inducing them to undergo a voluntary ideological remolding so as to foster a revolutionary mentality of service to the people.

In reorganizing departments and faculties of higher education, we gave consideration to the needs of national economic construction and first of all vigorously developed education in engineering, science and technology. We not only transformed such famous universities as Qinghua University, Zhejiang University and Shanghai Jiaotong University into multidepartmental engineering and science universities, but established for the first time in China specialized engineering institutes for geology, iron and steel, aviation, petroleum, chemistry, automobile, tractor and civil engineering, and engineering colleges for atomic energy, military armament and other branches of engineering and science for defense needs. Moreover, to meet the needs of scientific research, we also expanded or replenished a series of universities, such as Beijing University, Fudan University, Nanjing University, Nankai University, Jilin University and Hankou University, to become comprehensive liberal arts and science universities. Furthermore, to develop secondary education and to train qualified teachers for our middle schools, we newly established or replenished a series of teacher training colleges, such as Beijing Teachers Training College, Huadong [east China] Teachers Training College and Dongbei [northeast] Teachers Training College. The practical experience during the 30 years since the establishment of our government proved that the readjustment of departments and faculties, based on the requirements of the national construction with its emphasis on strengthening engineering, physical sciences and teachers training was basically correct under the historical conditions of that time and achieved important results. However, it also entailed shortcomings ahd negligence, for instance in separating the science and engineering departments, the science departments of some old institutions were relatively weakened, as were also some departments in the humanities, such as finance, economics, political science and law. This was harmful to the nurturing of highly qualified engineering and technological experts and also harmful to strengthening industry and agriculture as well as the scientific administration of the economy. The large cities with a concentration of high schools should retain a small number of comprehensive universities where such subjects as industry, agriculture, medicine, teacher training, literature and physical science are taught. This would be beneficial for the nurturing of qualified teachers and experts for all kinds of institutes. However, in imitating closely the Soviet model, the comprehensive universities were not retained, which was rather inappropriate, but viewing the overall situation, these shortcomings and negligences are of secondary importance.

In our reform of higher education, we instituted reforms in three directions: (1) In view of the needs of national construction, we established 300 to 400 specialized vocational colleges and turned from the old Chinese way of educating so-called all-round talents to educating specialists. (2) In imitation of the conditions of specialization in Soviet institutions of higher education, we set up our instructional plan, determined the various links in the instructional process (attending classes, responding to questions, class discussions, experiments, fieldwork, examinations and assessment of proficiency, graduation projects, etc., translated Soviet teaching materials and strengthened the links between theory and practice. (3) We established the basic organization for instruction and scientific research--teaching and research organizations (offices) and organized old, middle-aged and young teachers for joint instructional activities and scientific research. As we see it today, it was indeed necessary in view of the actual needs of the socialist planned economic construction, to consider training as training for particular vocations. The defect of this system was that some special training as devised was too narrow, so that after graduation, students were not fully fit for the work for which they were trained. The Soviet plan of instruction, their educational system and instructional materials were in the main good and feasible, judging from the fact that it was adapted to the needs of the 156 engineering projects of that time. The defect of it was that it emphasized unity of all activities and lacked the necessary flexibility. Some of the specialized education was built on too narrow a base of knowledge, it was especially deficient in integrating the Chinese reality.

At the same time as reforming higher education, we submitted ordinary middle and elementary school education to reform and achieved great results, but not without certain shortcomings and faults.

To oversome these shortcomings, we began in 1958 to evolve our own Chinese system. We then emphasized increased instruction in political ideology at the schools so as to nurture men who would be both Red and expert, and had them carry out a combination of education and production work. Engineering colleges would carry out graduation projects that were real projects. At that time Qinghua University was charged with planning the Miyun reservoir near Beijing; 3 universities, Qinghua, Nanjing Engineering University and Tongji, participated in 10 major engineering projects, 1 being the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, and in all these projects great results were achieved. However, under the influence of the leftist ideology, there were too many political activities and pressure of production work at that time. The "Red-expert debate" and the "hauling up the white flag" movements criticized most disturbingly the broad masses of teachers and did great harm to the enthusiasm of the intellectuals. Furthermore, due to the excessive amount of political movements and pressure of production work, the health and the quality of instruction again deteriorated. Between 1961 and 1962, the Ministry of Education, under the guidance of the Central Committee and the State Council and based on the positive and negative experiences of the past, formulated the "Sixty Articles on Higher Education," "Fifty Articles on Middle School Education," and "Forty Articles on Elementary Education." This started our country's education on its own characteristic path. It restored normalcy in educational procedures and as a consequence the health of teachers and students in higher, middle school and elementary education improved and the quality of instruction was raised to a higher level.

From 1966 to 1976, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing usurped the party and seized state power; they also did great damage to our educational undertaking. They concocted the reactionary "two appraisals," negated wholesale the eminent achievements in education during the 17 years since the founding of the PRC and brought down on our country's education an unprecedented calamity. Not only were there 1 million university students less and 2 million middle school and vocational school students less than should have been trained, but great harm was done to the broad masses of teachers and students and one whole generation was wasted.

Since 1976 when the "gang of four" was smashed, especially after Comrade Deng Xiaoping assumed charge of scientific and educational work in 1978, the Central Committee and the State Council restored order out of chaos on the educational front, expended great efforts and achieved outstanding results. Especially since the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our country's educational undertaking, based on a correct distinction of right and wrong on the question of line, effected readjustments, developed and improved the quality of instruction and was extensively suc-essful. All the successful experiences that have been beneficial for preserving party leadership, for letting socialism determine the direction of our school work, for raising the quality of our education and the level of our scientific skills, are now being gradually affirmed and further developed. All mistaken methods that were harmful to maintaining party leadership and to using socialism as the determining factor in running our schools, that obstructed the improvement in the quality of our education and prevented the level of our scientific skills from being improved, will be subjected to our criticism and correction. Mistakes are frequently the forerunners of the correct way, "past experiences, if not forgotten, are guides to the future." Regardless of whether it was a successful experience or a lesson from defeat, all constitute spiritual wealth that we should use fully.

In the course of guiding and establishing the great popular education in the past 60 years, especially in the 31 years since the founding of the PRC, the party has recorded great achievements and has accumulated a great wealth of experiences.

First, the party set up a huge network of popular education. There are now over 1 million full-time universities, middle schools and elementary schools all over the 9.6 million square km of our fatherland, and we have gradually set up a network of popular education where every commune has its complete elementary school, every county a complete middle school and every province an engineering, agricultural, medical university and a teachers training college. The number of students enrolled in full-time schools rose from 25 million before liberation to 210 million, that is more than 7 times. In addition we set up, in the thousands and tens of thousands, night schools, radio schools, television schools, correspondence schools and other after-hours schools for the masses of our workers and peasants. In connection with our economic readjustment, more than 100 million employees and workers are all undergoing further training, and the broad masses of the peasantry are also unfolding a mass campaign for elementary education and for the study of technical skills. The establishment of a huge network of popular education is an important strategic measure by which our country is developing the intellectual of sources and to raising work productivity.

Second, we have initially raised the level of education of the people. Our country has not only wiped out the illiteracy of hundreds of millions of youths and adults, but also has graduated 300 million children and youths from elementary and higher schools, among these 140 million had junior middle school education and over 40 million senior middle school or higher education. All localities are at present vigorously pushing campaigns for the elimination of illiteracy and for after-hours schools for workers and peasants. The educational level of the people is indeed being gradually raised.

Third, our educational undertaking is in a planned way training qualified personnel for the national economy and social development. In the 31 years since the founding of the PRC, the various institutions of higher education in our country have trained and graduated over 3 million, and the polytechnic schools over 5 million, adding the skilled personnel trained in after-hours schools of various degrees, our country has already a contingent of Red and expert intellectuals of the working class of upward of 10 million. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The present contingent of technical personnel form the foundation of our intellectual strength. The technological level of the seventies and eighties must be derived from the technological level of the backbone personnel of the fifties and sixties." The upward of 10 million Red and expert specialists that we have trained within the last 31 years are certainly an important achievement of our country's popular educational undertaking.

Fourth, we have drawn up an educational policy of nurturing socialist new men who are Red, expert and of good health. It means that those who have received education shall have developed in all respects, morally, intellectually and physically, and have socialist consciousness and be well educated workers (including physical and mental workers). It also means that our youths shall resolve to become men with ideals, with a sense of morality, with knowledge and physical strength who can make a contribution to their people, their fatherland and mankind. The proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and the leading comrades in the Central Committee who are now in charge of our country's education, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] and others, all demand that we nurture the successors to the revolutionary proletarian cause, the new socialist men and new force to work for the four modernizations. They all demand that our men must have socialist consciousness (be Red) as well as proficient in mastering modern science and culture (be experts). They must be able to perform physical as well as mental work. They must be qualified specialists and workers in industry and agriculture who are healthy in body and spirit as well as clever, capable and experienced. In this way we shall proceed from the actual conditions of China and enrich and transform into reality the educational doctrines that are fully developed in Marxism.

Fifth, we have drawn up a correct policy toward the intellectuals and we shall rely on the teachers for the effective operation of the schools. In drafting the Central Committee's resolution for "Attracting and Accepting a Large Number of Intellectuals," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out as far back as in the early period of the anti-Japanese war: "Victory in the revolution is not possible without the participation of intellectuals." In the early period after liberation of the whole country, our policy toward teachers, staff and workers in the old schools formerly under Kuomintang rule was one of retaining everybody in their original positions and at their original salaries and wages (excepting only individual counterrevolutionary elements). We strove to unite with them and educate them to serve in the cause of popular education of new China. Apart from the former president of Beijing University, Hu Shi [5170 6684], and some other individual reactionaries who fled to Taiwan, over 90 percent of the teaching staff joined the contingent of teachers, employees and workers of new China. Later, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen [1756 4176] personally spoke to the teachers of the schools in Beijing and Tianjin, encouraging them to study revolutionary theories and voluntarily remold their thinking. In 1957 in the overextension of the antirightist movement, our party committed leftist mistakes in its policies toward intellectuals and many teachers suffered criticism, and were labeled bourgeois intellectuals. In our decade of calamity, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing again indiscriminately persecuted many teachers, considering them hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. After smashing the "gang of four," and particularly after the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's Central Committee summed up the positive and negative experiences of the 31 years since the founding of the PRC and clarified a step further that the intellectuals and school teachers are a part of the working class. The party not only politically effected rehabilitation in the cases of miscarriage of justice, but socially promoted the customs of respect for teachers and solicitude for students and furthermore gradually improved their material livelihood. At present there are 10 percent of the total number of 100 million staff and workers in the whole country (this includes those in the public owned system and the collective owned system). They are now working hard in nurturing socialist new men for our fatherland.

Sixth, we carried out a policy of "walking on two legs," with schools run by the state and by the masses, schools run by the departments of education and by departments of enterprises, schools run by the central government and by the local authorities, with simultaneously full-time systems, half-work (including agricultural work) half-study systems and after-hours education, to arouse fully the enthusiasm of all quarters in operating schools. Due to the fact that we are a gib country of 1 billion people including 800 million peasants, we are also a poor country, economically and culturally very backward. In those days in the old liberated areas, we had schools operated simultaneously by the state and by the masses. After liberation of the whole country, we still advocated that the state and the masses should run schools simultaneously, as we were developing the ordinary middle school and elementary school education. During our decade of calamity, due to the sabotage by the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the majority of middle schools and elementary schools in the countryside were depleted of students, the students were sent to do manual agricultural labor and the schools were left to be run by local people. This was harmful to the development and consolidation of the cause of education. According to the provisions of the 60 articles concerning agricultural communes passed by the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th CCP

Central Committee, the middle schools in the villages are to be operated completely by the state and the elementary schools primarily by the state. Operation of schools by the masses means mainly that they are to help build school buildings, replenish equipment, such as desks and chairs, but not that all questions are to be solved by the masses. Especially the salaries and welfare benefits for teachers in middle schools and elementary schools which will in the future, depending on the development of production, gradually become a responsibility of the state, to the full amount of to a large part of it. In developing higher education, especially the secondary vocational and technical schools, we also intend to bring into full play the initiative of the central authorities and business departments, factories, mines and enterprises of the provinces and municipalities, and, based on the needs of the national economy and social development, effectively reform in a planned way the higher and medium grade of the educational structure, and gradually increase the proportion of secondary vocational and technical education so that education can be more effectively adapted to the needs of the four modernizations.

Seventh, in view of the imbalance between the economic and cultural conditions of various localities, the quantitative and qualitative development of education at whatever level and of whatever kind will pose different demands according to local systems having to fit local conditions; we must not apply "one knife to cut everything the same way." In general, we can distinguish: (1) In large, medium and small cities and in a small number of economically and culturally developed suburbs of large cities, not only is elementary education widely extant, but junior middle school education is almost universally extant and senior middle school education is rapidly developing. (2) In the villages in general and in the small cities and townships, elementary school education is not yet completely available, very few have junior middle schools and even fewer have senior middle schools. (3) In the mountainous regions, border areas and the districts inhabited by national minorities, very few go to elementary schools and these areas are culturally very backward. In the development of education in these three kinds of areas, one has to fit the speed of development and the operational pattern of schooling to the local conditions and must not impose uniformity.

Eighth, the leadership of the party in the educational undertaking demands of all schools at all levels primarily that they implement and carry out the correct line laid down by the party, that they uphold the four basic principles, carry on vigorously the work of political ideological education and furthermore that they mobilize all social forces to take an interest in and support the education of our youths. We are determined constantly to raise the socialist awareness of the broad masses of teachers to have them educate our children and youths in patriotism, love of the people, love of work, love of science and love and care for all public property. We intend to launch movements to learn from Lei Feng [7191 6913] and foster new customs. Let us integrate tge movements of the "three good things" (good study, good work, good body), "five considerations" (consider culture, good conduct, hygiene, orderliness and ethics) and the "four beautiful things" (beauty of the mind, of language, of behavior and environment) in order to nurture children and youths with communist morals and character and a revolutionary outlook of life.

In the past 60 years, our party led and established the great popular educational undertaking, achieved great successes and gained rich experiences. Under the new historical conditions of building a powerful modern socialist state, our party, based on the historical experiences of the past, will carry forward the excellent traditions of seeking truth from facts, of the mass line and of independence and self-reliance and, looking to the future with full confidence, will advance our popular educational undertaking to a new stage along the correct line of the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

OROQEN MINORITY AUTONOMY ANNIVERSARY--Hohhot, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--A bonfire evening of feast and entertainment was held last night in the deep forest in the Dahinggan Mountains by nearly 1,000 people of Oroqen nationality to mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the autonomous banner of Oroqen nationality in the inner Mongolia autonomous region. The Oroqens dressed in their holiday best, sang and danced around the bonfire. Wild animals hunted were cooked over the bonfire to mark the occasion. Oroqen nationality, with a population of more than 3,100, is one of China's smallest minority nationalities. The Oroqen people live by hunting in the Dahinggan and Xiaohinggan mountains. Before 1949, they led a wandering life, ate animal meat, wore animal hides and lived in bark shacks. The population of the autonomous banner of Oroqen nationality has increased from 700 in 1951 to 1,300 at present. There are now 135 cadres of the Oroqen nationality in the banner. The Oroqen people all have settled down and moved into brick and tile houses. They enjoy free medical care and their school-age children all go to school with expenses covered by the government. [Text] [OW021244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 2 Oct 81]

MEETING WITH FOREIGN JOURNALISTS--Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--The All China Journalists Association arranged a meeting between Chinese journalists and foreign correspondents in Beijing this afternoon on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Hu Jiwei, member of the Presidium of the association and editor-in-chief of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, attended and expressed warm welcome to those present on behalf of the association. Wang Yi, first secretary of the association's secretariat, and leading members of various Chinese press institutions in Beijing were present. [Text] [OW291234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 29 Sep 81]

CSO: 4000/2

ASPECTS OF ANTILIBERALIZATION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Luo Bing: "The 'Antiliberalization' Movement and the Renewed Criticism of Bai Hua"]

[Excerpts] At a time when the weather was very hot, the political climate became chilly, and the cold wind which began last winter now seems to have become even colder.

Let me start by reporting an "episode."

The "Reactionary Hong Kong Publications"

In the middle of July a notice from the central propaganda department to the effect that four magazines in Hong Kong (generally acknowledged in Hong Kong to be patriotic publications) were "reactionary magazines" was suddenly circulated among the propaganda departments in Beijing.

This was a verbally circulated notice, not a written document. The notice consisted of a single sentence without any further content; it did not say why these four magazines were designated as "reactionary magazines."

This communication caused considerable panic. A whole series of problems emerged: Why is exposing various hidden aspects of life in China or putting forth views and suggestions "reactionary"? If these publications, which had put forth some opinions in a well-intentioned way were considered to be reactionary magazines, were not various legally importable materials which directly reviled the Communist Party and attacked socialism and Marxism-Leninism reactionary? Just where was the line between patriotism and reaction?

Although we call this an "interlude," it gives a good indication of the problem.

If clear distinctions are not made even for foreign publications, but they are designated "reactionary" at will, it goes without saying that writings and views inside the country which displease the powers that be are subject to the same treatment.

The Gathering Storm

In fact, the propaganda work conference held in the first third of August laid out the tasks involved in the criticism movement. Next, in the middle of August, the "spirit" of the conference was circulated among all units in Beijing. A major Central Committee figure said, "Currently the situation on the ideological and cultural front is one of weakness, dissipation of strength and a lack of criticism and self-criticism." What was to be criticized? "Bad writings, and articles and erroneous views which are harmful to the 'four principles.'" At this point the Central Committee had not yet described "erroneous views" as rightist or "right-leaning," but instead called them "liberalization trends." Some specific examples of such views were these:

--"Some people say that there should be absolute freedom of public opinion and that publications and performances should be subject to no limitations."

--"Some people make 'order without intervention' the universal principle and consider party leadership to be 'fetters.' Others say that letting 'a hundred flowers bloom, and a hundred schools of thought contend' cannot be subject to any guiding ideology."

--"Some writers will listen only to praise and not to criticism. As soon as they are criticized, they make indiscriminate claims that people are 'crudely interfering' and are 'assaulting' them."

High-ranking party officials say that all of this constitutes "working for liberalization," and that the key aspect of liberalization is throwing off party leadership and departing from the "four principles"; naturally this is unacceptable, and accordingly it is necessary to criticize these various "erroneous views."

Since "bad writings" and "writings with erroneous ideological leanings" are among the targets of criticism, in literary and theoretical circles alike everyone is feeling a lowering of atmospheric pressure and a sinking of spirits.

Before the sixth plenary session, high levels in the party had already selected three articles as being typical of "liberalization" literature and requested opinion-making and theoretical circles to criticize them. The three articles were "More on Breaking out of Restraints" by Gu Er [7357 3643], "Some Theoretical Problems of the Later Period of the Socialist Transformation in This Country" by Ying Xueli [2019 1331 3680] and Sun Hui [1327 6540], and "The People's Sun Must Rise" by Li Yihong [2621 0110 3163].

Making Public Opinion

It is true that the various manifestations of liberalization described above are connected with theoretical circles, but they have an even greater association with literary circles. Some belong in one category and some in the other, but we refer in particular to Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598], among others. Starting on 14 August, GUANGMING RIBAO carried a series of front-page articles dealing with criticism of art and opinions with and self-criticism; their purpose was to launch the criticism movement and create opinion; of course, these were signals of the gathering storm.

Compared with GUANGMING RIBAO, RENMIN RIBAO clearly was less enthusiastic. By 18 August RENMIN RIBAO had merely published an article entitled, "Grasp Good Weapons of Literary Criticism" under the name of "Staff Commentator." The article did indeed transmit the intent of the higher-ups, but it also made a self-criticism of its "state of weakness" in the past when dealing with "some writings with erroneous ideological tendencies" and "a few harmful writings." The article said, "The shortcomings of weakness and diffuseness which the higher authorities mentioned also exist in this newspaper's literary criticism," and "we frequently have failed to forthrightly and convincingly criticize writings with incorrect tendencies and expressions of erroneous views." It can be seen from RENMIN RIBAO's self-criticism that the imminent tide of criticism would not spare such writers as Bai Hua, Wang Ruowang and Sha Yexin [3097 5509 2450].

Arrows Aimed at Bai Hua

Friends in the Beijing literary world have told me that Bai Hua and "Bitter Love" were inevitably marked out for criticism; when Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang said that "Bitter Love" was "bad" and "harmful," how could they escape criticism? It is said that previous criticism was poorly done and had a poor effect; was this because Bai Hua was right or because the critics were incompetent? (In reality the problem is not so simple, because previous criticism of Bai Hua concealed a hidden intent against Hu.) What they now want to do is "normal criticism and self-criticism." My friends tell me that the article "More on Criticism and Assault," which appeared in GUANGMING RIBAO on 15 August, was obliquely launching some hasty shafts at Bai Hua: "To refuse to allow criticism and to lack self-knowledge, to be clearly wrong and think that one is entirely correct, are dangerous things and easily lead to corrosion by erroneous ideological tendencies in society, to complacent acceptance of certain misdirected 'evil winds,' and to wrong-headedly posing as 'heroes,' so that those involved sink ever further in the quicksands of error." My friends explain that the "misdirected evil wind" was the support for Bai Hua and opposition to the military newspaper which were prevalent in public opinion before the sixth plenary session. Some high party officials would give lip service to the "mass line," but if the masses' opinion on some topic did not agree with theirs, they would think that public opinion was merely "wrong tendencies" and "evil winds." But were the masses the "real heroes" or the "real dunces"?

Let us consider Bai Hua's situation during the previous criticism directed at him.

The criticism of Bai Hua in the late spring and early summer of this year was not a sudden attack, but an incipient process of fermentation. After Bai Hua's "The Stars Are Bright Tonight" became a movie, some people criticized him with the assertion that "The stars are not bright tonight." Bai Hua works in the Wuhan Military District, and before the "Bitter Love" incident occurred, some people on the Wuhan municipal party committee wanted to criticize him. In Shanghai, in Beijing, and particularly in the higher levels of the military and in the central party schools, some people expressed displeasure at "Bitter Love" while others favored it. Wei Guoqing and Huang Kecheng both agreed to criticize "Bitter Love" by name in the newspapers. It was at this time that Bai Hua, who had just finished the film script for "Bridge of Dreams," visited East Lake in Wuhan, ate fish at Wuchang, did some cooking in the kitchen, and showed himself to be "unconcerned about wind and waves and as confident as though he were walking securely in a locked courtyard." On 20 April, JIEFANG JUNBAO published an article by "Special Correspondent" criticizing Bai Hua. Bai Hua seemed to take no notice of this. From that day on, he immersed himself in writing. What did he write? Not a revision of "Bitter Love," as was intimated, but primarily the historical play "The King of Wu's Battle Axes, the King of Yue's Swords." The first draft was finished on 1 May.

In that period, although Bai Hua was subjected to political pressure, he still enjoyed a full measure of social favor. The Beijing People's Artistic Theater sent its representative Lan Tianye [5663 1131 6851] to visit him and find out how he was progressing on the play he was writing for the theater; his comrade-in-arms from youth Peng Jingfeng [1756 5427 7364] made a trip from Kunming specifically to see him in Wuhan; many university students paid calls on him and stood beside him; and nearly a thousand letters and telegrams of support poured in.

After Bai Hua's poem "The Spring Tides Before Me" received an award this May, he fully believed that he would be able to go to Beijing and meet artistic and literary figures; but, possibly because some people gave the matter some sort of "special consideration," he was not allowed to go. In July he recalled, "At first I thought I could take the opportunity of going to Beijing for my prize to give my play to the theater, but I unexpectedly was unable to go; the poets who had received awards sent me a long collective letter full of warm feeling." "I am constantly receiving letters from readers, but never as many as now: every evening young Wang the postman laughingly gives me a great pile of them, and when I have carefully read these unknown people's letters and telegrams I try to imagine their jobs, characters and appearance, and I answer the most important of them. They move me so that I am often choked with tears and forget the passage of time."

Love of Spring

In mid-June he received a notice from the Chanhchun motion picture plant's cinematography group to come and see the revised print of his film. Of this northern journey, he wrote in an article entitled "How I Love Spring," which appeared in XIN GUANCHA No 14 of this year, "Was I pursuing spring, or did spring particularly favor me? When I arrived in Changchun on the 17th, I was assailed by the fragrance of the lilacs, and startled by the peas, like green jade, in the bowl: this was not like March in the south! Bai Hua, a small plant in a forest, had just stretched his hoots out of the moist soil. When I saw the revised print of the film, I revised the play "Bridge of Dreams" again. On the 26th I stole some time for a hurried, lightning visit to Harbin, which I have long admired, and the wind on the Songhua River made me put on a woolen vest. I am obscurely content in spite of myself that this year I have been able to spend so many days with spring; and although there have been storms, they are the wind and rain of spring. Fresh green is everywhere, and 'the fragrant grasses are everywhere from horizon to horizon.' Multitude of tender plants, it is you that are the emblem of spring."

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PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING CONVERSATIONS ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION REPORTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 pp 7-9

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "What is Deng Xiaoping Planning?"]

[Excerpts] Wang Dongxing's Building and Xi Zhongxun

One day in mid-August, an old Beijing resident and I left Beihai Park and crossed the bridge next to Zhongnanhai, talking as we went. Through the row of high, closely-spaced iron bars I could see a corner of Zhongnanhai, cloaked in green trees. Suddenly I thought of the building built by Wang Dongxing and opened my eyes wide, looking intently for its outline in the park, which was beginning to look like a spattered-ink drawing in the gathering dusk. My friend astutely guessed my thoughts, and said with a smile:

"Wang Dongxing's house? You can't see it from here."

I was a bit disappointed, but my curiosity immediately moved on: "Wang Dongxing must have moved, hasn't he?"

"Not at all."

"Does he use the whole building for business?"

"No, people live there too. One of them is a 'new guest,' Xi, his secretary."

"Do you mean Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113]?"

"Yes. He must have moved in," my friend said, and explained, "It makes it easier for him to get to work. I understand he's very busy--he's the permanent duty secretary."

Why Did Deng Xiaoping Go to Xingjiang?

The talk turned from Xi Zhongxun to Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping. After we had passed by the armyman guarding the bridge, my friend told me a piece of "inside news" in a low voice: In order to gain first-hand information on the minority unrest in Xinjiang and to successfully bring about ethnic unity there, Deng Xiaoping had gone to Xinjiang with Wang Zhen.

"Didn't Wang Zhen visit Xinjiang twice less than a year ago?" I asked.

"Yes, but the problems weren't solved. There are two main problems. One is that the Uighurs are displeased with the ethnic Chinese cadres; their slogan is 'We want to be autonomous, not ruled.' In the last year the Uighurs have intensified their pressure on ethnic Chinese and there have been a number of incidents. The second problem is that ethnic Chinese cadres in the parts, government and administrative departments are uneasy; they are thinking of home and are afraid that the Uighurs might provoke incidents. The mood is quite bad. All of society in Xinjiang is in turmoil."

"I have heard that some people in Xinjiang were preparing to start a rebellion to force the ethnic Chinese out, but it did not come off. Is this true?"

My friend's face became graver. "I have heard that too; fortunately it didn't materialize."

"Then Wang Zhen's two previous trips to Xinjiang were not total failures."

"That's right. Recently the situation is Xinjiang has been calmer. But the nationality questions have not really been solved. I hope that this trip of Deng's can help solve them."

What Is His Strategy for Running the Country?

"When will he be back in Beijing?"

"He can't stay there too long. There are many matters all over the country that he must deal with. He works 8 hours a day and often says, 'I haven't got enough energy; I'm 77 this year, and if I do more I'll get worn out.'"

"It's no easy matter for a man of 77 to work 8 hours a day. But I believe he is concentrating on the most important matters, isn't he?"

My friend didn't answer immediately, so I continued, "What is his strategy for running the party and the country?"

My friend smiled at me and did not answer.

[The friend and two others] were discussing study of the resolution of the sixth plenary session by the various organizations. In general, there is not much enthusiasm for studying it, and some lectures have turned into newspaper-reading meetings. But these two friends said much that was new during the conversation.

One thing that greatly interested me was the speeches at the small group meetings at the sixth plenary session. The friends had seen summaries of these speeches and they believed that the summaries were authentic. Some of the speeches were quite bold and unexpected:

--"Why can't 'one divide into two' in the case of the Cultural Revolution?" (i.e. he believed that one part could be affirmed.)

--"The Cultural Revolution was counterrevolutionary!"

Different Views on the Cultural Revolution and Mao

--"I would only be at ease if the resolution had confirmed that Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution was of primary importance. In the past, people wouldn't even put up Chairman Mao's picture for fear others would say that they belonged to the 'all' [fanshi] faction."

--"The resolution said only that Comrade Mao Zedong made the error of left tendencies, whereas in reality his error was one of line."

--"During the Cultural Revolution the party organization had completely ceased to exist and the "Cultural Revolution Group" issued orders in place of the government, so that in reality it had usurped the power of the party Central Committee and the local party committees: accordingly the party should not bear all or part of the blame for the errors of the Cultural Revolution."

--"In the future it will be sufficient to cite Marxism-Leninism; Mao Zedong Thought should no longer be cited."

Protecting Hua and Criticizing Hua

--"Comrade Hua Guofeng should be correctly treated. He really did make a contribution, and he is honest, kind and unassuming."

--"It is not true that he is unassuming. Once Comrade Chen Yun telephoned Hua Guofeng, and after 10 minutes Hua claimed he was busy reading documents and would not continue the conversation."

--"Comrade Hua Guofeng continued and developed all of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors; he supposedly is an 'enlightened leader,' but they came out with a standard picture of him and put it side by side with Mao Zedong's. He was indifferent to old cadres or rejected them, and even believed that his becoming party chairman was because the time was ripe for him."

--"When Comrade Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447] criticized Hua Guofeng in the Plenary Session, he cited 13 of Hua's errors, and they were all factual."

--"Comrade Deng Liqun's [6772 0500 5028] speech criticizing Hua Guofeng was also very good."

--"Hua Guofeng made serious errors and should not be selected Vice Chairman."

Is Deng a Marxist-Leninist or a Revisionist?

--"Comrade Deng Xiaoping's actions in recent years have been in accord with Marxism-Leninism."

--Everything that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is now doing is incomprehensible. Some people say it is revisionism."

--"The resolution is basically acceptable."

--"The resolution does not do enough to affirm the older revolutionaries and to make a realistic evaluation of them."

--"It is questionable whether the resolution can unify thinking and action. What the higher-ups have said is good, but sufficient thought should be given to whether the people lower down really can carry it out."

These speeches reflect the fact that at the sixth plenary session, thought was energetic and people were outspoken, that opposing views could be stated and rivalries maintained. At the same time, they also indicate that thought within the party (even at the highest levels) is in a complex state, and that there are various differing viewpoints.

An Objective Attained

During the discussion everyone agreed that divergence of opinions and difference of views within the party was normal and could be resolved by seeking common ground while allowing differences to continue to exist. But the party's guiding ideology should be unified, otherwise everyone would follow his own beliefs and work would be thrown into chaos. My friend told me that Deng Xiaoping's main request to the sixth plenary session was that it unify the guiding ideology. They said that with regard to the guiding ideology this session had gotten rid of the chaos caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and by Mao Zedong's erroneous utterances and actions, had officially ended the rule of leftist ideology in the party and had eliminated the effect of the "two 'all's'" over the core of the party, had affirmed the line and techniques used since the third plenary session, and had used personnel transfers to assure organizationally that the guiding ideology would be implemented, so that Deng Xiaoping's aim could be said to have been essentially accomplished.

The "Twelve Criticisms of Deng" Are of Dubious Authenticity

There was a slight ripple of laughter, and my friends revealed something that Deng Liqun (head of the Office of Policy Studies of the Central Committee Secretariat, Deputy Secretary of the State Council, and Deputy Director of the Institute of Social Sciences) had said recently in an internal conversation: During Comrade Mao Zedong's late years, he was sometimes lucid and sometimes confused, and ultimately the situation reached the point that they had to depend on interpretation of Comrade Mao Zedong's speech by Mao Yuanxin and a few others. Accordingly, the "Twelve Criticisms of Deng" put together by Mao Yuanxin are suspect.

Then my friends revealed that some people at high levels in the Communist Party considered that Mao's private life was bad and that his errors were strongly connected with his individual qualities. Deng Xiaoping did not agree with this view. He said, "Comrade Mao Zedong's errors cannot be referred to his individual qualities." Recently Deng Liqun stressed this point, saying that "Some people are now tracing Comrade Mao Zedong's errors to problems of his individual character, but in reality his errors cannot be explained in those terms. People of good character too can make mistakes."

"Keeping Mao" Is "Keeping the Party"

As the conversation continued, everyone concluded that Deng Xiaoping's "keeping Mao" was "statesmanlike" and resulted from political necessities. "Keeping Mao" was done in order to "preserve the party." To quote Deng Xiaoping himself, "Rashly overstressing his (i.e., Mao Zedong's) errors could only damage our party's and country's image and the prestige of the party and the socialist system, and would only dissolve the unity of the entire party, the entire army and all nationalities of the country."

It was now very clear that the question which my friend had not answered a few hours before at Zhongnanhai had found its answer. The main thing that Deng Xiaoping is working on at this moment is how to recover the party's prestige and how to unify the entire party.

Deng Xiaoping's Revenge and Aspirations

For this purpose, Deng Xiaoping had repeatedly stressed the "four principles," while emphasizing that the core of these principles is adherence to party leadership.

When I was returning from my old friend's house to the Overseas Chinese Building, I kept thinking about the main problems on Deng Xiaoping's mind. His revenge had been great. He had said several times at the party's high-level conferences that they should "do what Mao Zedong had suggested but had not done, set right what he had erroneously opposed, and do well what he had not done well." But what were the things that Mao Zedong had not done well? Primarily these three: opposing hegemonism, unity, and economic construction. I believe that during the time remaining to him, Deng Xiaoping wants to do these things well (particularly economic construction). For this purpose, he ardently desires to restore and increase the party's prestige, to strengthen and consolidate intraparty unity, and to eliminate all words and deeds which harm party prestige and unity.

But for the present, at least, this is a difficult problem.

The summaries of the small-group meetings at the sixth plenary session suggest that the ideological contradictions are far from simple, and could not be resolved at a single session. Even if divergence of views could be virtually eliminated at the top levels of the party, what about the many levels below that? Illness prevented Ye Jianying from attending the sixth plenary session, and it seems that this old leader will not be able to "struggle until the end of his life for communism" in his current position; but will there be discord among army officers at the division and regimental levels?

Intraparty Contradictions and Unhealthy Tendencies

There is also the question of unhealthy tendencies in the party. The Chinese Communist Party publicly admits that thus far there has not been a change for the better in tendencies within the party. Because of the unhealthy tendencies in the party, the social atmosphere and social order have not improved, and people bitterly hate noxious influences and instances of privilage in the party. Can the party's image be made more lofty in such a situation? At present almost all activitist elements involved with unauthorized publications throughout the country have been taken into custody; can this type of behavior succeed in protecting party prestige? The "criticism of liberalization" has already been set in motion, and the party is planning to use this "movement" (the party avoid using the term) to ban exposé literature and "different political opinions." But will such activities really protect the party's image, or will it do precisely the opposite?

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DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICISM MOVEMENT DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sept 81 pp 12-13

[Article by Xiao Cheng [5618 1004]: "Some Signs of Intensification of the Restrictive Policy"]

[Excerpt] After the sixth plenary session concluded, an extremely unusual phenomenon emerged on the political stage: the more "relaxation" there was in economic matters, the more "restriction" there was in politics.

The economic relaxation is obvious and we will say no more about it beyond noting that the policies of allowing private individuals to hire labor and of contracting with individuals to manage state-run enterprises may cause some people with ossified thinking to rasie the hue and cry about "restoration of capitalism."

At the same time that there is relaxation in economic matters, restrictions are clearly being intensified in political matters. On the eve of the sixth plenary session, "Bitter Love" was rehabilitated and people were relaxing a bit in the belief that the restrictive tendency that had been prevailing since the beginning of the year was ending. But after the end of the Sixth Plenary session, the tendency toward restrictions began to become stronger.

The First Signals of Restrictiveness

The literary world was the first area where the storm warnings of a policy change went up.

On 28 July, RENMIN RIBAO carried on page 4 an article which attracted little attention at the time, but which was the first signal of stepped-up restrictiveness.

The article was written by Li Bozhao, [2621 0130 6856] Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Playwrights' Association and wife of Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492]. She emphasized the need to "strengthen the party's leadership over art," and criticized artistic circles as "harboring some unhealthy features." She said, "I feel that some current writings are simply seeking 'box office value,' and catering to the admiration of certain vulgar tastes in society; some other people claim that we should not engage in singing the praises of the people of virtue and accomplishment, and there is even a small minority that is planning to weaken or cast off the party's leadership. This would have harmful social results, how would it then be possible to undertake the lofty task of creating an advanced socialist spiritual culture? In their ideological essence, these unhealthy features are completely at odds with socialist spiritual culture. We cannot view them with equanimity: we must take suitable measures to restrain them."

The day after Li Bojian's article was published, RENMIN RIBAO also published an article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] and others. Liu criticized the JIEFANG JUNBAO Special Commentator's criticism of "Bitter Love," and his article emphatically stressed. "We artistic writers must reflect life under the guidance of the "four basic principles" so as to promote the advance of history."

On the same day that it carried Liu Baiyu's article, RENMIN RIBAO also published an article by army cultural cadre Wei Chuantong [7614 0278 4827]. Wei Chuantong hinted that a criticism campaign would be developing in the artistic world when he said, "To progress we must have criticism and self-criticism. We should imitate 'the petrel that soars above towering waves' and 'the roc that stirs up the water for 3,000 li around' and not imitate birds that 'take fright at the sound of the bow.' We must not have a conditioned reflex every time we hear criticism; we must of course stress the form and results of criticism, but we cannot 'forswear food for fear of choking.'"

HONGQI Beats the War Drums

And indeed, half a month later, the Communist Party's most authoritative magazine, HONGQI, published a commentary which adopted a stronger tone and whose import was clearer. This article clearly indicated that a campaign of criticism must be carried out against certain intellectuals and stated that it was necessary to "solve the problems of departing from the 'four basic principles,' leaving the path of socialism throwing off the party's leadership, and engaging in bourgeois liberalization; there are some who in speeches, creative work, articles or in other forms are distoring the image of the party, ridiculing the socialist system, and slandering Mao Zedong thought; how can we do otherwise than criticize them? If we do not, where will they lead us?" The article also called on party organizations at all levels to wage an active struggle: "The seriousness of the problem does not stem from the fact that these phenomena exist but from the fact that the party's leadership on the ideological front has been diffuse and weak. Some party organizations and party leadership comrades have failed when confronted with various erroneous tendencies and erroneous ideology and actions, to take the initiative in ideological work and have not dared to criticize them. This is a very bad state of affairs."

Even the people who had not heeded the signals of half a month before could not fail, on reading this article, to admit that the gale warnings had been upgraded.

The Talisman of Ideological-Political Work

This restraining tendency obviously was not aimed only at the literary world.

It can be seen from the 5 years following the fall of the "gang of four" that the contingent making the greatest challenge to the ruling party is artistic writers and the young generation. Young intellectuals in particular, especially under the influence of the Xidan Wall, the unauthorized publications movement and last year's free elections, are very active. Accordingly, an additional target of this policy of restriction is China's student population.

There are currently 200 million students in China; the number should not be underestimated, nor should the students be underestimated as a force.

Between 1 and 11 August, the Ministry of Education held a national work conference on ideological-political education in schools and made its preparations to carry out "ideological-political work" among these 200 million students.

Ministry of Education Jiang Nanxiang said at the meeting that this year a number of serious problems with regard to the students require attention. He declared that ideological-political education of the students should be intensified in four ways.

First, he said, it was necessary to strengthen education in the "four basic principles." He stressed particularly that "it is necessary to make the students understand that patriotism is a great spirtual force for the construction of socialism; in today's China, if one does not love the party and socialism, one cannot be a true patriot."

Second, it was necessary to intensify the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in the schools. He said, "Courses in Marxism-Leninism are compulsory in socialist schools. They cannot be weakened, much less eliminated; and conscientious study must be made of ways of improving and strengthening them."

Third, it was necessary to strengthen education in communist morality. He said, "We must educate the students to learn from the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and heroic examplars and to continue the revolutionary tradition, to set up revolutionary ideals, and to bring a revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle into play."

Fourth, it was necessary to intensify labor education. He said, "It was incorrect in the past to have the students do too much labor, but the current practice of not having them labor at all or having them participate in labor only to a small extent is also not beneficial to their overall development, and henceforth we must develop a set of methods, suited to the characteristics of schools at various levels and at various kinds, for carrying out labor education.

The Central Committee attached great importance to this meeting. Li Xiannian, Wan Li and others received more than 150 participants at Huairentang in Zhongnanhai. They stressed repeatedly the importance of ideological-political work. Li Xiannian said, "Our party is founded on ideological-political work, and in the future we will still need to intensify ideological-political work." Wan Li said, "The key to intensifying ideological-political work in the schools is strengthening and improving party leadership."

Making Another "Fifties Generation"

This set of ideological-political work methods which the Communist Party is currently stressing obviously takes the 1950's and early 1960's as a model. It appears that the party is eager to train a new "1950's generation." But it will be difficult to do this.

The current younger generation, which has experienced the Cultural Revolution, has the ability for independent thought and the habit of boldly opposing prevailing ideas, and it will be very difficult for ideological-political work to move them. If they are made to study Marxist-Leninist theory, they may be able to use certain Marxist-Leninist viewpoints to criticize shortcomings of the current situation or to us practice to confront outmoded viewpoints; both of these things have happened in university political classes. If they are made to concern themselves with politics, they may engage in unauthorized publication or free elections, because this is one form of involving oneself in politics. They can no longer be forced to become "men of the 1950's."

It would appear that the CCP's only recourse is to repose its hopes in those who did not pass through the period of the Cultural Revolution and "brainwashing." But can this generation reenact the history of 20 or 30 years ago? At present we can only say that this is a riddle.

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FOREIGN PAPERS HAIL YE JIANYING STATEMENT ON REUNIFICATION PROPOSAL

Philippine Paper Hails Proposal

OW041214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Manila, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The Philippine SHIJIE RIBAO (THE WORLD NEWS) carried today on its front page a signed article saying that it is very appropriate to have talks on China's peaceful reunification with Chairman Ye Jianying's statement as the basis.

The article, entitled "On China's Peaceful Reunification," said "the statement issued on such an important occasion by Ye Jianying shows how much importance the Chinese Government attaches to this question. The problem of peaceful reunification of China is obviously given the highest priority."

It pointed out that Ye Jianying's statement "is the most comprehensive, most concrete and most moderate proposal ever made in the past 30 years" and that "it seems very appropriate to hold talks with this statement as the basis."

"The Chinese nation is a nation with very high wisdom. In the past several thousand years, it has developed unceasingly and made important contributions to the world culture. Today's state of partial separation is only a temporary episode in the long, glorious history of the Chinese nation," the article said.

It added that since the publication of the message of the NCP Standing Committee on New Year's day of 1979, "the atmosphere in the Taiwan straits has been greatly alleviated in the past 2 to 3 years. To maintain such atmosphere will be helpful not only to China's peaceful reunification but also to peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific region."

It expressed the hope that the Communist Party and Kuomintang "will continue to seek ways of peaceful reunification so that the Taiwan straits will never be an area where the superpowers could bluff and bluster."

Asian Papers Laud Statement

OW041604 Beijing XINHUA in English 1547 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--A Singapore and a Philippine newspaper have acclaimed the nine-point proposal contained in Chairman Ye Jianying's statement concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification.

THE STRAITS TIMES of Singapore said in an editorial on 2 October that Ye Jianying's statement is consistent with the previous Chinese statements on the matter. "This time, however, it is better packaged in a nine-point plan, and made more attractive to the Taiwanese." "Some of the concessions are significant, signalling perhaps that China is really serious this time about making up with Taiwan," it added.

"The idea of unification probably appeals to both peoples. On the international front, the new offer appears to demonstrate China's sincerity in wanting to come to terms with a thorny issue," the editorial said, adding "since it was kicked out of the United Nations in 1971, Taiwan has found itself increasingly friendless--at least politically. But in dealing with the mainland, there is no point for the old guard Kuomintangs to insist that Beijing abandons its communist system before negotiations take place. In so doing, Taipeh is not only succeeding in showing its intransigence to the world at large, but is also being unrealistic." "A rigid attitude taken by Taipeh will not enhance its own credibility nor make it politically easier to deal with."

In a signed article entitled "On China's Peaceful Reunification," the Philippine daily THE WORLD said today that it would be quite appropriate to take Ye Jianying's statement as the basis for holding talks on China's peaceful reunification.

It pointed out that Ye Jianying's statement "is the most comprehensive, most concrete and most moderate formula on the Taiwan issue procliamed in the past 30 years or so."

"The fact that the statement is issued by Ye Jianying at such an important juncture shows the importance the Chinese authorities attach to the matter."

The article said: "The Chinese nation is a very intelligent one. Over thousands of years this nation has been developing steadily and has made important contributions to world culture. The present partial split is only a transient episode in the long and brilliant history of the Chinese nation."

It noted that since the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a message to the comaptriots in Taiwan on New Year's day in 1979, "a relaxed atmosphere has set in across the Taiwan straits in the past 2 or 3 years. The maintenance of this relaxed atmpsphere will help promote the realization of China's peaceful reunification, and contribute to peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific region."

CSO: 4000/3

'XINHUA' INTERVIEWS JAPAN OFFICIALS ON YE PROPOSAL

OW021638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Some noted Japanese political figures described as positive, moderate and sincere the recent statement made by Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, in which the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the country was explained.

In an interview with XINHUA, Masatoshi Tokunaga, president of the Japanese House of Councillors, said: Chairman Ye Jianying's proposal concerning China's peaceful reunification is one put forth by Chinese leaders after careful considerations. It is a timely move. The one and the same nation should be unified."

Chozo Akiyama, vice-president of the House of Councillors, said: "Chairman Ye Jianying's statement is a positive proposal. The presenting of the question itself is a step forward."

Yoshikatsu Takeiri, chairman of the Komei Party, said: "Chairman Ye Jianying's statement is a timely move. It is a prompt step taken by the Chinese leaders after careful considerations, demonstrating their firm faith."

Shoichi Shimodaira, vice-chairman of the Japan Socialist Party, said: "Chairman Ye Jianying's statement demonstrates a sincere desire for the peaceful reunification of the country, and should be given a high appraisal. Proceeding from a reciprocal stand, China recognizes Taiwan's status quo. Nothing could be more sincere than this. Now, the authorities in Taiwan have turned down Chairman Ye Jianying's proposal. But it will surely produce far-reaching influence in Taiwan which cannot reject the proposal for ever."

CSO: 4000/3

WORLD ACCLAIMS YE JIANYING PROPOSAL ON TAIWAN

OW061441 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 81

["International Current Events" commentary: "A Major Move of Historical Significance"]

[Text] After Chairman Ye Jianying gave his interview, the Korean paper NODONG SINMUN, in a 5 October commentary, expressed resolute support for the Chinese people's efforts for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the realization of China's peaceful reunification. The commentary said: The nine-point proposal put forward by Chairman Ye Jianying once again shows that the CCP and the Chinese Government hope to bring an end to the country's division and realize the Chinese people's long-cherished desire for the reunification of their motherland at an early date. It also clearly shows that reunification of the country by peaceful means is not a matter of expediency but the firm and unshakable policy of the Chinese party and government.

The commentary pointed out: The Taiwan authorities should accept the proposal for China's peaceful reunification put forward by the CCP and the Chinese Government. Otherwise, they will go against the trend of the times and the wishes of the Chinese people. China's peaceful reunification is in the vital interests of the Chinese people and accords completely with the world people's desire for peace in Asia and the world.

In conclusion, the NODONG SINMUN commentary said: The Korean Workers Party and the Korean Government and people will, as always, actively support the CCP and the Chinese Government and people in their just struggle for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of all China.

On the same day Chairman Ye Jianying gave the interview, Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, in answering reporters' questions, said: It will be a good thing if China can be reunified through negotiations.

The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomed Ye Jianying's statement saying that it is a desirable one.

Speaker Masatoshi Tokunaga and Vice Speaker Chozo Akiyama of the Japanese House of Councillors, Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri of the Komeito and Vice Chairman Shoichi Kodaira of the Japan Socialist Party made statements to XINHUA correspondents, unanimously praising Chairman Ye Jianying's statement as positive, moderate and sincere. They said that the statement shows his good faith in China's peaceful reunification.

Major newspapers in Tokyo, such as MAINICHI SHIMBUN, Tokyo SHIMBUN and ASAHI SHIMBUN, and the NHK Television Station carried editorials and reports saying that the nine-point proposal is appropriate and of great, far-reaching significance.

Some Thai newspapers published editorials and articles praising Chairman Ye Jianying's statement. (XIN ZHONGYUAN BAO) [NEW CHINA DAILY] said in its editorial: Ye Jianying's statement, which is made in an earnest tone and is full of sincere feelings, has deeply moved the Chinese people of all nationalities on both sides of the Taiwan Straits who earnestly hope for the reunification of the country. Friendly neighboring countries also welcome his statement.

The (MINZU PINGLUN BAO) [NATION'S COMMENTARY] carried an editorial saying that it is difficult to reject the Beijing proposal. The editorial expressed the hope that the KMT and the CCP in China will sit together to seriously discuss the question of reunification.

The Singapore paper STRAITS TIMES said in its editorial: The nine-point proposal has an even stronger appeal to the people on Taiwan.

The Philippine paper (DAILY WORLD) published a signed article saying that it is very appropriate to use Ye Jianying's statement as the basis for the talks on China's peaceful reunification.

Newspapers published in Malaysia, Turkey and other Asian countries have also given prominence to reports on Chairman Ye Jianying's statement.

On the same day that Chairman Ye Jianying gave the interview, (Long-bo-ge), spokesman of the U.S. State Department, said at a press conference that the U.S. Government has taken note of China's statement. He considered Ye Jianying's statement consistent with the spirit of China's past relevant statements. He said: The relationship between the PRC and Taiwan is a matter that should be settled by the Chinese people themselves. As for the Taiwan question, what we are concerned about is only the peaceful solution of this question.

The WALL STREET JOURNAL carried an article quoting a Western diplomat as saying that China has made the most magnanimous proposal it has ever made on reunification with Taiwan. The article pointed out: China's proposal is not just propaganda.

An official of the FRG Information Bureau said: China's proposal concerning reunification of the country will win the German people's sympathy. The German people will welcome China's reunification. A personage from West Germany's economic circles said: West Germany's economic circles hope for China's reunification.

In Britain, THE TIMES carried an editorial saying: China has made a new and more generous proposal; the appeal emphasizes patriotism and China's progress. THE GUARDIAN said: Chairman Ye Jianying's statement is one of wisdom; it is also one of utmost benevolence and righteousness.

In Italy, LA REPUBLICA said: The statement is the most generous proposal made by the People's Republic of China since its founding in 1949.

In the United States, many Americans of Chinese extraction warmly praised Chairman Ye Jianying's statement. They said that the nine-point proposal for peaceful reunification made by Chairman Ye is a historically momentous action and that it inevitably will have wide repercussions. Professor (Jen Chih-kung) of Johns Hopkins University said: The focus of Chairman Ye's statement is the reunification of China as a whole. All Chinese people support it. He said: The principle laid down by the Chinese leaders is fair and reasonable and indicates the Chinese leaders' earnestness and sincerity. They propose national reconciliation and cooperation between the two parties. If anyone doubts their sincerity, he should recall the "Xian incident." At that time, it was only after the Chinese Communist Party, putting unity and resistance against Japanese imperialism above all else, dispatched Zhou Enlai to Xian to guarantee Chiang Kai-shek's safety and freedom that the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party materialized for the second time. If this is not sincerity, then what is it? Recalling the past and considering the present nine-point proposal, how can one say that the proposal is a "united-front plot"?

(Chou Yang-ming), a researcher of the Institute of the Dupont Chemical Company in the United States, said: The nine-point proposal for peace talks enumerated in the statement are very fair and reasonable. They are practical and realistic. They prove that China's leaders have taken into account not only the future of the nation and the well-being of the Taiwan compatriots but also the interests of the Taiwan authorities. He voiced his determination to make further contributions to the motherland's unification and democracy and to its construction.

Dr (Huang Tien-hsin), chairman of the Board of the Orient International Company, said: In his statement, Ye Jianying from the very beginning put the interests of the Chinese nation and the country above everything else and above the party's interests. This shows the fundamental idea of respecting the people and a broad vision. To make the Chinese nation strong and powerful is a matter of prime importance. If both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party put the national interests above everything else, then it is possible for them to unite and cooperate and our country will have a bright future.

CSO: 4005/33

U.S, BRITISH CHINESE HAIL REUNIFICATION PROPOSAL

OW050128 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Leaders of Chinese organizations in the United States and Britain in their recent interviews with XINHUA warmly welcomed the talk of Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, elaborating on the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification.

Kenneth T. C. Mei, president of New York Society for the Advancement of Chinese Americans, said that the new proposal for China's reunification proclaimed by Ye Jianying has expressed the common aspiration of the 1,000 million Chinese people including the Taiwan compatriots and the earnest desire of overseas Chinese. He pointed out that the reunification and national solidarity of China constitute the primary conditions for speeding up the process of the four modernizations. He said it is his ardent hope that the Taiwan authorities would adopt a realistic approach and give serious consideration to the proposed peace negotiations so as to contribute to the great cause of reunification of the motherland.

James Ying, chairman of Sino-American Chamber of Commerce (U.S.A.), said, "I hope for an early reunification of the motherland, which is realizable because both the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang adhere to the position of 'one China' and want to see China reunified, both want to see the motherland prosper, the people on both sides are blood brothers and sisters, and the cooperation between the two parties for two times before has laid a good foundation for a possible third time cooperation." He held peaceful negotiations will surely succeed if only both sides act out of a desire for genuine solidarity and in the spirit of seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. The peace negotiations will surely be successful. He pointed out that application by all Chinese at home and abroad for national reunification represents the mainstream which is irresistible.

Chik Lung Yum, president of the Fu Kien Association, said that national reunification is the desire of the compatriots on both sides of the straits, although they have been separated for over 30 years. It is also the desire of overseas Chinese who are convinced both national unification and the great goal of building China into a prosperous and powerful country will be achieved some day with the joint efforts by all Chinese.

Chairman Ye Jianying's statement has aroused warm discussions and great repercussions among Chinese residents in Britain and Chinese Britons.

A 70-year-old leading member of the overseas Chinese community said: "The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China had cooperated for two times before. Now, there exist conditions and possibilities for them to cooperate for the third time for the security and interests of the Chinese nation as a whole. Only a unified country can better resist foreign aggression. Even neighbouring countries need to be inter-dependent like lips and teeth, let alone brothers of one and the same nation."

He added, "Only by striving for national unity and unification can a political party have a place in history. Otherwise, it can only be a criminal against the nation."

Some middle-aged and young overseas Chinese indicated that Ye Jianying's statement is the most comprehensive and concrete proposal up to now, demonstrating the breadth of vision of the Chinese Communist Party which does not bear the old grudge.

A young Chinese Briton of the Guanghua bookshop said, in spite of the opposition by a small number of people, "the movement for the unification of the motherland is irresistible." He expressed the hope that the Taiwan authorities, placing the national interests above everything and valuing this good opportunity, will enter into dialogue with the Chinese Communist Party as soon as possible.

A number of Chinese Britons said, although they have been naturalized, China is always their mother. They earnestly hoped that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party on the both sides of the Taiwan strait will cooperate at an early date. Only in this way can China become a genuinely prosperous and powerful country. They hoped that such a day would come soon.

CSO: 4000/3

THAI PAPERS SUPPORT YE JIANYING PROPOSAL

OW021514 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Bangkok, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Thailand newspapers appraised a statement made 30 September by Ye Jainying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, on a peaceful reunification of Taiwan with the motherland.

In today's editorial, the NEW CHINESE DAILY NEWS said that Ye Jianying's nine-point proposal is "more detailed and specific than those declared in the past." The statement was issued "in an earnest tone and with sincere sentiment which gave a deep impression to people of various nationalities on both sides of the strait."

The editorial urged Taiwan authorities to take the initial step by sending delegations to visit the mainland and hold talks there.

The editorial said that if the authorities in Taiwan continue to refuse contact, they will be ignoring the desire from both sides of the strait for peaceful reunification.

In another newspaper, an article said today that "the forbearance of the Chinese Communist Party with the Taiwan authorities" is obvious from Ye Jianying's statement.

Ye Jiangying's statement was made with "the utmost tolerance and patience and was aimed at nothing but an early unification of the motherland," the article said. The call for unification sets the state and national interests above everything, so that the whole country can make a wholehearted and united effort for accelerating the four modernizations."

The article said "our motherland is rich in natural resources and has 1 billion valiant, industrious and intelligent people. They can surely build the country into a powerful state with high democracy and civilization."

The article asked how Taiwan can consider itself an outsider in this great cause. "The old scores between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party can be written off with one stroke, and they should look forward to the future together," the article said.

The article concluded by expressing hope that Taiwan authorities would "show great foresight, give up their prejudice and take action to promote the unification of the country and nation" in the spirit of Sun Yat-sen.

A commentary in the TONG HUA YID PAO newspaper said yesterday that Chinese in China mainland and Taiwan as well as overseas Chinese want to reunify the motherland peacefully.

"Without doubt," the commentary added, "the peaceful reunification of China is a general trend and represents the aspiration of the people. Therefore, it is a reasonable belief that the movement for the peaceful reunification will develop continually. Though there are difficulties at the present stage, the movement is bound to finally attain its goal."

The NATION REVIEW, an English-language newspaper, said yesterday in an editorial that Beijing's statement "is attractive and hard to reject." The editorial expressed hope that the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang of China will discuss the reunification problem in earnest.

CSO: 4000/3

CHIANG CHING-KUO URGED TO COOPERATE WITH CCP

OW051639 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--Chen Zhijian, sworn sister of Mr Chiang Ching-kuo's mother Mao Fumei, told XINHUA yesterday: "I hope Ching-kuo will contribute to the third period of cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang for the sake of the country and the people and for his late mother."

Chen Zhijian, now 88 years old, is a member of the Zhejiang Provincial People's Political Consultative Conference and vice-chairman of Fenghua County's Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. She said: "This year is the 100th anniversary of the birth of my sister Fumei. Her tomb has been renovated. We are waiting for Ching-kuo to pay his respects at his mother's tomb."

According to the PEOPLE'S DAILY, Percy Chen, son of Chen Youren, former secretary to Dr Sun Yat-sen and foreign minister of the National Government in Wuhan, praised Chairman Ye's nine-point proposal as "a flexible policy which is full of wisdom." He said: "These are really the words of a Chinese who is broadminded and has cast away prejudices."

Percy Chen, a well-known Hong Kong lawyer, has long promoted association and understanding between the people of China and foreign countries as well as the unity of the Chinese people. He said, "The Taiwan authorities should seriously consider Chairman Ye's proposal for talks for it is not only in the interest of the Chinese people but also in the interest of world peace."

Yuan Xiaoyuan, former member of the Kuomintang National Assembly and a U.S. citizen of Chinese origin, in a letter to his colleagues on Taiwan, said: "The reunification of the country and the unity of the nation is the common aspiration of the Chinese people. When you promote the reunification of the motherland, you fulfill your obligation as members of the Kuomintang National Assembly."

CSO: 4000/3

CHEN WEN-CHENG'S WIDOW TESTIFIES IN U.S. CONGRESS

OW071240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--Chen Su-jen, wife of Chen Wen-cheng, the American professor who died in Taiwan last July after prolonged interrogation and torture by KMT agents, personally gave witness today proving spy activities by agents of Taiwan's Kuomintang authorities in the United States had led to the murder of her husband.

In her testimony today before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Chen Su-jen recalled events surrounding the murder of her husband made public at a press conference at the Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh on 11 September 1981. "My husband's death was not a suicide or an accident. It was murder," she said.

Chen Su-jen produced 39 photographs of her husband's body taken during the first autopsy in the week of 5 July 1981 to prove that her husband had been badly tortured before he died. There were too many external wounds which could not be explained by a fall, she stressed. She said she had consulted several medical doctors. According to the doctors' opinions, several wounds on the right shoulder and the neck were sustained several hours before his death. These were obviously from tortures. A cluster of punctures on his right elbow were most likely caused by repetitive piercings with sharp objects. The three parallel, deep bruises on the back were highly suggestive of whipping. All these wounds from torture could be seen from the photos.

Three weeks ago, she said, her husband's former colleague, Professor Degroot, and a forensic pathologist, Dr Wecht, went to Taiwan and reexamined the case of her husband's death. At the press conference upon their return on 24 September they reaffirmed her original judgement and conviction that her husband was murdered.

Chen Su-jen spoke of her heartfelt apprehension in agreeing to testify here today. "My main concern was whether I might be harrassed by KMT agents in this country because of my testimony here, whether my parents and relatives in Taiwan might be intimidated by KMT agents, and whether my safety might be endangered in future visits to my parents in Taiwan."

She said the garrison command in Taiwan maintained that the interrogiations of her husband were prompted by intelligence reports collected through KMT's "rainbow intelligence project."

The garrison command also claimed that they had in their possession tape recordings of her husband's impromptu comments on the Kaohsiung incident of December 1979. his personal letters to his friends and five checks in the amount of U.S.$5,000 in total that were enclosed in the letters.

Chen Su-jen said that KMT spy activities are ever-present in the United States. Many Taiwanese people have been harrassed by KMT agents on campuses and elsewhere as had been testified before. People were afraid to report because of repraisals from KMT agents against themselves and relatives in Taiwan.

"The United States should immediately put restriction on the number of the personnel of the Coordination Council for North American Affairs. I feel it is equally important to make arms sales to Taiwan contingent on a certification that the Taiwan authority has ceased their spy activities in the United States," Chen Su-jen said.

Steve Solarz, Don Bonker and other congressmen at the subcommittee meeting expressed their grave concern over the extension of Taiwan's repressive activities inside the borders of the United States. Representative Jim Leach reiterated his request to the U.S. administration for a thorough investigation of KMT spy activities in this country which threaten the life and liberty of Chinese from Taiwan. Chairman of the House Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Solarz reiterated his stand that further arms sales by the administration to Taiwan be suspended.

Many Chinese, mostly students from Taiwan, were present during the hearing. Some students told XINHUA that they were shocked by the murder of Chen Wen-cheng and strongly condemned the Kuomintang agents in the United States.

CSO: 4000/3

'HSIN WAN PAO' ON TAIPEI'S ANNIVERSARY COINS

HK241504 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 24 Sep 81 p 2

["New Talk" column: "Taipei Has Shifted, But Not Enough"]

[Text] Taipei has shown changes in its actions in the past couple of days. Although the changes have not been sound and seemed perfunctory, they are still worth commending. These changes indicate a good trend. It is also necessary to point out: It will be very good if serious changes are made.

Taiwan is issuing gold and silver coins in commemoration of the "70th anniversary of the founding of the country." As a matter of fact, it is to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. The original design of the coins aroused widespread discontent because it was intended that they bear only the image of Chiang Kai-shek and not that of Sun Yat-sen. The day before yesterday, CHUNG YANG JIH PAO published the news that this was to change and the coins would now also bear the image of Dr Sun Yat-sen. (We regret having neglected this point yesterday.) This illustrates the saying, "It takes courage to realize shame." After all, it is promising for the Taiwan authorities concerned to feel shame and correct the mistakes, and we should praise their deeds.

However, we must point out that these changes are not sufficient and are in fact far from being sufficient. Among the four kinds of coins, three gold and one silver, only one of them bears the image of Dr Sun Yat-sen and the others still bear the image of Chiang Kai-shek. Even though the biggest gold coin will bear the image of Sun Yat-sen, the change is not entirely appropriate.

It was Dr Sun Yat-sen who led the revolution of 1911 and Chiang Kai-shek could not be found anywhere at that time. Thus, he is not qualified to appear on the coins. Perhaps Taipei might say the coins are to commemorate the "70th anniversary of the founding of the country," and that for over 40 years Chiang Kai-shek has played a certain role. Even if this is so, and we do not mention his merits or faults, we are now commemorating the anniversary of the founding of the country and Chiang Kai-shek did not contribute at all to this. Thus, how can the Taiwan authorities let him claim credit for other people's achievements? The worst thing is that three-quarters of the coins will bear his image, reluctantly leaving the image of the criticized Sun Yat-sen on the remaining quarter. Does the change seem adequate or serious?

The Taiwan authorities earlier denounced Beijing for "making use" of Sun Yat-sen in preparing for the grand ceremony to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. But on the other hand, in starting to issue coins, even they did not have the intention, until now, of "making use" of Sun Yat-sen. Thus were they on strong ground to denounce others? We are afraid that pretense is not found in Beijing but in Taiwan.

We should like to advise them once again: Pay genuine respect to Dr Sun Yat-sen and really implement the three people's principles.

CSO: 4005/34

BRIEFS

APPEAL TO DEFENSE MINISTER--According to our reporter (Li Guisheng) stationed in Zhaozhuang, Gao Qiyuan, younger brother of Kao Kuei-yuan, the Juomintang's defense minister in Taiwan, enthusiastically supports Chairman Ye Jianying's talk and hopes his brother will place the righteous national cause above everything else and take the bright road of patriotism and unification. Gao Qiyuan is a member of the Zhaozhuang Municipal CPPCC Committee. When he heard the talk delivered by Chairman Ye on Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of the great cause of unification over the radio, he said to this reporter: An early reunification of the motherland is a wish cherished by people throughout the country over the past 30 years. An early reunion of family members is yearned for by all the separated families on both sides of the strait. I earnestly hope my brother will place the righteous national cause above everything else, go with the tide of history and contribute to the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland. My brother Kao Quei-yuan has been separated from us for over 30 years. All my family members are eager for a family reunion. I am 59 years old. My eldest son is a worker; my second oldest son is an apprentice at the Zhaozhuang Mining Bureau. We are doing very well. My brother Kuei-yuan is 74. As the old saying goes: Few people have ever lived beyond 70. I hope my brother will return to his old home on the mainland to reunite with us and renew our brotherly affection. [Text] [SK070200 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Oct 81]

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END

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 October 1981

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 228

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FAO OFFICIAL, SPADOLINI, BRANDT ON WORLD POVERTY

OW170914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Rome, October 16 (XINHUA)--Some 800 million people in the world are living in absolute poverty but the international community is not doing enough to end hunger, said Edouard Saouma, director-general of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), here today.

In his speech today, designated by the FAO as the First World Food Day to draw public attention to the extent of world hunger, Saouma said most of the poorest people are found in the least developed countries and there are some nine million refugees driven from their homes by a rising tide of natural and man-made disasters.

He therefore called for a rededication to agriculture. Last year, Saouma said, production in over 60 developing countries failed to keep pace with the population growth. Fifteen countries were producing less food than they did a decade ago.

Without doubt, he added, "the situation among developing countries, particularly the poorest of them, is more serious now than at any time since the world food crises of the early seventies. Their position has been weakened even further by the recession in the industrialized world which has reduced both the volume and the value of their exports. As a result, the developing countries are falling prey to the forces of the market place, selling less for less. At the same time, the poor countries must pay more for imported goods and essential energy supplies."

Prime Minister of Italy Giovanni Spadolini in his speech stressed the need to map out a line of an "organic and incisive strategy," of a programme of action, to cope with the problem of hunger and malnutrition in the world. In this common effort, he said, Italy will do its part.

Speaking of North-South dialogue, the Italian premier said that "in our opinion this dialogue should more and more take the form of a global negotiation, intended to build up a more just economic order, capable of giving a valid reply to the legitimate hopes of the less privileged countries."

Former West German Chancellor and chairman of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues Willy Brandt stressed "the need to recognize the necessity of a programme of immediate action in critical sectors. The top priority for us is a global food programme."

He said that "any thought given to the components of a North-South priority programme, must include among its top priorities action for safeguarding the world food supply." This action should be taken in the following three sectors: First, increasing food production, with emphasis on low-income food-deficit countries. Second, world food security. The aim would consist in ensuring that the developing countries in general, and the most vulnerable ones in particular, are able to get the food supplies they need in times of difficulties. Third, international trade. The essential thing here is to raise commodity prices to levels which offer producers a fair reward. And tariff and non-tariff barriers in developed countries should be reduced or removed.

This afternoon, Italian President Pertini received at the Quirinale Palace the delegates to the FAO ceremony.

CSO: 4000/4

POLISH GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CRISIS

OW120722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, October 11 (XINHUA)--The Polish Government Presidium has authorized the Council of Ministers' Trade Union Committee to call for the establishment of a permanent mixed commission with the trade unions without delay to deal with supplies, price increases and rationing.

At a meeting yesterday the Presidium discussed a draft resolution on ways and means of preventing the worsening of the crisis and improving the administration of the country. It also discussed measures to do away with negative phenomena which undermine stability.

The government spokesman said here last night that the Presidium believes that the normalization of political situation is vital in bringing into full play our country's economic potentialities, carrying out reforms and satisfying the people's needs, especially as the winter set in. But, he said, "the course and resolutions of the Solidarity Union Congress have made the situation even more disquieting."

The proposed permanent mixed commission will consist of representatives of the government, the Solidarity union, the pro-government unions and the unaffiliated autonomous unions, and will deal with matters related to market deliveries, the rationing of necessities and price changes.

The decision is seen as a government move toward a permanent working relationship with the Solidarity union in view of the actual need for still more price hikes and agonizing food and fuel shortages in the winter.

The Polish State Television said last night that Poles would have to cut the use of their cars by one-third because only about 70 per cent of fuel needs would be met this month.

A Polish radio commentator said that Poles probably would have to suffer from the freezing cold this winter because output of the coal mines is falling.

CSO: 4000/4

POLISH GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES DOMESTIC SITUATION

OW141216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, October 13 (XINHUA)--The Polish Council of Ministers held a meeting here yesterday to discuss present domestic political and economic situation and study the result of the second-stage Solidarity congress, a Polish Government spokesman announced today.

The spokesman said that the progress of the congress and the substantial parts of its programme and resolution have exceeded the agreement reached in August 1980, thus seriously contradicting the principle of the country's system. Furthermore, no "favourable response" has been given to the proposal for constructive cooperation put forward by the government in a letter to the congress. The draft laws governing state-run enterprises and self-management of workers which were approved by the National Assembly were violated unprecedentedly, he said.

The Solidarity union has shown no interest in and understanding of the programme and actions taken by the government to overcome economic crisis. Such an attitude has brought tension and conflict in overcoming economic difficulties, he said.

The spokesman announced that the Polish Government was ready to discuss any constructive proposal. Thus, the Council of Ministers reaffirmed the proposal for establishment of a mixed commission composed of representatives of the government and various trade union centres to study problems such as market supplies, improvement of purchase, commodity prices and subsidies, he added.

He said, the meeting also studied the market situation, the improvement of coal production and the coupon system and economization of energy.

He said that the Council of Ministers asked all the peasants, Central Union of Agricultural Groups, "Solidarity" Peasant Union and other agricultural organizations to sell to the state agricultural produce, particularly livestock.

The Council of Ministers called for hastening the drafting of laws concerning economic reformation, readjusting the organizational and economic situation of enterprises and strengthening order and discipline, the spokesman added.

CSO: 4000/4

POLAND'S SOLIDARITY ENDS FIRST CONGRESS

OW081314 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, October 7 (XINHUA)--Poland's Solidarity union wound up its first national congress in Gdansk today with an eight-chapter, highly political program after 12 days of searing debate.

The program, adopted by a majority vote at the second phase of the congress, calls for separation of political and economic power, breaking of the state monopoly of mass media, free and open elections at both local and national level, an independent judiciary, de-politicising of the police, workers' self-management and a boost to private enterprise.

The Solidarity demands a public trial of those responsible for what it termed "Poland's downfall," by the end of this year, with the threat that if the authorities fail to open the necessary inquiry for such a trial, it would undertake itself to organize a "people's tribunal" for the purpose.

The program branches out to cover foreign policy, saying: "Sense of responsibility forces us to recognize the balance of European powers established since World War Two. It is our desire to pursue our vast movement of change without challenging existing international relationships."

TRYBUNA LUDU, the party organ, today criticised the program for the fact that the term "socialism" was not even once mentioned in the program.

CSO: 4000/4

POLAND'S KANIA CALLS FOR BAN ON STRIKES

OW170306 Beijing XINHUA in English 0255 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Beijing, October 17 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, yesterday opened the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee after the ninth party congress in July by calling for a ban on strikes and ordered seasoned soldiers to prolong their military service, according to reports received here.

Kania, who has been reportedly taking a soft line towards the Solidarity free trade union, accused the movement of paralysing the country and ruining the economy with repeated demands and strikes.

He proposed at the party plenum that strikes should be banned during autumn and winter.

The party leader also suggested that Poles give up their free Saturdays in the coming months.

Kania said, "What is the worth of appeals and promises which we hear from the Solidarity leaders from time to time."

"The practice of their actions is determined by the blocking of all anti-crisis undertakings of the government. Let's put it openly, the line of (prolonging) economic crisis is aimed at taking political power," he pointed out.

Referring to Solidarity's rejection of pay incentives for Saturday work for miners, he said, "Nothing can justify blocking coal production in the face of the coming winter... Those who do so want our country to live in darkness and cold, our factories to be halted because of lack of energy."

In view of "the complex internal situation and drastic economic difficulties," the Polish Council of Ministers decided to extend military service for conscripts who had completed their normal two-year term, said a PAP report.

According to other reports the government-Solidarity talks on urgent economic problems, the first of such talks since August 7, came to an agreement Thursday on a temporary freeze on food prices. Chief negotiator of the Solidarity union, Grzegortz Palka, told newsmen after the talks that there are still differences between the two sides on the prices of petrol and wines. They would continue talks on cost of living compensation as well as public control over the country's economy, urgent and long range measures for freeing the country from crisis.

A PAP report said that owing to food shortages, especially the worsening of meat and meat products supply, strikes and other forms of protests have occurred in central and other parts of Poland.

CSO: 4000/4

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER CHEYSSON VISITS POLAND

OW090738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, October 8 (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson arrived here today for an official visit.

His visit was described by the press here as "of special significance."

Henryk Jablonski, president of the Council of State, and General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received him respectively.

PAP reported that the Polish premier and French foreign minister had talked about the "main problem in smoothly developing cooperation between Poland and France" and "Poland's demand for short-term and long-term cooperation between the two countries."

The French foreign minister also held talks with its Polish partner Jozef Czyrek on the "international affairs they were interested in" and the "possibility of developing relations between the two countries in various fields."

In an interview published in the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, the French minister said one aim of his visit was to study better Poland's economic situation so as to more effectively help Poland and also to tell France's partners about the problems in Poland.

He said, apart from providing food relief and raw materials, France was unable to solve certain problems by relying on her own efforts, and she should consult with other countries.

Poland and France have had traditional friendly relations and close economic ties. The turnover in trade between the two countries totalled 1,200 million U.S. dollars in 1980. France, next to West Germany, Britain and the United States, is the fourth biggest trading partner of Poland.

CSO: 4000/4

WEINBERGER CITES COMMON U.S., FRENCH DEFENSE VIEW

OW161630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Paris, October 15 (XINHUA)--The United States and France "agree completely" on the need to boost common defence efforts, combat neutralism in Europe and follow the developments in the Middle East and Africa closely, said U.S. Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger here today.

Weinberger was speaking at a news conference after his talks with French Defence Minister Charles Hernu and Foreign Relations Minister Claude Cheysson. He arrived here last night at the head of a 15-member delegation for a 24-hour visit to France.

It is imperative to maintain the balance of force between the East and the West, particularly in Europe where the Soviet Union is continuing its deployment of the SS-20 missiles every week, he said.

France under President Francois Mitterrand is making an impressive contribution to the security of the Atlantic alliance, he said. He disclosed that the two sides had exchanged views on the threat posed by the Soviet strategy and on means to counter the threat. Both expressed their readiness to cooperate in armament.

Both the United States and France hold that the present neutralism in Europe is dangerous and that the call by some groups in Europe for unilateral disarmament is most unrealistic, he declared.

Weinberger pointed to the signs of instability in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and Africa. The United States will do its utmost to help these countries, Egypt and Sudan in particular, he said.

The United States will give Sudan military aid as early as possible and to the amount of 100 million dollars, to be increased later.

Weinberger also expressed his appreciation of France's effort in the Indian Ocean.

At the end of the news conference, Charles Hernu said that he has accepted an invitation to visit the United States at a date to be discussed later.

In the talks, Weinberger detailed to the French ministers President Reagan's strategic plan to boost U.S. nuclear forces. The talks also covered bilateral military and armament matters and international issues of common interest.

CSO: 4000/4

U.S. CONGRESS DISCUSSES RECENT INDOCHINA POLICY

OW180116 Beijing XINHUA in English 0100 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, October 17 (XINHUA)--The Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee started a discussion on U.S. policy on the Indochina region since Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. At its first hearing last Thursday, some American experts and Vietnamese who managed to have escaped from the Hanoi brutal rule were present to give their witnesses.

Truong Nhu Tang, former justice minister of the Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government, told the subcommittee that the Hanoi regime is "an integral part of the Soviet hegemonists" and the invasion of Laos and Kampuchea were "to carry out the regional hegemonist policy of the Soviet Union's global strategy." As an insider, he disclosed the fanatic ambition of the Hanoi regime for expansion, quoting its present leader Le Duan as declaring "we will build up our country ten times bigger" while the Central School of Nationalities in North Vietnam was discussing a union of Southeast Asia to be set up by the end of this century. Years after Le Duan's declaration, Vietnam occupied Laos, invaded Kampuchea and attacked Thailand while the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, pointed out Truong Nhu Tang.

Analyzing the ties between Moscow and Hanoi, he said it has grown into an organic and integral body-like axis. The 1978 Vietnam-Soviet treaty was accompanied by five secret agreements including the provision for the use of military bases in Vietnam by the Soviet Union. To approve and support the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the Soviet Union gave Hanoi from three to five million dollars of military aid a day. He stressed that the conception of giving aid to Vietnam to save it from the Soviet orbit is similar to that of giving money to award a murderer. "I can tell you that the Hanoi regime is the most inhumane in the history of Vietnam and the Soviet hegemonists are the most dangerous imperialists in the world," he said.

He concluded his testimony by calling for joint efforts by the Asian countries, Japan, China and the U.S. to defeat Soviet hegemonism.

His statement was supported by follow-up witness Douglas Pike, a U.S. expert on the region. Ridiculing the idea of providing aid to win over the Hanoi regime, he quoted a poster in an American zoo: "Please don't feed the bears because the bears are going to bite you."

He said in geo-political terms the Vietnam-Soviet linkage "has developed over the last seven years into what is a military alliance in all but name." Vietnam is dependent on the Soviet Union for some 20 per cent of the food it consumes without which there would be rice riots. It is dependent on the Soviet Union for all its military hardware and supplies used in Kampuchea and against China. Soviet ships and submarines call regularly at Cam Ranh Bay, its reconnaissance planes fly regular missions out of Danang over the South China Sea. Estimates on the cost of all this to the Soviet Union range from two to four billion U.S. dollars annually.

He pointed out the difficulties Vietnam is facing. With continuing economic and socio-political malaise at home, Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea has not gone well and it is extremely isolated with only two countries appearing to be truly friendly--the USSR and Cuba.

He also called for united efforts by the Asian countries, China and the United States to check Vietnam's act of expansion.

CSO: 4000/4

EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT STRESSES NATIONAL UNITY

OW181608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, October 18 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak has emphasized that national unity is one of the most important priorities of the coming stage, the local newspapers reported today.

Mubarak presided over a series of meetings yesterday attended by top aides and provincial governors to discuss the security situation and economic and foreign policies.

He defined the priorities of domestic national action for the coming stage as the realisation of stable security for the masses and paying more attention to the bringing up of the new generation and to the minimisation of bureaucratic practices and red tape.

Mubarak also urged provincial governors to fight all forms of deviation, negligence and indiscipline and confront all problems in their governorates.

The government will strongly face up to any deviation, he said. "Every citizen, be he Muslim or Christian, is duty-bound to shoulder responsibility. We all are Egyptians and we all are equal."

Mubarak said the government will pay considerable attention to the appropriate channelling of the creative energies of youth while confronting all extremist doctrines and fanatic tendencies of any colour.

CSO: 4000/4

JAPAN OFFICIAL URGES U.S. FLEXIBILITY ON MIDEAST

OW160728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 16 (XINHUA)--Toshio Kimura, chairman of the Dietmen League for Japan-Palestine Friendship, has said that Japan should take the opportunity of the North-South summit to inform the United States and Israel of the Palestine Liberation Organization's perceptions of Middle East peace and to urge them to adopt a flexible attitude.

In a talk carried in today's YOMIURI SHIMBUN, this former Japanese foreign minister pointed out that "it is of great significance for the PLO leader to pay, for the first time, a visit to Japan, a developed country with influence on the United States."

He said: "The Palestine issue is the core of Middle East peace. As a clue to the solution of this issue, it is significant for Japan to take the opportunity of Chairman 'Arafat's visit to clarify Japan's Middle East policy."

"During his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, Chairman 'Arafat made an affirmative appraisal of the eight-point proposal put forth by Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia Fahd and accepted it as the basis of Middle East package peace," he said, adding, "By confirming this reaction, Japan will be able to contribute to Middle East peace and play its special role."

TOKYO SHIMBUN noted in a commentary today: "Japan has opened the way for dialogues with the Palestine Liberation Organization. This is of great importance. However, if Japan really wants to help achieve Middle East peace, it should urge the United States to adopt a flexible policy."

CSO: 4000/4

CARTER, FORD SUGGEST DIALOGUE WITH PLO

OW121226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, October 12 (XINHUA)--Two former American presidents, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, favored U.S. recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, according to a report from Washington.

They favored a U.S. dialogue with the PLO in a joint press interview aboard the presidential jet on their way back to Washington from the funeral of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat.

Asked if the United States should talk directly to the PLO, Ford said, "At some point that has to happen. I would not want to pick the date today, but in a realistic way that dialogue has to take place..."

Carter said, "I don't see any possibility of the Palestinian world, and the Arab world, of acknowledging any other leadership for the Palestinians other than the PLO."

He added, "We can't speak for Israel but I think a simultaneous acknowledgement of the PLO and that Israel has a right to exist, and our dealing with the PLO would be certainly something that I favor."

Explaining the lack of progress in the Middle East peace negotiations, Carter said this was "primarily because of the settlement policy on the part of Israel and the difficulty with East Jerusalem."

Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was national security advisor to former President Jimmy Carter, also came out for a dialogue with the Palestinian Liberation Organization while addressing a Foreign Affairs Club luncheon in Washington. He said that "whether we like it or not, they probably speak for a large segment of the Palestinian population" and that "it does not serve the American interests not to have some sort of a dialogue with them."

CSO: 4000/4

MUBARAK SWORN IN AS EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT

OW150212 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, October 14 (XINHUA)--Muhammad Husni Mubarak took his oath at the People's Assembly at noon today to become Egypt's third president after Gamal Nasser and Anwar as-Sadat.

At the beginning of the assembly meeting, Speaker Sofi Abu Talib announced the results of the referendum held yesterday by which Mubarak was overwhelmingly approved as the president of the republic.

Mubarak was then sworn in and pledged to look after the interests of the people and maintain the independence of the nation and the integrity of its land.

In a congratulatory address to the assembly, Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri said the approval of Mubarak's nomination for the presidency was an affirmation of the people's determination to continue the march.

Then Mubarak delivered a long speech, eulogizing the late President Anwar as-Sadat. At his request, the House observed two minutes' silence in memory of the late president.

On domestic and foreign policies, the new president said: "Prosperity, raising the national income and the standard of living, providing equal opportunities for all and realizing justice are foremost among our national aims." He pledged to continue the economic open-door policy.

He declared that Egypt would respect all treaties and international agreements and honour all commitments. He also asked "the others to honour their commitments in full." He said the Egyptian Government would continue to take the course of durable and overall peace in the Middle East based on the Camp David accords and would spare no efforts for the success of the autonomy talks. But he said: "We do not speak in the name of the Palestinians," as the Palestinian people have the last word to say about their final solution.

Mubarak also said that Egypt's position would not change till Israel completes its withdrawal from Sinai in April next year. He told the assembly that he had received Israel's firm assurances that its final withdrawal would take place as scheduled.

To conclude his speech, he said that the Egyptian people "are today more determined to pursue the course of peace and are more adamant to protect all fruits of peace."

CSO: 4000/4

MUBARAK PLEDGES CONTINUED MIDEAST PEACE PROCESS

OW120252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, October 11 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Vice-President and presidential candidate Husni Mubarak today assured that the peace process will continue as scheduled and that Egypt is fully supported by the United States which will continue as full partner in the peace process in the Middle East, MENA reported tonight.

Mubarak made this statement after his talks earlier today with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig. The talks, according to Mubarak, were a continuation of his Washington talks a week ago. Mubarak termed today's talks as "fruitful."

Haig also expressed confidence that President as-Sadat's line will be maintained. He conveyed to the Egyptian leadership that Washington would not allow any external interference in the area.

In the meantime, official Egyptian-U.S. talks started here today under Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali and U.S. Secretary of State Haig.

'Ali told journalists that the talks dealt with the urgent and speedy need for stability in the Middle East.

In the talks Egypt emphasized that she will follow the same policy and will respect all agreements and conventions, 'Ali said. It will also respect the accords on a timetable for the coming sessions of talks between Egypt and Israel, especially those to finalize Israeli withdrawal from Sinai scheduled for October 25 in Tel Aviv.

Haig said he completely agreed with what 'Ali said.

In an interview with NEWSWEEK magazine, Mubarak has reiterated that he is going to continue the peace process in the Middle East and considered Camp David as the basis.

Mubarak disclosed that moments before as-Sadat was shot, the president was discussing with him how to celebrate the complete return of Sinai from the hands of Israel on April 25 next year and telling him things that needed to be done.

He said he had received condolences from some Arab leaders who did not want to publicize them. He added that he was sad that some other Arab leaders did not send condolences. But he said: "I am not going to start with animosity at all." He said: "We did not do anything with the Arab world. They froze their relations with us." As for a rapprochement, he added, "The initiative should come from their side."

CSO: 4000/4

'ARAFAT COMMENDS SAUDI MIDEAST PEACE PROPOSAL

OW141228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 14 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), commended Saudi Arabia's Middle East peace proposal and clarified his stance on the question of recognition of Israel.

'Arafat expressed this commendation several times in his talks with leaders of the Dietmen's League for Japan-Palestine Friendship and other parties here yesterday, reported TOKYO SHIMBUN.

Asked why the Palestine Liberation Organization did not recognize Israel, 'Arafat said: It is exactly the opposite. It is Israel which does not recognize us and rejects our proposal. Whether to recognize Israel or not is our last trump card which we won't play until our descendants are back to their motherland."

In his talks with Liberal Democratic Party Secretary Yoshio Sakurauchi and others, the PLO leader said Saudi Arabia's peace proposal "deserves commendation and will be an important agenda item for discussion at the next Arab summit."

'Arafat said "no" in answer to a question put by Zentaro Kosaka of the Foreign Affairs Research Council of the Liberal Democratic Party as to "whether there is any clause in the Palestinian charter which stipulates the elimination of Israel?"

"There is nothing of that sort in the charter. But it is stipulated in the charter that Moslems, Christians and Jews should have land to live together," he said.

The PLO leader also pleaded with Japan for support when he talked with Japan Socialist Party Chairman Ichio Asukata.

"We have no intention to harm anybody. Like others, we, too, have the right to live. We hope Japan can get rid of the pressure from all sides and give us support," he said.

In his separate talks with Komei Party Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri, Representative Yohei Kono of the New Liberal Club and the United Social Democratic Party Chairman Hideo Den, 'Arafat reiterated his position on the Saudi Arab's proposal and said it is their intrinsic right to establish a state of the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4000/4

JAPANESE PREMIER, 'ARAFAT DISCUSS MIDEAST PEACE

OW141908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 14 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki met Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasir 'Arafat here today to discuss peace in the Middle East.

Suzuki has been the first head of government among allies with the United States to talk with 'Arafat about the Middle East.

"The nucleus of peace in the Middle East is the problem of Palestine," Suzuki said, "and the Palestine Liberation Organization is an effective organization among the Palestinians."

'Arafat told Suzuki that the PLO has agreed with the eight-point proposal on peace in the Middle East submitted in August by Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd. And his organization had made some efforts for the materialization of peace in the Middle East.

However, he said Israel had not yet recognized Palestine and it continues to reject United Nations resolutions.

'Arafat stressed that "the rights to national self-determination refer to establishing an independent country" and the rights of Palestine to self-determination should be recognized.

He reiterated his objection to the Camp David accord reached between Israel and Egypt in 1978.

Suzuki told 'Arafat that "a just, permanent peace package should be introduced" in the Middle East and Japan "is willing to cooperate for the materialization of the U.N. resolutions."

He said that "the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination should be recognized and at the same time the rights of Israel to existence also should be recognized."

Suzuki said that Japan would contribute to peace in the Middle East.

After the discussion, 'Arafat told news reporters at the Tokyo Journalists Club that his visit to Japan had been "important and successful." He will leave tomorrow for Viet Nam.

CSO: 4000/4

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES 'ARAFAT WELCOMES U.S.-PLO DIALOGUE

OW131220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 13 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, declared here last night that his organization welcomed the proposal that the United States should have direct dialogue with the PLO.

During a television interview with the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), 'Arafat, commenting on the proposal to this effect made by former U.S. Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter said: "The PLO welcomes the statement and appreciates the suggestion that the peace package put forth by Saudi Arabia be taken as a basis for future peace talks." He also expressed the hope that U.S. President Reagan should recognize the practicability of the statement.

He said: "The U.S. must recognize the fact that the Palestinian people are the victims of Israeli aggression, must recognize the right of self-determination of the Palestinian nation and accept the U.N. resolution. This is a prerequisite."

At a welcome cocktail party given by the Japanese hosts last evening, 'Arafat said: "Peace in the Middle East cannot be realized unless the international resolutions are observed and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to build their own state are ensured." He condemned Israel and stressed: "We hope that the problems should be settled in accordance with international laws and the Middle East issues be solved in accordance with the U.N. resolutions."

'Arafat arrived in Tokyo from Pyongyang by special plane yesterday afternoon for a three-day visit to Japan at the invitation of the Dietmen's League for Japan-Palestine Friendship. Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda will hold talks with him. Foreign news agencies hold that the arrangement of these talks has important significance.

CSO: 4000/4

JAPAN'S SUZUKI SAYS PALESTINE KEY TO MIDEAST

OW131900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1641 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 13 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki today said the Palestinian issue is "the core of the Middle East problem."

Suzuki, holding talks with United Arab Emirates Minister of Petroleum and Resources Mani' ibn Sa'id al-'Utaybah, also said Japan intends to do whatever it can to help solve the Palestinian issue.

On his forthcoming talks with 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Suzuki said he is looking forward to a frank exchange of views with 'Arafat who is now visiting Japan.

Al-'Utaybah stressed to Suzuki that peace in the Middle East will never be reached until the Palestinian issue is solved. He also expressed his country's hope that the United States will "change its stance" in Middle East peace negotiations and "strive for a comprehensive peace."

The leaders also discussed the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat on October 6 and its implications on peace in the Middle East.

On relations between Japan and United Arab Emirates Suzuki pledged to promote a cultural and technical interchange between the countries, while al-'Utaybah called for an interchange of sports teams.

Al-'Utaybah arrived in Tokyo Monday for a seven-day visit to Japan.

CSO: 4000/4

EEC TO CONTINUE MIDEAST PEACE EFFORTS

OW140328 Beijing XINHUA in English 0229 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] London, October 13 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community today pledged to continue their Middle East peace efforts following the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat and to do what they could to assist stability in that region.

After a meeting of the EEC foreign ministers here which discussed the impact of President as-Sadat's assassination, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, who chaired the meeting in his capacity as the current president of the Community's ministerial council, told a press conference that the EEC's search for a mediating role in the Arab-Israeli conflict would go on. "We feel the stability of Egypt is extremely important at this time," he said. "We expressed our determination to remain active in the spirit of our past declarations, in particular the Venice declaration."

Lord Carrington announced plans to fly to Saudi Arabia in the next few weeks as the emissary of the European Community in a fresh attempt to bring peace to the Middle East.

Apart from the Middle East, today's meeting also discussed other matters in the context of strengthening political cooperation among the ten EEC member states. The foreign ministers underlined the importance of consultation among the ten on all important questions of foreign policy, which they believe lies at the heart of European political cooperation. They also agreed to establish a crisis procedure under which EEC foreign ministers could meet within 48 hours at the request of any three member states. "That ought to prevent any repetitions of what happened over the disarray we had over the invasion of Afghanistan," Lord Carrington stressed. The object is to enable the Community "to speak with one voice in international affairs."

Besides, the EEC foreign ministers moved a step further today by agreeing for the first time to place security matters on the political cooperation agenda. "The political but not the defence aspects" of security were discussed, Lord Carrington explained.

CSO: 4000/4

ALEXANDER HAIG ASSURES U.S. SUPPORT TO EGYPT

OW101826 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 10 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, October 10 (XINHUA)--The United States is committed to support Egypt against hostile actions from foreign powers and will speed up arms shipments, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared Friday.

The large U.S. delegation which arrived in Cairo Friday included former Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

During a meeting with Egyptian President-designate Husni Mubarak, Haig, head of the U.S. delegation to Anwar as-Sadat's funeral, delivered three messages from President Ronald Reagan to Interim President Sufi Abu Talib, Vice President Mubarak and as-Sadat's widow.

The messages reportedly confirmed the vital importance of promoting U.S.-Egyptian relations and the continuation of the United States as a full partner in comprehensive peace negotiations in the Middle East. Haig also conveyed Reagan's invitation to Mubarak to visit the United States.

Mubarak accepted the invitation and is expected to visit Washington in January or February.

CSO: 4000/4

IRAN PARLIAMENTARY DISSENT REPORTED

OW091335 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Tehran, October 8 (XINHUA)--For the first time since the ouster of former President Bani-Sadr last June, Iran's Majlis, dominated by the Islamic Republican Party, heard the strong voice of dissent at its session yesterday.

Bazargan, formerly prime minister of the provisional government after the Islamic Revolution and a deputy for Tehran, took the floor and declared that the country is in the flames of a terrible fire which endangers the state, the government and the religion.

He said: "Each side accuses the other of being hypocrites, reactionaries and anti-Islamic and imperialist agents. The noble clerics did not come from the United States, nor are those young people who defy death born and brought up in American families. It is not justified to call them hirelings of the United States. Why then do people deem it legitimate and necessary to slaughter each other? And the most disastrous of it all is that this turmoil and brutalities have been fueling the discontent and acts of revenge. More and more people are disassociating themselves with revolution and the religion. The honor and prestige of Islam are besmirched as a result."

An uproar erupted in the hall as Bazargan delivered his speech. Some deputies shouted: "While Koran prescribes that hypocrites must be executed, Mr. Bazargan says no. You are opposing the rules of Koran." "You (Bazargan) are a hypocrite and a renegade." Some dashed to the platform to voice their protests and others walked out.

The session resumed after a recess of about half an hour.

CSO: 4000/4

'XINHUA' REPORTS ARAB REACTIONS TO AL-SADAT DEATH

OW081803 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, October 8 (XINHUA)--Reactions to Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's death in Arab countries varied the past two days.

Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri described the assassination of as-Sadat on October 6 as "a conspiracy against the Egyptian people." He also announced an official 40-day mourning period and cancelled official ceremonies for one week.

Meanwhile, the Sudanese first vice president expressed the determination on October 6 that Sudan will continue to support the Egyptian people and develop fraternal ties between the two nations.

Moroccan King Hassan II in a message of condolence yesterday expressed sympathy for the Egyptian people and leaders and as-Sadat's family.

Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabid will lead a delegation to attend as-Sadat's funeral in Cairo.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat said at a Damascus rally on October 6 that the assassination of as-Sadat proved "the Palestinian cause was alive in the conscience of the great people of Egypt which never forgave its president for abusing Jerusalem, selling off the Palestinian cause and signing the treasonous Camp David accord."

The Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council called on as-Sadat's successors to "abandon as-Sadat's policy of treachery and return to the ranks of the Arab nation."

Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan said on October 6: "The assassination of as-Sadat was a historical lesson. The Camp David accord has brought a series of splits and disputes to the Arab world and set the arrogant Israel free to commit invasion and infiltration into Lebanon. The Camp David accord killed as-Sadat."

Jordanian Information Minister 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah said on October 6 that any Middle East solution which ignores the Palestinian question could never succeed.

Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi in an October 6 radio speech said: "As-Sadat's death has buried forever the hatred between Egypt and Libya."

He announced that Libya's borders with Egypt will be opened as of Wednesday and border patrols withdrawn. In addition, Libya will not intervene in Egypt's internal affairs, and Libya will improve relations with Egypt, he added.

Al-Qadhdhafi urged Egyptian troops to "take over the powers from which as-Sadat deprived you."

CSO: 4000/4

FRG PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NATO NOTED

OW081951 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Brussels, October 8 (XINHUA)--"Europe's sorrowful history is clear evidence that the mere will for peace does not suffice to safeguard peace," President Karl Carstens of the Federal Republic of Germany told the NATO Council here today.

Paying a visit to the NATO headquarters here this morning, President Carstens stressed, "There can be no doubt that the North Atlantic alliance is an indispensable prerequisite for maintaining our security and freedom and preserving peace. We do not believe in unilateral disarmament as a practicable approach to preserving peace."

He said, "One of the conditions for the preservation of peace is equilibrium of military forces between the East and the West. All parties to the alliance must make a united effort to maintain that equilibrium." He said further, "Our constant efforts to achieve arms control and disarmament are also an indispensable part of our policy for peace."

Greeting the West German president, NATO Secretary-General J. Luns said there is in Germany, as in other alliance countries, "a younger generation which increasingly questions the necessity for defence and fails to understand the peace-promoting nature of an approximate balance of forces. In this field as well, our common task is to create the necessary means of political education by providing frank and honest information. NATO depends on the common will of its member countries and their citizens to stand up for peace and freedom."

While visiting the EEC headquarters yesterday, President Carstens affirmed that "for the fact that the process of European unification can occur in conditions of external security, we are indebted to the North Atlantic alliance."

The president of the commission, Mr. Thorn, said in a speech of welcome, "We are grateful to your country for having recently taken initiatives in different [words indistinct] order to boost European integration."

CSO: 4000/4

DPRK'S CHONG CHUN-KI ON KOREA'S REUNIFICATION

OW101830 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 10 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, October 10 (XINHUA)--President Kim Il-song's proposition for the reunification of Korea last year was the most reasonable way for Korea to unite, Chong Chun-ki, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, said Friday.

Chong, also vice premier of the Administration Council and vice chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea, made the remark at a news conference on the first anniversary of the proposition's publication.

Chong emphasized that Koreans should achieve great national unity, irrespective of the differences in ideology and systems, party affiliations and political views, and help found a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

For national unity and peaceful reunification, personages of all circles in the North and the South and overseas should have contact and hold dialogue, he said. He also pointed out the urgent necessity of convening soon a conference for the promotion of national reunification.

When the conference is convened, all the problems concerning reunification including the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo will be discussed and settled there, he said.

"Our sincere efforts have not yet borne a proper fruit," Chong said. "This is because of the malicious hindrances of the South Korean rulers who are encouraged by outside forces who want to perpetuate national division." "If the Chon Tu-hwan group withdraws from 'power' and if democratic figures and genuine representatives of all strata, who are truly desirous of democracy and peaceful reunification of the country come to power, we will sit at one table with them any time and discuss and solve the question of the country's reunification," Chong said.

Chong also urged the United States to end its "two Koreas" policy and its arms shipments to South Korea.

CSO: 4000/4

DPRK'S KIM IL ON SOLUTIONS FOR REUNIFICATION

OW101938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 10 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, October 10 (XINHUA)--Kim Il, vice president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proposed some solutions to problems in unifying Korea.

President Kim Il-song has advanced the proposal for unification of Korea by the founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo (DCRK).

The vice president proposed his solutions during a talk yesterday with Choe Hong-hui, publisher of PAEDAL SINBO and president of the International Federation of Taegwndo who is visiting Pyongyang.

Vice President Kim Il, who is also a Presidium member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, proposed the following:

1) To establish a confederal state, the Chon Tu-hwan fascist rule should be destroyed and society be democratized in South Korea;

2) Tensions should be eased and the danger of war be removed in our country;

3) The "two Koreas" policy of the United States and its interference in the internal affairs of South Korea should be stopped;

4) The so-called "proposal for mutual visits" of traitor Chon Tu-hwan should be sternly denounced and rejected;

5) Personages of all circles in the North and the South and abroad should have contacts and hold dialogues with each other to wage a nationwide patriotic movement of supporting and realizing the proposal for founding the DCRK;

6) A conference for the promotion of national reunification attended by representatives of political parties and organisations and personages of all circles in the North and the South and abroad desirous of reunification should be convened, at which all problems concerning national reunification including the formation of the preparatory committee for the founding of the DCRK and all other problems arising between the North and the South should be discussed and settled;

7) All the Koreans at home and abroad should achieve great national unity under the banner of national reunification, irrespective of differences in ideology, idea, system and political view.

CSO: 4000/4

THAILAND TO RECTIFY IMBALANCE IN ECONOMY

OW130812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Bangkok, October 12 (XINHUA)--Thailand is going to rectify its structural imbalance in the country's economy which is expected to grow at a relatively high rate of 6-7 per cent in real terms in the next few years.

The concept is envisaged in the fifth five-year national economic and social development plan which takes effect this month, according to official sources.

Thailand recorded high growth rates in the development of its national economy in the last few years. The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) announced recently that Thailand had an economic growth rate of 6.3 per cent during 1980 as its gross domestic product (GDP) totalled 294,376 million baht (23 bahts for one U.S. dollar).

However, a senior official of the NESDB, the government prime economic think tank, disclosed that the high growth rates in the past had caused structural weaknesses as the gap of uneven distribution of wealth had widened and development had benefited city dwellers rather than the rural majority.

In the light of these weaknesses, the main concern in the coming years is, not so much the growth of GDP, but the rectifying of structural imbalance within the country's economy and society.

Therefore, the fifth plan puts prime emphasis on bridging the rich-poor income gap, curbing imports and reducing the level of foreign borrowings.

To achieve these objectives, the policies to be pursued point to a sharp swing inwards with stress on greater self-reliance. These policies include: to improve national economic efficiency and productivity by restructuring the pattern of growth in different sectors, to correct the growing urban-rural imbalances, to improve and balance domestic and external financial positions, and to further slow down the rate of population growth. However, in order to contain the external threat to the country, national defence expenditure will have to go up during the current five-year plan period.

CSO: 4000/4

'RENMIN RIBAO' DELEGATE ON VISIT TO PANMUNJOM

HK150705 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 81 p 7

[Article by Pei Da [5952 6671] of RENMIN RIBAO delegation to DPRK: "A Trip to Panmunjom"]

[Text] We drove from Pyongyang southward. All the way we saw picturesque scenery. There were dense forests. The paddy in the fields was ripe. A bumper autumn harvest was in sight. What a gratifying scene this was! Coming to Kaesong city, we saw clean and tidy roads and streets. Everywhere in this "city of youth" was a scene of prosperity. We went southeastward for more than 10 li along a winding mountain road before we came to Panmunjom.

Panmunjom was a place of world renown. Here, 28 years ago, the United States bowed its head for the first time and signed a truce agreement. In his book entitled "From the Danube to the Yalu River," American General Mark Clark wrote: "Carrying out the government's instructions, I earned an unenviable reputation: I was the first American commander who signed a truce agreement without winning the war." This self-ridicule is still taken as a laughing stock today.

Panmunjom still attracts the world's attention today. There, U.S. imperialism and the South Korean puppet are still in the defendant's seat. Refusing to learn the lesson of their defeat, they have been intentionally violating the truce agreement. Up to August this year, they have violated the agreement 324,000 times.

We went up the watch tower and looked far into the distance. The scene reminded me of a poem by Guo Moruo:

Everything in Panmunjom remains the same. The parallel divides the place into two different parts. On the south is a shambles while on the north is a scene of everlasting prosperity. Bright and limpid eyes are looking from every direction. Two foreign soldiers are patrolling the place. Despite its serious wound, the paper tiger still tries to show its strength. Pitifully, it is approaching a pit of fire.

Guo Moruo, leader of the Chinese people's delegation, read this poem at the party of poets held in the evening of 22 October 1958 during the "Korean-Chinese Friendship Month," angrily denouncing U.S. imperialists' crime of splitting Korea, and expressing the Chinese people's wish that Korea would be reunified very soon. Twenty-three years have passed, but Korea's national tragedy has not yet ended. The endless wire entanglement and countless pillboxes of the U.S. puppet army cut the Korean land into two halves. On the southern side of the military dividing line was a barren strip of land. A Korean comrade told us that the residents there had been driven away and the houses were unoccupied. The chrysanthemums growing in front of the houses were left uncared for. The whereabouts of the owners of the houses were unknown. In accordance with local customs, a woman working on a cooperative farm in the North went to the South to her mother's house to deliver her first child. But she could not go back to the North, so that the child never saw the father in the past 30 years. In Kaesong, 75 percent of the families have kinsmen in the South. Throughout Korea, millions of people are suffering the pains of being separated from their kinsmen. The Korean comrade telling us the story was filled with grief, and the visiting Chinese comrades-in-arms were excited and indignant. New hatred piled onto old. At an elevated spot near Panmunjom, we saw the new crime committed by the U.S. puppet clique. Violating the truce agreement, it built a reinforced concrete wall on the southern side of the 240-km dividing line. The wall was 5 to 6 meters high and 10 to 15 meters wide at the base and 2 to 3 meters at the top, with a large number of firing points, watch towers and permanent pillboxes installed here and there. Big iron doors were also installed at short intervals, providing exits for heavy tanks. A great deal of military equipment was placed behind the wall. The fighters of the Korean People's Army angrily pointed out that the enemy's brazenness was a challenge to all Korean people who longed for reunion with their kinsmen and an insult to the people all over the world who hoped for reunification of Korea.

Though the wall was thick, it could not hide the vicious intentions of the U.S. puppet clique, which frenziedly attempted to divide Korea forever by means of a reinforced concrete wall and to shackle the Korean people of the South forever. However, the U.S. puppet clique was only daydreaming! A commander of the local army unit told us that on 14 August this year, Captain Sok Chong-hyon, commander of a company of the First Division of the South Korean puppet army, came over to the North by taking the opportunity of inspecting posts at this part of the wall. We saw this company commander on the television screen when we were in Pyongyang. He was telling press reporters how and why he came over. He was a native of the South. After being conscripted into the army in 1974, he attended an infantry school. He was promoted to be captain and a company commander. He lived with his parents and younger brothers and sisters. He was married. He was not persecuted by the South Korea authorities, nor did he have to worry about his family's livelihood. However, he hated Chon Tu-hwan's dark rule and opposed the oppression of compatriots. He hoped for a peaceful reunification of the fatherland. He yearned for the North because there was light and hope in the North. His sense of justice and his love for the nation urged him to part from his kinsmen and to come over to the North at the risk of his life. Quite naturally, people link Sok Chong-hyon's deed with the wish of the people of the South. Those in the South who cannot earn a living are brutally persecuted. Day and night, they yearn for their kinsmen in the North. Do they not yearn for the North and hope for an early reunification of their fatherland more than Sok Chong-hyon did? This common wish of millions of people is brewing a daily growing militant force. The roar of thunder is the loudest where the silence is, and the sight of the reinforced concrete wall can only raise a laugh. No matter how thick the wall is, it cannot stop the advancing wheel of history. In the long run, like the meeting place at Panmunjom, it can only be a witness of the defeat of the U.S. puppet clique.

On our way back to Pyongyang, night fell and the beautiful landscape was getting dim. It was quiet in our car. What the Korean comrade-in-arms at Panmunjom said echoed in my ears: "Please tell the Chinese brothers and the people in other parts of the world that the struggle to unify the fatherland is arduous but, answering great leader Kim Il-sung's call, we are sure of victory and will step up construction and make all preparations for the reunification of the North and the South and for building the Koryo Democratic Federation." Yes, this resembled what we saw everywhere during our visit. In the Taean heavy machinery complex, the workers were carrying out a campaign to increase output and working hard to improve the quality of products, so as to furnish the newly built units with more and better equipment and to aid the South in its construction. The first 5-year plan of the Kiyang irrigation project was accomplished in 1 year and 8 months, greatly increasing grain output in the areas irrigated by this project. The responsible comrade of the management office told our delegation: We are building more reservoirs for irrigating the farmland in the South to further increase farm output in the South after the reunification of the fatherland. The Baehwa Higher Agricultural College was run with excellent results. It has trained 3,000 technicians, who have taken the posts of farm management committee chairmen, farm management group leaders and farm technicians and are playing a major role in bringing prosperity to the countryside. The president of this college said: We never for a moment forget the rural youths in the South. We hope to teach them our farming techniques as quickly as possible so that the peasants in the South can also lead a happy life. At the heroic height 351, the commander pointed at the enemy sentry post, angrily denouncing the enemy provocations. He said: Our officers and men have inherited the revolutionary spirit of the brave fighters who took only 15 minutes to capture this height years ago. They are constantly prepared to fight to accomplish the great cause of reunification. A wolf will never change its character. Once it shows itself, they will seize it and give it a good beating!

The fatherland needs reunification. This is a strong will of the 50 million Korean people. The kinsmen need reunion. This is the common wish of the Korean compatriots in both the North and the South. We were deeply moved by this strong aspiration. On the Korean National Day, which fell on 9 October, we watched a mammoth callisthenics exhibition in the Moran-bong Stadium in Pyongyang. The brilliant performances manifested the great achievements won on the industrial, agricultural, cultural and educational fronts. When a pattern showing the split between the North and the South was formed by the gymnasts on a viewers' stand, the other gymnasts on the playing field performed with uniform and vigorous movements, demonstrating their firm will to unify their fatherland. Suddenly, amid joyous music, the military dividing line disappeared from the pattern, which then showed a bright sun in the sky over the picturesque landscape of Korea and a train loaded with cargo speeding from the North to the South. Instantly, a thunderous applause burst from among thousands of viewers, and the stadium was permeated with a joyful atmosphere. How eagerly the Korean people are waiting for this day to come!

When our car entered the city proper of Pyongyang, we were greeted by a beautiful night scene. In the Children's Palace, children were studying. In the university library, the youths were absorbed in reading. In the well-lit newly built housing estates, all families rejoiced at having moved to a better place. The Mangyongdae Theater, where a large-scale song and dance performance was being staged, was permeated with a joyful atmosphere. After the day's work, the workers and staff members were enjoying a happy evening and were prepared to usher in another day of intensive work. In the beautiful capital city, the heroic people have made brilliant achievements and are leading a happy life. We sincerely hope that flowers of peace and happiness will blossom all over Korea very soon.

CSO: 4005/63

GDR'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT REPORTED

HK160801 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 7

[Article by Chen Dexing [7115 1795 5281] and Du Keming [2629 0344 2494]: "What We Heard and Saw in the German Democratic Republic"]

[Text] Last July and August, we had an opportunity to stay in the GDR for 40 days. We visited a number of integrated enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and urban construction projects, called on some cooperative members' households and went sightseeing to places of historic interest and scenic beauty. This tour left a very deep impression on us.

The GDR has made great headway in its economy in the past three decades. As we all know, its laboring people had to rebuild their homes, in virtual ruins after the war. Through strenuous efforts, they have quickly changed the appearance of their country and achieved marked successes in the industrial and agricultural fields. Today, the per capita industrial output value of this country has reached the advanced world level. It has fairly well-developed machinery, chemical engineering, electronics, optical instruments, lignite and sylvite industries. It has also made considerable headway in agricultural development. It is now more than self-sufficient in meat, eggs and milk and has achieved a high degree of mechanization in agricultural production, with over 95 percent of its grain, potatoes and sugar beet being sown and harvested by machines. There have also been big increases in per unit area and total grain yield. During our visit to the (Wei lian pi ke) [1218 1670 4122 0344] agricultural producers' cooperative in the (Geia) [2706 5198] special district, the director told us that their per hectare yield of winter wheat this year was about 4,600 kilograms.

How to make the economic management system conform with the needs arising from the expansion of the productive forces is a very important question. In the early 1960's, the GDR was one of the first Eastern European countries to pursue a national economic plan and a new economic management system. After experimenting for more than a decade, they finally decided toward the end of the 1970's to establish and develop integrated enterprises in the industrial and building construction sectors first. The establishment of integrated enterprises is considered the biggest change in the GDR's industry in the past decade. Integrated enterprises are basic economic units in the industrial sector that link research and design with production and marketing. An integrated enterprise usually includes more than 20 enterprises and a work force of some 40,000 people. The Berlin Cable Integrated Enterprise has 13 enterprises scattered all over the country and the Zeiss Integrated Enterprise has 18. We were told that the main characteristics of these integrated enterprises are: They are conducive to speeding up scientific and technological advancement in production; quick in responding to domestic and overseas market demands; convenient for organizing centralization and specialization in production; and can help accelerate the renewal of equipment within the enterprises, economize raw materials, raise production efficiency and improve output quality. At present, the 33 integrated enterprises under central control are responsible for 99 percent of the country's industrial output value and account for 96 percent of total industrial productive capacity.

While developing the state sector of the economy, the GDR also attaches great importance to the development of individual handicraft trades and small businesses. Just after the founding of the GDR, the policy of putting capitalist industry and commerce under joint state-private operation was adopted. In the early 1970's, the productive state-private enterprises were converted into state-owned ones, but still a large number of individual handicraft trades and small businesses were given protection and allowed to develop. According to state regulations, these enterprises cannot employ more than 10 workers. However, there is no limit on the amount of funds they can earn. We were told that individual handicraft trades and small businesses like these are all over the country, with more than 4,100 in the Leipzig special district alone. They are an essential supplement of the state-owned economy because they can furnish many consumer goods for daily use. In the countryside, all member households of the cooperatives are entitled to half a hectare for private plots. The cooperative members can grow vegetables and fruits on these plots and sell them in free markets. They can also raise cattle, pigs, sheep, rabbits, bees and so on. Income derived from household sideline production varies, but some households can make as much as they earn from the cooperatives.

We were also deeply impressed with the progress made in the GDR in solving the housing problem. Since the 1970's, it has taken the building of new housing quarters and the renovation of old ones as the core of its social welfare policy. As we traveled from the capital Berlin to the (Gela) special district, we saw a large number of newly built modern buildings. The total floor space of housing projects started during the past 10 years is twice as much as what it was a decade ago. This has improved the living conditions of 4.2 million people, or a quarter of the country's population. The GDR is determined to basically solve the housing problem by 1980. We visited a newly developed area which was still under construction in Berlin. There, every residential area had its own stores, schools, nurseries, kindergartens, restaurants, hotels and other cultural and recreational facilities. In front of a row of houses arranged in the shape of a half moon, we saw a lawn dotted with trees, a nursery and a kindergarten. A school was built right in the neighborhood, so students of junior classes did not have to cross the main road and could eat in the little restaurants nearby during their lunchbreak. In addition, there was also a home for the aged in this residential area. This was where the retired live, study and meet.

CSO: 4005/63

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON BRITISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

HK160927 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 81 p 6

[Special report by Xu Qingmei [1776 1987 5019]: "British Social Democratic Party Holds First Annual General Meeting--Mass Media Believes the Party's 'Moderate' Policy Appeals to People in the Middle"]

[Text] London, 9 Oct--The British Social Democratic Party held its first annual general meeting, since its establishment on 26 March this year, from 4-9 October. The meeting called for "efforts to bring about a new beginning in Britain."

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party declared that the chief aim of this annual general meeting was to study and discuss the draft of the party's program and its various policies. It would not resort to voting on decisions and another meeting would be held early next year for the purpose of approving the party program and electing a leader. The meeting was held in three successive locations: Perth in the north of England, Bradford in the midlands and London. The subjects of discussion at the meeting changed with the meeting's locations. It was stated that this was because the problems of the greatest concern to the people varied in different areas. This approach was reportedly aimed at attracting new party members. It was estimated that the total number of people attending the meeting exceeded 4,000 people, increasing the influence of the Social Democratic Party in various areas.

At the meeting, the leading members of the Social Democratic Party separately spelled out their policies. The call for an alliance between the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party received warm support at the meeting. On domestic policy, they stressed the need to consider as a priority the reform of the existing system of parliamentary elections and the change from "a simple majority" to "proportional representation." As far as economic problems were concerned, they believed that there was now no panacea that could quickly lift Britain out of its economic plight. They reaffirmed the policies already announced when the party was first founded. They called for the introduction of a mixed economy with both state economy and private economy existing concurrently and the formulation of flexible income policies and sustained economic strategies. They also stressed the establishment of "real" cooperation between government and industry. They urged support for the development of minor enterprises in the belief that this was an important way to stimulate the invention and creation of new techniques and a way to increase employment opportunities. They believed that international and national defense policies and domestic policies were inseparable, and that an active commitment to the obligations of the European Economic Community and NATO should be made the basis of foreign policy. Meanwhile, the realization of multilateral disarmament and arms control to maintain world peace should be the focus of international activities. They proposed that the pound sterling come under the "European Monetary System." They urged strengthening the relations between Britain and the EEC. They also emphatically criticized isolationism, trade protectionism, neutralism and the idea of unilateral disarmament. They believed that the view now being advanced in British society which urges withdrawal from the EEC and the weakening of NATO was a result of the influence of these erroneous ideas. British magazines and newspapers said it was for this reason, the Social Democratic Party called for the introduction of a "moderate" policy.

It was announced that in the half year since the founding of the Social Democratic Party, over 66,000 members had been signed up, far exceeding the projected target. Among the party members attending the annual meeting, many had switched to the Social Democratic Party because they were dissatisfied with the policies of the Labor Party and the Conservative Party. Also many had never before joined any political party. Their worries about the existing economic state of Britain prompted them to join the Social Democratic Party in a search for the right policy to revitalize the economy. During the period of the annual general meeting, another five parliamentary members announced their withdrawal from the Labor Party to join the Social Democratic Party. The Social Democratic Party so far holds 20 parliamentary seats. People believe that the "middle-of-the-road" stand taken by the Social Democratic Party and its approach, which stresses strategy, meet the needs of current political changes in Britain and appeal to those people assuming a "middle-of-the-road" political stance.

CSO: 4005/63

JAPAN REPORTED TO PLAY ROLE FOR MIDEAST PEACE

OW181043 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1302 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Report by XINHUA correspondent Wu Xuewen [0702 1331 2429]]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, 15 Oct (XINHUA)--The 3-day visit to Japan by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, provided a good opportunity for Japan to play a role in the Middle East issue.

During this visit to Japan, 'Arafat held talks with the Japanese prime minister and foreign minister, leaders of various political parties and prominent figures of economic circles and received the same hospitality as accorded to a state leader. Japan was the first Western country to receive a visit by 'Arafat and this matter in itself is of great significance. Obviously, the PLO not only enjoys warm support from the large Third World, but is receiving increasing attention from the Western world. This is reflected in Prime Minister Suzuki's statement at his talks with 'Arafat, when he stressed that the core of peace in the Middle East is the Palestinian issue.

In consideration of its relations with the United States, Japan supports the Camp David accord. But it holds that the United States, Egypt and Israel are not enough to bring peace to the Middle East. It attaches importance to and supports the Middle East peace proposal made last August by Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. That is, in the words of Japanese officials, Israel should recognize the Palestinians' national right to self-determination, whereas Palestine should recognize Israel's right to survive. Through recognition of each other's rights, peace will be achieved in the Middle East. This was emphasized by both Prime Minister Suzuki and Foreign Minister Sonoda during their talks with 'Arafat.

Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Japan has shown increased concern with the situation in the Middle East. It is concerned with both the supply of oil and the peace in the world, and it realizes that without a stable Middle East situation there can be no stable supply of oil. For this reason, Japan's basic stance toward the Middle East is to bring peace to the area and to avert any war or Soviet control of the area. Recently, Japan has not necessarily felt at ease with the U.S. policy toward the Middle East. This can be proved by the statement that former Japanese Foreign Minister Toshio Kumura made to the press circles a few days ago. He said: "If the U.S. policy toward the Middle East proves to have been miscalculated the impact on the United States would surpass that resulting from its miscalculation on Iran. The Arab states would no longer trust the United States, while the Soviet Union could easily take advantage of the situation to benefit itself."

Japan wants to do its best on the Middle East issue and is mainly using the following method: On the one hand, maintain a balance between the United States and the PLO, which are antagonistic toward each other; on the other hand, combine the Camp David accord with the Fahd proposal to reach a peaceful solution of the Middle East issue and play the role of a bridge in this regard.

Whether Japan's efforts toward this goal can achieve any result hinges on the extent of its success in convincing the United States and using the United States to influence Israel.

Following the Suzuki-'Arafat talks how will Japan carry out its work toward the United States and what results will be achieved in this respect? These are questions to which people are paying close attention.

CSO: 4005/63

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORT ON MUBARAK'S STAND

HK141246 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 81 p 6

[Report: "Egyptian President-designate Mubarak Says Egypt Will Continue To Oppose Soviet Expansionism and Promote the Peace Process in the Middle East"]

[Text] According to Western news agency reports, Egyptian President-designate Mubarak said Egypt will continue to oppose Soviet expansionism and greatly promote the peace process in the Middle East.

In an interview with BBC correspondent (Walters) [wo er te si 3087 1422 3676 2448] in Cairo on 9 October, Mubarak said: "We are determined to preserve this peace process. We will keep to this process so it can continue and will greatly promote this process."

Mubarak said that during the 6 and 1/2 years he worked with al-Sadat as his vice president, he had taken part in making every decision and he fully agreed with al-Sadat's policies. He said: "We will continue to carry out al-Sadat's policies. I believe in his policies. Therefore I must pursue these policies."

Mubarak told an AFP correspondent on 9 October that he supported the U.S. sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia. He said he was shocked by Israel's response. He said: "We hope the United States will agree to sell these planes in order to cope with Soviet expansionism." He also said he was puzzled as to why the U.S. Congress was unwilling to authorize this deal.

This vice president warned: "Washington's refusal to supply Saudi Arabia, its closest ally in this region, with AWACS will make its other friends raise a lot of questions."

Mubarak, who was chosen by the assembly to succeed al-Sadat, emphasized that because Western Europe, the United States and Japan all had interests in the Gulf, it was of the utmost importance for the Americans to help Saudi Arabia deal with whatever dangers arose.

This vice president strongly opposed Soviet "expansionism" in this region. He said this (the opposition to Soviet expansionism) was one of President al-Sadat's principles and we intend to follow this principle.

CSO: 4005/63

WESTERN EUROPE STRENGTHENS TIES WITH GULF REGION

OW071145 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1231 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Report by XINHUA reporter Liang Guodong [2733 0948 2767]: "Western Europe Strengthens Ties With the Gulf Region"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--The West European countries are paying more attention to developing relations with the countries in the Gulf region because of the strategic importance of the oil-rich Gulf region and the increasingly prominent role of the Gulf countries in settling the Middle East crisis. Leaders of the Western countries have visited the Gulf region one after another since April this year. British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher visited six Arab countries in the Gulf in April and September. West German Chancellor Schmidt and Austrian Chancellor Kreisky successively visited Saudi Arabia and other countries in April and May. French President Mitterrand made a special trip to Saudi Arabia in the latter part of September.

During their frequent visits, the leaders of the West European countries discussed more specifically with the leaders of the Gulf countries three issues of great concern: the strategy against hegemony in this region, a just solution to the Middle East question and further development of bilateral relations.

On her two visits to the Gulf, Mrs Thatcher spoke about the Soviet military presence in Yemen and the Horn of Africa and cautioned against the Soviet threat to the Gulf oilfields. She voiced support for the establishment of a U.S. rapid deployment force in the Gulf region. She said: "If the United States establishes such a force, we will certainly participate."

Seeking a just and peaceful solution to the Middle East question is another important question discussed by both sides. The EEC countries unanimously hold that 1981 should be a year of progress in solving the Middle East question. They are taking the lead in dealing with the Middle East question by European countries as noted in the Venice declaration last year.

People have noticed that the EEC and the United States are taking an obviously different attitude toward the dispute between Saudi Arabia and Israel and hope that the European leaders will be able to exert their influence on the United States toward settling the dispute between Saudi Arabia and Israel.

The question of bilateral relations is important in the talks between the leaders of the Western countries and the Gulf countries. With the exception of Britain, most of the Western countries' energy supply has depended primarily on importing large quantities of oil from the Gulf countries.

The successive visits to the Gulf region by the heads of West European countries have strengthened the relations between the Western countries and the countries in the Gulf region and have benefited the realization of peace in the Middle East.

CSO: 4005/63

PZPR EXPELS JOURNALIST, UNION OFFICIAL

OW190355 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1250 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Oct (XINHUA)--According to PAP, the Control Committee of the PZPR Central Committee and the Gdansk Control Committee have passed resolutions separately expelling S. Bulatkovski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, and B. Lis, member of the National Committee of the "Solidarity" union and vice chairman of the Gdansk Committee of the "Solidarity" union, from the party.

Having recently "reviewed the stand and activities of Bulatkovski," the Control Committee of the PZPR Central Committee decided to expel him from the party on 16 October. The sanction panel of the Control Committee pointed out that the "social activities" pursued by Bulatkovski "had constantly run counter to the party's resolutions, party regulations and the party platform." These activities "hampered the whole party and journalist organizations in concretely implementing the line of the ninth special congress."

Bulatkovski had been called a prominent figure in the liberal faction of Polish journalistic circles. Over the years, he was a responsible editor of Life and Realities, a supplement of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and a member of the "Experience and Future" group. Following the labor unrest in August last year, he was elected chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists. After the Bodgoszcz incident in March this year, he published an open letter to party members on the eve of the 9th Plenary Session of the 8th PZPR Central Committee and was considered engaging in "activities harmful to inner-party unity."

In its resolution about expelling Lis, the PZPR's Gdansk Control Committee pointed out on 15 October that Lis' act was incompatible with the party constitution and his viewpoint ran counter to the PZPR platform and principles and social consultative ideas.

It is reported that Lis was one of the organizers of the Gdansk workers' strike during industrial unrest in August last year and he represented the "Solidarity" union in negotiating with the government on commodity prices and other issues. He was looked upon as a "radical" in the "Solidarity" union for advocating that "Solidarity" should not only be a trade union organization but should also engage in social activities. He was barely elected to the National Committee after the sixth nomination at the first national congress of the "Solidarity" union.

Lis was a precision machine repairman in the Gdansk Shipyard. He is 29 years old. He joined the party in 1975 and took part with Walesa and others in support of the "free trade union" activities in 1978. After the founding of the "Solidarity" union, he led the trade union's foreign affairs committee and visited Sweden and other countries.

CSO: 4005/63

BRIEFS

SOUTH ASIAN HEALTH, POPULATION MEETING--Katmandu, October 4 (XINHUA)--The first health and population group meeting of South Asian countries identified 15 areas for regional cooperation, according to a press release issued here yesterday. Representatives from Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka attended the two-day meeting from October 1 to 2. Nepalese Water Resources Minister Lal Bahadur Khadayat in his speech at the meeting expressed the confidence that the cooperative efforts would result in positive changes in the life of the rural people of the region. The areas for cooperation include appropriate technology for health and population activities, production and distribution of essential drugs and insecticides, basic medical, surgical and health equipment maintenance and repair, communicable diseases control, expanded program on immunization, water supply and sanitation and the development of health and management information system. [Text] [OW040824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 4 Oct 81]

UN DECLARATION ON S. AFRICAN APARTHEID--United Nations, October 12 (XINHUA)--The United Nations special committee against apartheid in a declaration here today appealed to all governments, organizations and individuals to denounce the group of repression in South Africa and to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners there. The declaration, adopted at a special meeting in observance of the day of solidarity with South African political prisoners, pledged continued efforts of solidarity "until the apartheid regime is destroyed and replaced by a democratic state" in South Africa. Addressing the special meeting, Secretary-General of the United Nations Kurt Waldheim declared that the United Nations had no option but to persevere in demanding that South Africa abandon its inhuman racial policies. Ismat T. Kittani, president of the U.N. General Assembly, and chairmen of various U.N. committees also denounced the practice of racial discrimination in South Africa and reaffirmed their support for the political prisoners there. [Text] [OW130848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 13 Oct 81]

NATO RESOLUTIONS ON POLAND, DRA--Bonn, October 16 (XINHUA)--North Atlantic Treaty Organization Thursday passed resolutions on Poland and Afghanistan at the first full session of its 27th annual conference in Munich. The resolutions asked nations to keep a close watch on the developing situation in Poland, reminded the Soviet Union not to interfere in Poland and stated that NATO would maintain humanitarian and economic aid to Poland. The conference also called on NATO countries to continue their support for the independent rights of the Afghan people, accused the Soviet Union of intruding in Afghanistan and violating the sovereign rights of the Afghan nation and asked the Soviet Union to bring about a political settlement in Afghanistan that will protect the independence of Afghanistan. The conference also demanded the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the United Nations resolution passed on January 14, 1980. The six-day conference, which ended today, was attended by 172 delegates from 15 NATO countries. [Text] [OW161722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 16 Oct 81]

PZPR EXPELS SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL--Warsaw, October 16 (XINHUA)--Bogdan Lis, the only party member elected to the Solidarity union's National Commission at Solidarity's recent national congress, was expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party yesterday. The Polish news agency PAP said that a decision to this effect was made by the Control Committee under the Gdansk committee of the United Workers' Party after a careful examination of Lis' behavior. Bogdan Lis, 29, was one of the organizers of strikes during the industrial unrest in August, 1980. He joined the United Workers' Party in 1975 and has been Lech Walesa's staunch supporter in the free trade union movement. He was considered a tough and uncompromising negotiator of the Solidarity union. [Text] [OW171024 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 17 Oct 81]

LEADING PZPR CADRES QUIT SOLIDARITY--Warsaw, October 17 (XINHUA)--Eleven leading cadres of the central and local organizations of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) announced their withdrawal of membership from the "Solidarity" trade union at the 4th plenary session of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee yesterday. Among the 11 leading cadres were Z. Grzyb, member of the Political Bureau, nine Central Committee members and one alternate Central Committee member. In their statement, the 11 party cadres pointed out: "The Solidarity union has shown clearly to the people that it is an organization which tries to damage our socialist system, relations of alliance and political principles ever since the union's first national congress." "Members of the Independent Poland Confederation and the Social Self-Defence Committee (two dissident organizations--ed.) have sneaked into the leading bodies of the union. We have nothing in common with them. So we decide to withdraw from it," said the statement. [Text] [OW181556 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 18 Oct 81]

POLISH GOVERNMENT REJECTS SOLIDARITY PROPOSAL--Warsaw, October 17 (XINHUA)--Polish Minister of Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek in a statement yesterday rejected the "Solidarity" union's proposal for establishing a national economic-social council, calling it an attempt to seize state power, according to a PAP report. The proposal of the Presidium of the National Commission of the Polish "Solidarity" union was put forward during the talks between the union's National Commission and the Ministry for Trade Union Affairs yesterday. The Presidium in a statement Friday said that the proposed national economic-social council should be appointed by the union, be independent of the government and have the "right" to supervise the government's and local authorities' economic measures. The ministry's statement said the proposal was unacceptable and pointed out that its aim is to usurp state power and overthrow the constitution. The statement reiterated the Polish Government's proposal for setting up a joint committee open to all unions including "Solidarity." [Text] [OW181247 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 18 Oct 81]

CSO: 4000/4

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN PARTY COMMITTEE REVIEWS REDRESS OF INJUSTICES

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 81 p 1

[FUJIAN RIBAO correspondent's report: "Provincial Party Committee Held Provincial Work Conference To Implement Policies with Provincial Party Committee Secretary Cheng Xu [4453 1645] Presiding and Li Zhengting [2621 2973 0080] Making Summary Speech; Resolutions Called for Basic Completion of Policy Implementation Task Within This Year"]

[Text] Strengthen the leadership and be determined to have the task of policy implementation completed within this year--this was the resolution passed at the work conference held by the provincial party committee for the implementation of policies throughout the province. The conference ended 2 days ago.

The conference began on 28 August and lasted 7 days. The meeting reviewed and redressed the cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged and sentenced in past political movements, implemented the cadre policy, exchanged experiences, and discussed measures for the expeditious implementation of policies and problems in the implementation of the related specific policies.

The participants of the meeting were secretaries of various prefectures, municipalities and counties in charge of policy implementation; directors of organization departments and policy implementation staff offices; leaders of various departments and committees under the provincial party committee, and responsible persons of various committees, staff offices, bureaus and sections directly under the provincial government in charge of policy implementations.

The summing-up session was held on 3 September. Present at this session were party and government responsible comrades including Xiang Nan [7309 9589], Wu Hongxiang [0124 3163 4382], Li Zhengting, Guo Chao [6753 6389], Cheng Xu, Yuan Gai [5913 2395], He Ruoren [0149 5387 0086], Wen Xiushan [3306 4423 1392], Liu Yongsheng [0491 3057 3932], Guo Ruiren [6753 3843 0085], Lu Haoran [4151 3186 3544] and Ni Songmao [0242 2646 5399]. Cheng Xu, secretary of the provincial party committee, presided over the meeting, and Li Zhengting, another secretary of the provincial party committee, made a summary speech.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and particularly since the provincial party congress of this year, remarkable achievements have been won in speeding up the implementation of policies. The broad masses of cadres and people in the main are satisfied, but the work of reviewing and rectifying wrong verdicts has not been completed. The remaining work to be done in this connection, though not much, is nevertheless difficult. Therefore we can never relax our efforts and we must continue to pay great attention to this work in order to bring it to a successful conclusion.

The meeting [illegible] that since the holding of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the publication of the "Resolution" have already decided the question of right and wrong in the guiding ideology of the past, we should now concentrate our energy on the task of developing our national economy and effectively promoting the socialist spiritual civilization. If we let our work of policy implementation drag on slowly, refuse to carry out this work, or delay it openly and resist it secretly, instead of adopting a positive approach and resolute measures for this work to be accomplished, we will certainly handicap the shift of focus of our work. Fujian Province has been designated to implement special policies and to adopt flexible measures and should settle all outstanding matters ahead of other provinces so that we can concentrate our energy on economic construction. Furthermore, some problems relating to comrades who were unjustly attacked in past movements have not been solved or entirely solved. This can also affect stability and unity as well as our work in various fields. Unless we can quickly solve these problems, we will be unable to mobilize all the positive factors. Party committees at all levels must realize the necessity and urgency of the work of policy implementation from the standpoint of a strategic shift in the focus of our work. Then with strengthened stability and unity and the mobilization of all positive factors to serve the four modernizations as the starting point, they should proceed in earnest with the job of policy implementation.

After serious discussions by the participating comrades, it was unanimously agreed that in view of the present favorable conditions, it is entirely possible for the work of policy implementation to be basically completed within this year. In the course of policy implementation, we should attach primary importance to speed. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the "Resolution" are powerful weapons for speeding up policy implementation; therefore, we must further study the "Resolution," unify our thinking, enhance our understanding, and be energetic in overcoming various mental hurdles. At present, some people still do not fully understand the important significance of the work of policy implementation. Some are complacent and careless, afraid of the difficulty involved, or bored with ideology, have lingering fears of committing rightist errors; still others take only a passive attitude, lest the cases formerly handled by them come under attack. Finally, there are still those obsessed with factionalism or laboring under the pressure of factionalism. If we fail to encourage criticism and self-criticism to correct these erroneous ideas and simply leave them alone, they will become a serious hindrance to the work of policy implementation. Furthermore, there are still a tiny number of people who have misgivings about, or even antagonism toward, the line, principles and policies adopted after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. If you talk about quickening our pace, they openly procrastinate and secretly resist. They call the review of historical cases "a blast of wind," and even make things tough for the reviewers of the cases. In some localities or units, some important unjust, false or wrong cases still cannot be redressed, or thoroughly redressed. All localities should therefore make one more careful check to see if they have such problems.

The meeting stressed the need for active and patient ideological work in the course of policy implementation. The leaders, the personnel in charge of special cases, and the persons involved in these cases should help one another in the spirit of seeking truth from facts and mutual cooperation in order that the work can be a success. The kind of speed we are talking about does not mean "a blast of wind." The responsible comrades of party committees at all levels, particularly the prefectual, county and commune party committees, and all departments and commissions should work with great enthusiasm and a keen sense of responsibility, and take the initiative in calling on the comrades concerned for heart-to-heart talks in order that the ideological work can be effective in removing mental hurdles and clearing up misunderstanding. This was the method used by the party committee of the Yongan section under the Fuzhou Railway Branch Bureau. According to its experience, one personal contact and heart-to-heart talk was more effective than the writing of 100 reports. In economic work, stress should be laid on economic results; similarly, in implementing policies, stress should be laid on political effects. We have to look at the departments in charge of people's correspondence and visits and see if the number of letters and visits received and handled has been reduced. In the work of policy implementation, we should also stress the importance of unity and looking forward. Since the work of policy implementation began in our province, many areas and departments have done a great deal of work in clearing up misunderstanding and strengthening unity. The broad masses of cadres and people, including a very large number of comrades who were wrongly repudiated, attacked or mistreated, are now attaching great importance to the common cause and the overall situation, and are united and looking forward. However, some comrades do not treat the interests of the party and the people as their primary concern; instead, they are concerned about personal benefits or individual grievances. In this case, the damage to unity cannot be remedied, the problem of unity cannot be solved, and the final goal of policy implementation cannot be attained. Leading cadres at all levels should set good personal examples in strengthening unity. All comrades, including those who attacked others and the victims of attacks, should take the party spirit seriously and give good work performances. Out of a desire for unity, the leaders of party committees, the responsible comrades of the organization departments, and the comrades in charge of policy implementation should take the initiative in calling on those who have been wronged, show them great concern, and have heart-to-heart talks with them so as to remove their mental hurdles and to unite with them in work. Those comrades who have been victims of injustice should be persuaded to bear the overall situation in mind, to take an objective view of the historical background of the past and to let bygones be bygones. If our ideological work is effective, these comrades will respond with understanding.

At the meeting, the comrades also discussed some problems related to policies. The meeting pointed out the need to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and conducting concrete analyses on concrete problems, so that all mistakes will be duly corrected and no corrective action will be taken if no mistake has been made. Corruption, embezzlement, speculation and profiteering and other acts of violation of law and discipline, of course, cannot be tolerated at any time, and wrong verdicts must be reversed no matter who passed them and what organ approved them. If a review of the case shows nothing wrong with the verdict, however, we must firmly uphold the principle instead of bending with the wind. We must also act in the spirit of "being crude rather than subtle, and being lenient rather than strict," and pay attention to the main problems and the main facts in order to arrive at a correct conclusion. We should rehabilitate or redress whatever should be rehabilitated and redressed, completely and leaving no untidy ends; but we must not wrangle endlessly over minor issues. We must adhere to the principle of solving problems politically but making no economic restitution in general. The meeting also worked out concrete plans for the implementation of policies concerning the basic level of cadres in the countryside and in the cities and towns.

On behalf of their committee, the responsible provincial party committee members thanked and praised the comrades in charge of policy implementation throughout the province for their painstaking efforts in doing a thankless job, and expressed the hope that everyone will continue their good work in carrying the work of policy implementation through to the end.

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CSO: 4005/915

'RENMIN RIBAO' CARRIES ZHOU YANG REPORT ON LU XUN

HK100907 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 pp 2, 3

[Report: "Persist in Lu Xun's Cultural Direction and Develop Lu Xun's Militant Tradition"]

[Text] Comrades and friends:

Today we are holding a grand meeting to mark the centenary of the birth of Mr Lu Xun--a great son of the Chinese people and a great founder of modern Chinese culture.

During the 100 years since Lu Xun was born, earthshaking changes have taken place in China as well as in the world. Now our great nation, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has surmounted every difficulty and danger after long, tortuous and complicated struggles and is advancing with new strength and confidence toward the goal of building a powerful and modern socialist country. Lu Xun was unable to see the birth of new China in the Orient, but during his lifetime of only several decades he made incalculable contributions to this great change, which is unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history. Moreover, the influence of his works and thinking is worldwide. Today, the Chinese people are remembering Lu Xun with deepest respect and admiration. His brilliant example is spurring us forward.

The great thinking of an era is invariably the social product of that time. It is often rooted in profound and age-old traditions and culture. It arises in the period of change from the old to the new in which the intensified social contradictions struggle with one another and various ideological trends feel the impact of one another.

Lu Xun's thinking was born at a time when the Chinese people's antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggles had suffered setbacks and failures and was developing again with immense vigor. If we say that the 1911 revolution put an end to feudal monarchy which had lasted several thousand years, then the new cultural movement, characterized by the "May 4th" movement, marked the beginning of the new democratic revolution.

Lu Xun came into being as a great figure at the time of the drastic change; he was created by the revolutionary struggles. His talent and cultivation did not make him a mere writer and scholar; they turned him into a heroic fighter standing at the forefront of the times in fighting against imperialism and feudalism, an outstanding pioneer in the ideological emancipation movement and a great communist. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, Lu Xun was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Xun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness, and this quality is invaluable among colonial and semicolonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation's people, Lu Xun breached and stormed the enemy citadel. On the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without a parallel in our history."

Lu Xun was born in Zhejiang, a province with a long-standing history, culture and tradition. In modern times, this province became one of the first places where the aggression of capitalism was prominent. As it had frequent contacts with foreign things, it was one of the places influenced by the reformists' ideas. There were complicated national contradictions and class struggles. At the time when the reform movement was leading the country to a dead end, Zhejiang was further developed into an important anti-Qing base. Zhejiang was also the hometown of Qiu Jin, Cai Yuanpei and Zhang Taiyuan. Lu Xun was once a student of Zhang Taiyuan and he had established a profound friendship with Cai Yuanpei. Lu Xun also participated in the activities of the Guangfu Hui [Society for the Restoration of China]. He highly respected and admired Sun Yat-sen. After the failure of the Opium War in 1840, China's existence was in peril. In order to seek a way for saving the nation and the people, the Chinese pioneers took infinite pains in studying the Western theory of natural and social sciences. This created a fervor in studying new theories. It was due to the situation of China and of the world and due to the changes in his family that from his childhood, Lu Xun departed from the "correct road" of the Chinese intellectuals who "studied hard in order to take examinations." Following the trend of the times, Lu Xun chose a "new road." On this new road, Lu Xun's thinking developed through a relatively long process of pain and intensive contradictions, from learning foreign affairs to supporting the reform movement to supporting the democratic revolution aimed at overthrowing the rule of the Qing dynasty. Lu Xun's thinking developed in step with the development of the times. He once accepted Darwin's theory on evolution and other knowledge of modern natural sciences, including the ideas of freedom and liberty advocated by Russeau and other thinkers of the enlightenment movement in the 18th century, and the rebellious spirit of the romantic poets including Shelley and Byron of the 19th century. He also assimilated the knowledge from the artistic and literary works of northeastern Europe and other oppressed countries. At the same time, he was influenced by the idealist philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzche. In the course of his explorations, he was always courageous, eager to make progress and very patriotic. Throughout his life, he showed boundless love for the motherland and the people. Because of this, he gave up his medical studies and engaged in literary work. After the failure of the 1911 revolution, he experienced a period of deep thinking and observation. When the October Revolution in Russia succeeded, the world entered a new socialist revolutionary period of the proletariat. In China, the old democratic revolution also changed into the new democratic revolution. The whole world was moving toward a new era. At this moment, Lu Xun heroically devoted himself to the new democratic revolution. As early as the "May 4th" movement period, he sided with the pioneers who took the journal NEW YOUTH as representative of their central thinking, including the earliest communist Li Dazhao. During this period, he waged uncompromising struggles against imperialism and feudal warlords. At the critical moment when the great revolution failed and when a large number of Communist Party members and revolutionaries were suppressed and slaughtered by the KMT reactionaries, he further accepted Marxism, fundamentally changed his world outlook, upheld the stand of the CCP and joined the Chinese League of the Liberation Movement, the leftwing Writers' League and the Alliance for the Protection of Civil Rights under the leadership of the party. Moreover, he directly took part in some international antifascist struggles to support the proletariat and progressive people of foreign countries. In the rigorous domestic and international political struggles and in the movement to oppose the KMT's counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression," Lu Xun became a staunch standard-bearer for the proletarian revolutionary culture of China and acted as an unwavering proletarian revolutionary and a great communist fighter. Lu Xun's road was a typical reflection of the road taken by the outstanding Chinese intellectuals of the 20th century in continuing to pursue truth and advance--a road of continued advance from patriotism and democracy to socialism and communism. With Lu Xun as a great representative, a number of outstanding intellectuals, including Soong Ching-ling, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Zou Taofen, Wen Yiduo, followed this glorious road in the 20th century in China. As a great pioneer who buried the old era and opened the new one, Lu Xun had a profound and thorough understanding of the life style and thinking of the Chinese people of different social strata, namely the peasants, landlords, intellectuals, ordinary citizens, bureaucrats and gentry. He also had a profound and thorough understanding of these people's role and influence in history and culture. With democracy as his ideological weapon in the early years and with Marxism in the later years, he summed up and violently criticized the Chinese feudalistic culture and imperialistic colonial culture. Lu Xun and his criticism marked the end of the old period in which the Chinese feudalistic ideology and culture occupied a dominant position.

Lu Xun started to write his brilliant literary works. His "A Madman's Diary" opened the first page of new literature in China. He wrote in rapid succession the "Medicine," the "True Story of Ah Q," the "New Year Sacrifice," "Regret for the Past" and some other extremely successful short stories. Later, in the "Old Tales Retold" written in a unique style, he mercilessly criticized the pessimism and backwardness of the mental attitude of the Chinese people. Later, he wrote some miscellaneous essays which developed a school of his own and which became a wonder of world literature. These were also the Lu Xun-style essays which Qu Qiubai highly commended. At the same time, he wrote a history of Chinese fiction, the first of its kind by a Chinese author. He then translated and introduced a large quantity of foreign literary and artistic works, particularly Marxist theories on literature and art. Lu Xun created brilliant literary works. Not fearing the difficulty involved, he scaled the height of China's modern literature and art and became the greatest founder and trailblazer of our new culture. It was precisely because of his epoch-making contributions which were of historic significance that his works were popular all over the world. His position in the world's cultural history was generally recognized.

Lu Xun made contributions in many fields, but his most prominent historical merit was on the cultural front. He used his outstanding feats to point out a new direction for the Chinese culture. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out correctly: "Lu Xun's direction is the direction of the new Chinese culture." Generally speaking, this is a national scientific and mass direction. According to the historical conditions at that time, the culture developed by Lu Xun is the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal culture, the new democratic culture under the leadership of the proletariat. Now, our society has entered the new period of socialist modernization. We do not just want to build a socialist economy with a high degree of prosperity and socialist politics with a high degree of democracy but also a highly developed socialist culture. The objective of today's culture is to serve the people and serve socialism and the continuously developing socialist culture. The contents are rich and varied and far superior to the new democratic culture. However, we should not forget that our socialist culture has inherited the new democratic culture and has developed under new historical conditions. During the new democratic period, our culture was also under the guidance of communist ideology and was a part of the world's proletarian socialist culture. This was true in the past. This has become even more true at present. Our socialist culture should not only assimilate the essence of all cultures but should also enrich itself through absorbing knowledge, reflect the reality and struggle of socialism and educate and encourage people with the communist spirit so that communist ideals and ideology can be more extensively spread and our culture can assume the historical responsibility of training socialist new people and building socialist spiritual civilization. The cultural direction that Lu Xun stood for is not out of date because of the completion of the new democratic revolution. It will further develop with the advance of our program of socialist modernization. Lu Xun's direction is still the one that we should keep to and develop. His heritage remains to be the treasure for our promotion of the socialist spiritual civilization and an indisputable forerunning guide and beacon light for the advance of the Chinese culture.

Without exception, the great culture of a country has its striking national characteristics and its own originality. It belongs to both the nation and the world. In other words, we can say that because it is a nation's culture it is part of the world culture. The inscription "The soul of our nation," written by Lu Xun's old friend Shen Junru after Lu Xun's death precisely indicated the high value people attached to him. With his outstanding creativity and national style, Lu Xun portrayed the suffering and indignation of our nation. More importantly, he portrayed our nation's most valuable quality, its most honorable thinking and sentiments and its most persistent fighting spirit. From Lu Xun himself and from his works we can find the essence of our nation's rich thinking, the wisdom, warmheartedness and creativity of the Chinese people in the semicolonial and semifeudal society and the real soul of our nation.

Lu Xun lived during a period of drastic change from the old to the new. He keenly felt the pulse of the times and greatly worried about the future of the nation. He was extremely sorry for the lopsided development of the national spirit, caused by long-term suppression, exploitation, humiliation and harm, and for the weaknesses of the national character. However, Lu Xun was not discouraged by this. On the contrary, he fought for the revival of China with a patriotic feeling of "offering my blood to the yellow emperor."

In the early years when Lu Xun began to explore the way for the Chinese people, he suggested that we should "neither lag behind the world's ideological trend nor disregard our national tradition. We should take into consideration both the past and present experiences and find a new way for ourselves." That is to say, we should on the one hand, assimilate foreign ideological trends and, on the other, develop our own national culture. This reflects Lu Xun's plan to combine the world's ideological trends in the sphere of culture. However, by the "world's ideological trend," Lu Xun at this moment referred to the theory of evolution in the field of natural science and to the ideological trend of democracy and liberty in the theory of social revolution. After he personally witnessed the failure of the 1911 revolution, he keenly felt the heavy mental encumbrances of the Chinese nation. Due to these bitter lessons and experiences, he, together with some other forerunners, castigated the old culture with an unprecedented militant spirit in the "May 4th" new cultural movement. At that time, he thought that the most important thing was to ensure the survival, food and clothing needs and development of China and to change China from a taciturn nation to an outspoken one. He called for reforms and resolutely attacked those who guarded feudalism and stuck to old traditions and refused to make reforms under the pretext of "preserving the national and cultural uniqueness." He called on the young people to do away with all conventional ideas and approaches and to create new literary and artistic works rather than sing the old stereotyped songs. Using his pen as a sharp-edged and pointed weapon, he developed and enriched the "civilized and social criticisms" which had always been lacking in China. At this moment, Lu Xun profoundly understood how the feudal dross of our national culture stifled the vitality of our nation. He also understood that, in order to revive and strengthen our nation, it was necessary to resolutely do away with the mask of the old society and the feudal shackle which imposed restrictions on the people.

Thus, from the time of the "May 4th" movement, Lu Xun began to resolutely and vigorously advocate that we should accept foreign culture. In this way, he hoped our national culture would revive and develop. He suggested that we boldly use foreign things with the "breadth of spirit which prevailed in the Han and Tang dynasties." We should "capture foreign things" and use them freely and without any hesitation. In his artistic practice, Lu Xun developed this "breadth of spirit which prevailed in the Han and Tang dynasties." During the period of the "May 4th" movement, Lu Xun fiercely attacked the traditional Chinese culture, but he was never a national nihilist. He was good at distinguishing between the essence and dross of our traditional culture. In his "A Brief History of Chinese Fiction," "The Relationship Between the Manners and Literary Works of the Wei and Jin Dynasties on the One Hand and Medicine and Wine on the Other," "An Outsider's View on Literary Works" and some other outstanding literary works, Lu Xun scientifically evaluated the origins and fine traditions of Chinese literature and art. He also greatly enriched and developed these traditions in his own artistic works. He found that the national culture was passed from one generation to another and was changed in accordance with the times. The new culture accepted a part of the old culture and rejected the rest of it. It rejected the negative part and the dross of the old culture but preserved and developed its positive part and essence. With intensive and extensive concern and indignation, he had to attack the weak points of our nation in order to revive it. No one else in the history of Chinese ideology and culture had made such conscientious and profound analysis and criticism of our people's negative features. At the same time, however, Lu Xun never forgot that in our nation there were a lot of hardworking people who were willing to give their lives for the interests of the people and that these people were the backbone of our nation and constituted the force for the survival and advance of our nation. Even in the dark years, Lu Xun was full of confidence in our nation. He criticized the pessimistic view which held that all the Chinese people had lost their confidence. He sternly pointed out: "It is all right to say that some of the Chinese people have lost their confidence. However, it would be an insult to say that all the Chinese people have lost their confidence." In many of his works, Lu Xun described the prominent characteristics, that is, the great soul, of the Chinese nation. Shortly before his death, he stressed that our nation had experienced catastrophes and failure and pointed out: "Our history has been stained with blood. However, our survival bears witness to our greatness. We should reveal our weak points in order to revive our nation and to improve it." Lu Xun was a man who fully respected foreigners and was good at learning their strong points. However, he was also a man with a high sense of national pride and dignity and a great patriot as strong as iron and steel.

On the one hand, Lu Xun practiced the "takeover doctrine" in absorbing foreign culture to develop our own national culture. On the other hand, he introduced the achievements of our national culture to the world so as to spur on the development of world culture. He upheld the idea of blending the national with the international and integrating patriotism with internationalism. He opposed both complacence and the style of improperly belittling ourselves, worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreigners. He looked down upon the "waiter style," which lacks national pride and is servile to foreigners. He also despised the comprador writers who thought China was lagging behind others in everything. Just as in dealing with opium, he tried to sweep away the dispirited culture, either introduced from the West or created at home, which poisoned the young people. He was indeed a defender of the spiritual health of our people and young men. Lu Xun's experience tells us that a good national writer should at all times be loyal to most people of his nation and should be good at developing the nation's fine cultural tradition. At the same time, he should have the far-sightedness to break through the narrow national limitations, grasp the trend of the progress of world culture and be adept at assimilating foreign culture to enrich ourselves so the culture of our nation will continuously advance. Lu Xun was exactly such a man to boldly assimilate the strong points of foreign writers while having a profound knowledge of our own national culture. He knew very well the history and current condition of the Chinese nation. Because of this, it was not accidental that he became a great representative of Chinese culture, which occupies a significant position in the world.

To inherit Lu Xun's militant tradition in promoting the socialist spiritual civilization, we should carry forward his revolutionary spirit and scientific spirit in a way suited to today's actual situation. We should also do well in combining these two kinds of spirits. All social activities carried out by Lu Xun, including those in the literary and art fields, were based on his enthusiasm in cherishing the motherland and the people and in trying to make social reforms. While carrying out these activities, he always took a scientific approach. The independence and development of a nation should be commensurate with the laws of natural science and social science. Because China had long been under the rule of feudalistic superstition, it had a particular need for a scientific weapon. In his youth, Lu Xun was nurtured and trained on natural science. Throughout his life, Lu Xun seriously, conscientiously and penetratingly analyzed society; he respected reality and truth and firmly did away with all sorts of superstition and worship of idols. This was inseparable from his scientific accomplishments. Lu Xun's literary career reached its peak during the "May 4th" movement. At that time, he still had not mastered the scientific theory of historical materialism to analyze society. However, as he adopted a firm and scientific attitude while exploring the truth of life and society, his works reached a very high level in analyzing Chinese society.

After Lu Xun had decided to uphold the Marxist scientific world outlook, there was a further improvement of his scientific spirit, and his knowledge of Chinese society and the rule for the development of literature and art attained a still higher level. He called Marxism "the fundamental and practical social science," which he believed was conducive to the advance of literature and art. He said: "Academic circles are shifting their attention to social sciences. This shift is good and proper. It is not only beneficial to many different areas, but it also leads literature and art onto a correct and progressive road."

Exactly as he himself said, Lu Xun accepted Marxism after he had drawn "lessons from facts." Among the truth-seeking Chinese, Lu Xun was one of the earliest people to come in contact with Marxism, but he did not accept it at that time. It was not until he had seen the 1911 revolution and other numerous incidents that he came to realize that only the Marxist analysis of human society and the road charted by Marxism were correct and that Marxism was suited to China's condition and required for saving our country. Then he resolutely corrected his ideological "deviation" and accepted the science of Marxism. In the hard years of White terror when "every family was a portrait of distress" in the wake of the "12 April" incident of 1927, Lu Xun boldly stepped forward and openly stood under the banner of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since Lu Xun's faith in Marxism was based on his deep understanding of the Chinese social condition and the law governing the development of history, he did not display the least sign of dogmatism when using Marxism to guide his words, deeds and writing. He was able to understand people, comment on world affairs and analyze the complicated social contradictions more thoroughly and deeply than ever before. He had a more profound and practical understanding of the actual revolutionary struggle, the state of the revolutionary ranks and their strengths weaknesses. Over and over again he stressed that a revolutionary should "understand the reality of revolution." He pointed out: "Revolution is painful. It is bound to have dirt and blood and is by no means as interesting and perfect as some poets have thought. In particular, revolution is a practical thing, requiring a variety of humble and troublesome work. It is by no means as romantic as some poets have thought. In addition, revolution requires destruction, but construction is needed more. Destruction is a delightful job, but construction is a troublesome thing." For this reason, he was never intimidated by blood stains nor overcome by difficulties and setbacks. In the extremely difficult period of the revolution, he still believed that only the new rising proletariat had a future. In the march of the revolutionary ranks, some withdrew, some ran away, some became disappointed, and some rebelled, but his faith persisted in the revolutionary cause. He was deeply aware that all these were inevitable phenomena in the course of the revolution. With such a firm revolutionary faith, he fought to the last moment of his life, showing the most valuable revolutionary integrity and political quality of an intellectual believing in communism.

All his life Lu Xun applied his revolutionary spirit and scientific approach to his artistic practice and persisted in taking the road of revolutionary realism in his creative work. From the "May 4th" era on, he always followed order of the revolutionary forerunners and even referred to his own writings as "order-following literature." On the other hand, he was always faithful to artistic truthfulness, loudly calling on writers and artists to boldly open their eyes to observe society. He correctly pointed out: "Only true voices can touch the hearts of the people throughout China and the world." Under the pressure of old China's cultural dictatorship which was powerful yet brutal, Lu Xun demonstrated a writer's morality and the courage of realism. As Lu Xun adopted a clear-cut and realistic attitude, he repeatedly stressed that a revolutionary writer should first of all be a revolutionary and personally experience a revolutionary life, for this was the only way not to misrepresent the revolution. While stressing that revolutionary writers should look reality in the face, Lu Xun also pointed out that they should have lofty goals and ideals. Lu Xun's scientific attitude lay not only in his attention to reality but also in his emphasis on proceeding from reality and tirelessly pursuing lofty goals and ideals. He always castigated those pessimists who had given up their ideals and refused to begin to work hard. He said: "People who are weary of the present world are still alive. These people are the enemy of the present world. As long as they exist, there is no hope for the present world." Unlike these pessimists, Lu Xun was always full of confidence in life and in the future. One important reason for the high level of maturity of Lu Xun's works was the fact that his realism was a combination of reality and ideals, able to fire men with enthusiasm to reform society and increase their strength to struggle toward their great goal.

Lu Xun's scientific attitude was not only applied to his creative work but also prominently embodied in his social and literary criticism. Lu Xun's militant life was a life devoted to a thorough criticism of the feudalistic and bourgeois old society and old culture. Lu Xun's criticism was the most incisive and forceful because it was scientific and because it grasped the essence. Lu Xun also pointed out that literature could be used for fighting and that writers should "have a strong sense of justice and a strong sense of likes and dislikes." Meanness, cunning and liberalism are incompatible with the spirit of Lu Xun. He regarded his essays as a reflex action and a means of attack and defense, and he maintained that "a writer's task is to make a prompt answer to stand against harmful things." When various kinds of feudalistic and bourgeois remnants ran amuck, Lu Xun always dealt them head-on blows. He fought against the "advocates of the doctrine of national and cultural uniqueness," the "modern criticizers," the so-called "liberal men," "people of the third category," the so-called "national writers" and the "advocates of the analects of Confucius" who trumped (?comfort), intelligence and egotism. Some of these people were his old friends, colleagues and bosses. However, he never made any concessions or showed them any mercy. He never "smiled or apologized obsequiously." He adopted a serious, militant and scientific attitude toward debate. He stressed that hurling insults and threats was no way to fight. "Our militant writers must pay attention to 'debate.' As for a poet, it may be all right if he gets angry and satirizes, because he cannot control his feelings. However, he should never go farther than mocking or making fierce verbal attacks. Besides, regardless of whether we laugh out of pleasure or scorn others out of anger, we must do so in the form of literary works. In this way, the enemy will be hurt or fatally struck. Yet, we have not played any mean tricks. Even the observers will not think that we have played dirty tricks. This is the skill of a militant writer." Lu Xun adopted the most clear-cut and steadfast attitude toward the enemy and toward the struggle against antagonistic ideology. Not long before his death, Lu Xun wrote a letter out of his sense of justice in reply to the malicious dissension sown by the Trotskyists. This was the best example of his attitude.

Lu Xun often pointed out that we needed strong critics who knew social science and we needed scientific criticism. This kind of criticism first of all should be out of "warm good intentions," that is, pure motives and the goal of unity. This kind of criticism is criticism seeking truth from facts and is aimed at helping those criticized. Lu Xun never avoided mentioning his own viewpoints. Just as he was strict with himself, he often had disputes with his comrades-in-arms. He never easily let go of his comrades' shortcomings and mistakes but sharply criticized them. He often warned them to pay attention to overcoming "leftist" ideas and sentiments. On the other hand he was always sincere toward them and correctly affirmed their strong points and achievements. Lu Xun did not have any personal enemies. In the struggle for the common goal, he never harbored "personal resentment" against those comrades who once disagreed with him or who misunderstood him.

Summing up the painful historical lesson, all of us who experienced the 10 years of internal disorder must never give up the weapon of criticism. We must never give up criticism and self-criticism. We must learn to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and correctly handle and solve contradictions among the people themselves. In order to make our criticisms suit the socialist spiritual civilization, it is necessary to raise the level of our literary criticism and criticism in various other fields (including self-criticism), making such criticism more effective and scientific.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" that our literature and art are for the masses of the people and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers. Serving the people and socialism--this is the orientation we must adhere to. In 1930, the leftwing Writers' League was established in China. This marked a great beginning in the history of Chinese literature. Lu Xusi was one of the main founders of this league. He was a true teacher and leader of China's leftwing literary movement. Comrade Mao Zedong highly and scientifically assessed the great contributions made by this movement. However, he also noted its weak points. Before his death, Lu Xun highly appraised Gorkiy, saying that all of Gorkiy's lofty ideals came true and that the most important reason for this was that "he was one of the people and shared their grief, anger and joy." Lu Xun was also a person who mixed with the masses and shared the masses' feelings. Throughout his life, he always had the sincerest, warmest and deepest love for the masses of the people. He cried out for them and fought for them. As a great writer, Lu Xun fought with his pen, coordinating his writing with the Chinese people's struggle for liberation under the leadership of the CCP. He used his pen as a dagger and a spear mercilessly exposing the darkness and crimes committed in China by imperialism, feudalism and domestic and foreign reactionaries. Through his personal struggle, Lu Xun contributed a tremendous force to ushering in the Chinese people's liberation. He was a most outstanding figure among our country's great revolutionary forerunners. His voice represented the aspirations of the Chinese people for revolution and liberation in the semicolonial and semifeudal society. His voice aroused strong sympathy among the masses of the people precisely because he was truly representing the Chinese people. Here lies Lu Xun's enduring strength. Comrade Mao Zedong called on all Communist Party members to emulate Lu Xun--"fierce-browed, I cooly defy a thousand pointing fingers, and head bowed, like a willing ox, I serve the children"--and become oxen for the masses of the people, devoting their entire lives to the service of the people. He asked us to emulate the very essence of Lu Xun's great character--his ardent love for and dedication to the people.

At first Lu Xun did not clearly see the role and place of the masses of the people in the entire course of history. As an enlightening thinker in his early years, he earnestly hoped that China would be transformed and the broad masses of the people would be freed from their miserable predicament. However, he pinned his hopes on the outstanding individuals because he underestimated the strength of the people. During the "May 4th" movement, his ideological level was greatly enhanced. But he still keenly felt that the masses were only playing the role of a spectator. From 1925 on, Lu Xun gradually discovered that the majority of the people, whom the rulers regarded as "fools," were actually the pillars of the world. After he accepted Marxism, he more consciously found that the material strength to reform China was with the masses of the people and that China's literature and art should pay chief attention to the masses of the people who constituted the vast majority of the nation. In 1930, in view of the prejudices of some bourgeois writers in our country, he emphatically pointed out: "The majority's strength is great and important. If those who aspire for reforms fail to deeply understand the masses' feelings and to try to guide and improve them, then whatever brilliant writings and great ideas--romantic or classical--they may produce will have nothing to do with the masses, but will only be for a few persons to express admiration for one another and derive some self-satisfaction in their studies." A major sign of Lu Xun's ideological maturity in his later years is that he saw that the great material strength to reform China, the strength to determine victory or defeat, lay in the masses of the people.

In order to change the old culture into the people's culture, Lu Xun made unremitting efforts. He waged resolute struggles against all sorts of erroneous ideological trends opposed to the people and of reactionary cultures. During these struggles, Lu Xun earnestly took revolutionary literature and art as part of the revolutionary cause and part of the liberation movement and struggle launched by the proletariat. Only when writers and artists act like Lu Xun can literature and art fundamentally represent the interests of the broad masses of people.

To make the masses of the people the masters of culture, Lu Xun and his comrades made great efforts to popularize literature and art. He resolutely opposed the aristocratic and scholar-bureaucrat tendencies in writing and literature, opposed the intentional choice of difficult words and affected elegance and opposed turning writing and literature into "something for the privileged" and "tools of the privileged class." With great enthusiasm he advocated the reform of the written Chinese language and promoted the picture storybooks, modern woodcuts and folk theatrical arts. At that time, popular works of literature and art loved by the people, such as picture storybooks, were not taken seriously by many people. Lu Xun stepped forward, however, to defend them most touchingly. Lu Xun was a highly accomplished intellectual in China, but he was also a fervent advocate of the popularization of science and literature and art. He set a good example in combining popularization and the raising of standards.

Lu Xun also resolutely opposed artistic "tailism" characterized by unprincipled catering and yielding to the masses. He had a revolutionary writer's high sense of mission and social responsibility toward the masses of the people. Lu Xun thought that a genuine intellectual of the people "should be knowledgeable, decisive and persistent and be able to think deeply. An intellectual may use his rights but should not deceive anyone. He may try to guide the people but not please them. He should not despise himself, thinking that he is nothing but an actor, nor should he despise others, regarding them as his lackeys. He is only a member of the masses. Only in this way can an intellectual do something for the masses." This was Lu Xun's most incisive generalization on how to correctly handle the relationship between an individual and the masses. This was also his own attitude toward life and literary writing. As a revolutionary intellectual, a revolutionary writer and artist, his lofty duty was "to give beneficial guidance" and not "to cater" to the masses. Lu Xun said: "Some people maintain that everything must meet the masses' approval. Some even say that it is necessary to 'cater to the masses' and deliberately use coarser words to please the masses. Those individuals certainly make a painstaking effort, but by acting in such a way they are becoming literary hacks for the masses." In making such a conclusion, Lu Xun was by no means deliberately exaggerating so as to create a sensation. In our era, if literature and art do not focus on the overall and long-range interests of the masses of the people, if they do not observe and understand life from the standpoint of the progressive elements of the masses, but lower the ideological level, substitute something vulgar for what is popular in the name of the masses and use some stimulating things to cater to the appetite of the backward among the masses and pollute the masses' minds, will it not turn writers and artists into new literary hacks?

Lu Xun had a strong sense of responsibility for the people. He placed the people's interests above everything else and always considered the objective social effects of literary works when published. He said: "In the course of my exploration, I always fear that my immature fruits will poison those who have a predilection for my fruits." He also said: "Some people think that I always freely express myself in my writing. In fact, I do not. I have a lot of worries." It was particularly admirable that he made a conscious effort to remold himself and seriously analyze himself. He said: "I often analyze other people, but more often I mercilessly analyze myself." This spirit of analyzing oneself demonstrated the high degree of social responsibility of a great revolutionary writer and artist. Today, our socialist revolutionary writers should learn from Lu Xun's keen sense of responsibility. It is wrong to regard this sense of responsibility as a kind of shackle to individual freedom. All revolutionary writers and artists with high aspirations should make this sense of responsibility an important part of their own artistic life and should not waver at any time. Only with this sense of responsibility can the orientation of literature to serve the people become firm and capable of standing the test of history.

Adhering to the orientation of the new scientific culture which belonged to the nation and the people, Lu Xun fought with an indomitable spirit throughout his life. His unremitting and realistic fighting spirit constituted his basic ideology and work style. This was a concentrated reflection of his profound understanding of China's society and his thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of materialism. Without this spirit, it would be difficult to imagine Lu Xun capable of scaling the heights of our national literature and art. Without this spirit, it would have been impossible to create and develop the new scientific culture which belonged to the nation and the people. Today, when we are building a new socialist spiritual civilization, it is definitely all the more necessary to carry on and develop Lu Xun's indomitable fighting spirit.

Lu Xun pointed out: "In order to make achievements on the cultural front, one must be persistent and dauntless." Lu Xun made this conclusion on the basis of his profound understanding of Chinese society and Chinese ideology and culture. He clearly noticed that the foundation of the old Chinese society was very solid and that Chinese feudalistic and imperialistic colonial culture was very powerful. Thus, it would be very difficult to make social changes. However, Lu Xun said: "Despite the difficulty, we still have to try. The more difficult it is, the harder we have to try." It would be impossible to do so without an indomitable fighting spirit.

The opposite of an indomitable fighting spirit was the tendency to boast and exaggerate, to seek formality and superficial success and to work by fits and starts. Lu Xun repeatedly criticized this work style. According to him, people who rushed headlong into mass action and dispersed in a hubbub could be very enthusiastic at one moment and then depressed at another. These people should not be entrusted with important responsibilities. This was particularly true of China. Thus, he taught young people to "make consistent efforts rather than be in high spirits one moment and in low spirits the next." He said they should pay attention to overcoming the "shortcoming of momentary enthusiasm." Lu Xun also said: "I think it would be very dangerous for our nationals to lack wisdom and courage and to act according to their 'personal feelings.' Actually, we must start to do some work now." This was the essential spirit which led the Chinese revolution to victory. Lu Xun's teachings were sincere and of far-reaching significance.

Lu Xun warned young writers and artists not to use literature as a stepping-stone to success, not to forego hard work after publishing one or two volumes of poems or novels and making a few small achievements and not to think that publishing a few essays or magazines for a year or so was a "great, unprecedented feat." At the same time, Lu Xun also hoped that literary critics would pay attention to protecting and inspiring the enthusiasm of young people to make long-lasting efforts, and not to "assassinate" them either by flattery or by abuse. This sincere and earnest teaching merits attention by all of us.

Lu Xun clearly understood that in order to create a new national culture which would roll on incessantly like the mighty waters of the Changjiang River, it was necessary to train a large number of new soldiers. To this end, we should firmly carry out a protracted struggle to equip the new soldiers with an indomitable fighting spirit and a hardworking spirit so that they will maintain close ties with the broad masses of working people. This is our strategic task in building a new national culture. This is where the hope of our socialist literature and art lies. In this way, we can train a large number of people who uphold a firm and correct political orientation and fine militant spirit and who can scale new heights of socialist literature and art. Only when we earnestly act in this way will we be commemorating Lu Xun in the best way.

The development of China's new culture that was opened up by revolutionary Chinese writers and artists represented by Lu Xun is incomparably broad. As long as we adhere to the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the four basic principles directed by the party Central Committee, conscientiously study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, insist on literature and art serving the people and socialism, unswervingly implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and arm our ranks with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, then our literature and art will assuredly win still more brilliant victories. In the past century, our country has in the great struggles against feudalism and imperialism produced such cultural giants as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun. Today, our country has entered a new historical period, and it is all the more necessary for a group of socialist cultural giants to come forward. Today, we solemnly commemorate the centennial of Lu Xun's birth to express our high respect for Lu Xun and also to place an earnest hope on the generation of new people of our country. In this age of ours there have already appeared many writers and artists who are taking the road of the new culture opened up by Lu Xun and other forebears. We hope to break through the thorns and charge forward to build up our country's socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrades, friends:

Although the road we have followed is by no means smooth, our country has come a long way after all and the Chinese nation is now full of vigor and vitality. In the past few years, in the field of literature and art, we have revived and carried forward the fine tradition of revolutionary realism since the "May 4th" movement and also radiated the new brilliance of revolutionary romanticism. Either in reflecting social life in depth and in breadth or in artistic forms, a number of outstanding writers and their works are pushing socialist literature and art to new levels and states. However, there are also quite a few shortcomings and mistakes in our work. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out, some writers and artists lean toward bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous tendencies and have not been promptly criticized and struggled against--which they deserve--by the leadership. The weak and lax state of leadership over literature and art urgently needs to be overcome. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, we must, correctly use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, develop our achievements and overcome shortcomings so that our ranks of writers and artists will become more united, stronger and more militant and so that our literature and art will develop more healthily. We firmly believe that in this great country of ours in the East with its long-standing culture and historical traditions, a brand-new great socialist renaissance of an Eastern type will certainly arrive. Let us usher in its arrival by increasing our efforts a hundredfold and a thousandfold!

CSO: 4005/66

'BA YI RADIO' ON NEW PRC SUPPRESSION OF WRITERS, ARTISTS

OW110441 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Document No 7 published at the beginning of the year, Hu Yaobang's talk at the National Conference on Problems on the Ideological Front at the end of August, the discussion meeting held by literary and art circles recently in the capital and especially Comrade Deng Xiaoping's talk at the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee on 17 July this year are like a series of intensifying gusts of bone-chilling wind blown to the whole country, particularly to literary and art workers in the army.

The creative enthusiasm, which has barely come back to life since the downfall of the gang of four, is beginning to disappear again. Works of literature and art are again falling into the ruts of generalization and formalism. Many talented writers and artists, whose old wounds have not yet completely healed, are faced with new blows.

Although Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Hu Yaobang only stressed in their talks that the crux of liberalism is to oppose party leadership; that party members, writers, artists, thinkers and theoretical workers must observe party discipline; that we are still faced with contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, or with similar contradictions, so we must not lower our guard; and so forth, as in the past, a word from above becomes a gust of wind at the lower levels. In fact, a campaign to criticize writers and artists has been started now on a national scale. In the army, more than 100 people have been criticized. Undoubtedly the figure is much larger in the localities.

The most serious thing is that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has ordered that from now on workers of literature and art may not use the struggle against rightists and the Cultural Revolution as subject matter. This makes the masses of literary and art workers feel that they have again become the political tools of a handful of persons.

In the past, when it was necessary to thoroughly repudiate the Jiang Qing clique and consolidate the position of the new leaders, there were repeated calls for exposures of the fascist atrocities committed during the Cultural Revolution. In order to deal blows (?at) Hua Guofeng, Chen Xilian, Wang Dongxing and so forth, it was even encouraged to describe the tragic scene in which Comrade Zhang Zhixin's throat was cut apart. Even 2 years ago, at the Fourth Conference on Literary and Art work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping still instructed: "The question of what and how to write can only be probed and solved step by step by writers in their artistic practice. There should be no arbitrary interference."

Now, however, when works of literature and art touch upon the present erroneous domestic and foreign policies and individual leaders' erroneous course of actions, his attitude immediately makes an about-face, and he says that there is no such thing as unlimited freedom and democracy. He also accuses some writers and artists of having doubts about party leadership and socialism, committing themselves to humanitarianism, human rights and human feelings and extolling the dignity, value, freedom and place of man, and so on.

We'd like to ask, how can this trick of going back on one's word not make writers feel like the hired scribblers of feudal imperial courts? Comrade (Ruan Ming), deputy head of the Theoretical Research Office of the Central Party School, said it well: "The pernicious influence of feudalism in the party manifests itself in the habit to look down on people. Now the newspapers are reporting on democratic elections, but many people do not believe in them. The reason: the people cannot even be masters of themselves, how can they be masters of the country?"

What should be stressed now is not only democracy, but freedom. Without democracy, freedom has no foundation. Without a free people, it is impossible to develop democracy. When a man is in a state of being oppressed, how can he exercise his democratic rights? In other words, when democracy is suppressed and writers and artists are deprived of their creative freedom, how can they be expected to create works of literature and art that are full of vigor and vitality and loved by the people?

CSO: 4005/66

NEED FOR FAIR REWARD, PUNISHMENT FOR CADRES STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 81 p 1

[Commentator's article: "There Should Be Distinct Demarcation Between Reward and Punishment"]

[Text] In dealing with cadres, there should be a distinct demarcation between right and wrong and between reward and punishment.

It must be admitted that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there has been a striking change in the workstyle of our cadres, as shown by the emergence of a large number of people with the lofty ideal of advancing the national welfare. With emancipated minds and bold explorations, they are continuing to bring to light new phenomena while travelling along their difficult and tortuous road. They have gone deep into realities and conducted investigations and study, and are dedicated to their work. They uphold justice, disregard personal interests, firmly adhere to party principles, and courageously combat various unhealthy tendencies.... The continued healthy developments on the economic and other fronts are inseparable from these people of lofty ideals who are serving the motherland and the people with great enthusiasm and a keen sense of responsibility. Yet it must also be admitted that the workstyle of cadres which deteriorated under the influence of the "gang of four" has not been basically rectified and is still far short of the expectations of the broad masses. In some departments or units, including some leading organs, some cadres are still wrangling, refraining from action, or acting irresponsibly whenever any problem crops up. Others are overconservative and are working only halfheartedly. These people have committed one serious mistake after another and caused serious losses, because instead of conducting investigations and study or listening to the people's voices, they issued orders blindly out of subjectivism. There are also those indulging in departmentalism and obstructing the readjustment simply becuase they fail to consider the overall situation. Worse still, some of them are resisting the implementation of party principles and policies either covertly or overtly, forming gangs and factions, violating laws and disciplines, abusing their power for personal gain at the expense of the publice and carrying out various illegal activities.

We should highly commend and reward those with high ideals in advancing the national welfare, the practical workers and the trailblazers. We should also criticize and punish those lacking in enthusiasm and a sense of responsibility who bungle their jobs; and particularly those who give no thought to the state's difficulties and even try to gain something at others' expense. Our action in these respects only shows the effect of ideological and political work. This work, if continued effectively, will play a tremendous role in improving the cadres' workstyle, in upholding social justice and in eliminating the unhealthy social atmosphere resulting from the 10 years of turmoil.

What should attract our serious attention now is the difficulty of criticism, self-criticism and commendation in real life. Because of the weakness of ideological and political work, commendation or reward to any person will bring forth a lot of "shovels" from various directions. Those who have made new discoveries with emancipated minds, who have the courage to uphold justice by resolutely combatting unhealthy tendencies, and who always try to do more work to the best of their ability have been mocked at, eschewed and even attacked. These are by no means isolated cases.

It is difficult to commend or to reward, but even more difficult to criticize or punish. Even though there is nothing wrong with the facts cited and the methods used in criticizing or punishing certain cadres for their lack of energy or their unhealthy tendencies, these cadres may, in mild cases, refuse to admit their faults, and then voice their complaints, or, in serious cases, raise a big fuss without being able to produce anything new to support their arguments. They may even gang up to distort the truth or to forge false evidence to make a countercharge and to apply pressure on the leadership or the departments concerned. How can these people be so secure in the knowledge that they have strong backing? Boiled down to the final essence, this has something to do with the workstyle of the leadership of some departments or units, and with the weakness of ideological and political work. The leaderships of these departments or units do not uphold the party's principles and even have no hesitation in refusing to criticize or combat unhealthy tendencies, because they have substituted the decadent "science of personal relations" for strict demands on cadres, and for justifiable commendation, reward, criticism or punishment. They are afraid of affecting their personal relations or offending others. In commending or rewarding others, they are afraid of being accused of trying to win people's hearts; and in criticizing or punishing others, they are also afraid of being accused of attacking people with dissident views. Thus, with one eye open and another closed, they simply drift along. In these departments or units, good deeds are not appreciated and bad deeds are not even frowned upon; justice cannot be upheld, and unhealthy tendencies may even run wild. The decadent "science of personal relations," like a disease, is corroding the living cells of our party and the souls of our people, and is a serious obstacle to basically changing the workstyle of cadres and the atmosphere of society. We must be determined to adopt powerful measures to eradicate it.

What can be relied on to arouse the enthusiasm of millions upon millions of people to build socialist material as well as spiritual civilization? Of course, we have to rely on party principles and policies, on ideological and political work, and, at the same time, on the efforts of cadres in setting personal examples, providing guidance and carrying forward the glorious traditions of the party. Cadres at all levels, particularly the leading cadres, must set good personal examples in practice. Only such cadres can enjoy high prestige and attract attentive listeners; only such ideological and political work can be called effective. On the other hand, if the leadership has unhealthy tendencies and its deeds do not match its words, then the ideological and political work has been futile. If we do not make strict demands on the cadres and do not commend or reward them when commendation or reward is due, or fail to criticize or punish them when criticism or punishment is justified, then justice cannot be upheld and bad tendencies cannot be combatted. There will then be no distinct demarcation between right and wrong, or between reward and punishment. Then how can there be any sense of principle, prestige and militancy of the party to speak of?

Making strict demands on the cadres and a distinct demarcation between right and wrong or reward and punishment is the best way to cherish our cadres. This has been proved by numerous historical facts. Party organizations at all levels must uphold party principles and the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and carry out this work with meticulous care. The broad masses of cadres, particularly the leading cadres at various levels, should consciously implement party principles and policies, change their workstyle, display revolutionary fervor, and actively shoulder the responsibility for the four modernizations in order to improve the economic and other types of work. We must be fully aware that as soon as our cadres' workstyle is radically changed, the enthusiasm of the millions upon millions of people will be further aroused and the four modernizations will gather new momentum. Let us work hard in this direction!

9411
CSO: 4006/907

PRIVATE PURCHASE OF LAND BY PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES PROHIBITED

Jiangsu Notice Issued

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 81 p 1

[XINHUA RIBAO correspondent's report: "Based on Investigations in Jinhu County, the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline Has Issued a Notice Prohibiting Private Purchase of Land by Party Members and Cadres"]

[Text] Based on investigations jointly carried out by the Jinhu County party committee and the county Commission for Inspection of Discipline under the provincial party committee recently issued a notice calling for strict prohibition of private purchases of land by party members and cadres.

The notice says: According to investigations by the Jinhu County Commission for Inspection of Discipline, the Licheng Commune has given unauthorized permission for county and commune cadres and workers to purchase land from production teams near the county city for building houses. Since 1976, land has been purchased from production team No 1 of the Licheng Production Brigade of the commune by 23 families--six families of country and commune party committee members, another six families of ordinary cadres, and 11 families of workers. The total area of land sold was 12.33 mu, averaging some 0.5 mu per family. Some families bought as much as 0.9 mu (at an average price of 368.13 yuan per mu). Instead of stopping these purchases, the secretary of the Licheng Commune party committee even bought 0.5 mu for himself. Production team No 1 of the Licheng Production Brigade has a population of more than 240, and the farmland left is only a little more than 80 mu, averaging some 0.3 mu per person. Production team No 7, which is very close to the county city, also had similar problems.

The notice continues: The standing committee of the Jinhu County party committee has held a special discussion on this matter. Such purchases were found to be entirely illegal and the standing committee proposed some corrective action: All the title deeds for these land transactions were declared null and void, and all the land purchased had to be returned to the production teams. Those who bought the land should all carry out self-examinations in their own units. This particularly applies to the secretary of the Licheng Commune party committee, and his self-examination should go deeper.

The notice points out: It is entirely necessary for the Jinhu County party committee and the county Commission for the Inspection of Discipline to conduct these investigations. Private purchases of farmland have sometimes occurred in other places. In April this year, documents were issued by the State Council and the provincial people's government to prohibit the building of any house that may take up farmland in the countryside. Party members and cadres should set personal examples in observing these regulations, which must not be violated out of consideration for personal interests. Similar problems in the future should be promptly investigated and strictly dealt with in the same way as was done in Jinhu County.

'XINHUA RIBAO' Commentary

Nanjin XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Unattributed short commentary: "Private Purchase of Land by Party Members and Cadres Is Illegal"]

[Text] Private purchase of land is entirely illegal. According to our constitution, "the state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize land under conditions prescribed by law." The "urgent notice concerning building houses on farmland in the countryside" issued by the State Council in April this year says: "It must be reiterated that the land of communes and production brigades and teams in the countryside is owned by the collective. Commune members only have the right to use the land in their custody as housing lots, private lots (or private mountains) or farmland for production under contract. They have no right to rent, sell or transfer it to others. Unless authorized, they even have no right to build houses or tombs, mines or kilns on these lots. Some people have mistaken the land, used as responsibility plots or farmland for production under contract, for their own property to be disposed of at will. This is wrong." The country party committee and the county Commission for Inspection of Discipline in Jinhu County have conducted prompt investigations and suitably dealt with the cases of private purchases of land by party members and cadres for building houses. This is very necessary. All similar problems in future should be promptly investigated and strictly dealt with in the same way as was done by the country party committee and county Commission for Inspection of Discipline in Jinhu County.

Article 3 of the "Guiding Principles on Internal Party Political Life" explicitly states: "All party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, must be models in observing the state law, labor discipline, work discipline and communist morality." The members and cadres of the party in power should take the lead in observing discipline and the law. Observing state law is indispensable for observing party discipline, and violation of state law means violation of party discipline. State laws and decrees have long prohibited the private purchase of land. The party members and cadres who have purchased land in violation of the law and party discipline and thus jeopardized party and mass interests must be strictly dealt with; otherwise it will be difficult to check this pernicious influence. Deliberate violation of the law must not be tolerated, and the culprits must be severely punished.

It is the fundamental stand of CCP members to serve the people wholeheartedly. This is also the principle which we must forever uphold. Party members and cadres should regard the urge to seek privileges and personal gain as the greatest disgrace. On admission to the party, every party member pledges "to dedicate his or her life to the struggle for the communist cause." Then how can the party members forget this solemn pledge and busy themselves with building houses for their progeny in violation of the law? This shows the need for party education to be strengthened. At present, through studying and implementing the "Resolution" and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, we must step up the education of party members in the spirit and principles of the party and the knowledge of the party in order to give full play to the exemplary role of party members in observing discipline and the law and in uniting with the masses to carry out the four modernizations.

9411
CSO: 4005/907

WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO SERVE MASSES

Tianjin XINGANG WENXUE YUEKAN [New Ports] in Chinese No 7, 81, 15 Jul 81 pp 12-17

[Article by Wan Li [8001 0500]: "Strive to Develop the Party's Arts and Literature Cause--In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party"]

[Text] At the time when the new political line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are striking increasingly deeper roots in the hearts of the people, when the political, economic and cultural life of our country shows daily improvement and deep changes are being experienced, when we loudly rejoice at the triumphant convening of the Sixth Plenary Session so full of historical significance, today, when we earnestly study the important documents of the plenary sessions, we greet the glorious 60th anniversary of the founding of our party.

In these 60 years, the CCP held high its revolutionary banner, led a billion people of various nationalities through many difficulties and in bloody sacrifices, when brave men stepped into the breach as soon as another fell, and in arduous struggle, guided by the party and its leaders, Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, to final victory over its domestic and foreign enemies, remove all difficulties and obstacles, ultimately overturn the three big mountains that had lain like a dead weight on their backs, and established the Chinese People's Republic. In the more than 30 years since then, our socialist revolution and socialist construction have achieved tremendous successes and our great socialist fatherland is triumphantly advancing!

During the long years of struggle and under the leadership of the party, our revolutionary literature and art has gained glorious victories. Following the revolutionary movement of the 4 May, the magnificent contributions by the revolutionary movement in literature and art, represented by the works of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun, the role of these contributions in the struggle, have already been discussed penetratingly, fully affirmed and highly appraised in Comrade Mao Zedong's "On People's Democracy" and his other brilliant writings and are recorded in the annals of history. The worker-peasant-soldier orientation for literature and art that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, and the whole series of Marxist principles for the relationship between literature and art and the people, life and the revolution, and the principles that he later put forward, such as "weed through the old to bring forth the new," "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and other such brilliant ideas, illuminated the path on which our country's socialist literature and art was advancing and on which they were able to gain even more thorough and momentous developments. However, the road of advance was torturous. In the decade of our calamity, the revolutionary literature and art suffered grievous damage and destruction. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the Third Plenary Session, we repudiated the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company and their many fallacies in the field of literature and art. We experienced a liberation of minds, eradication of superstitions, a breaking down of forbidden zones and an abandonment of restricting taboos. We implemented the correct policy, restored our literature and art organization, we corrected our orientation to one of service to the people and to socialism, implemented and carried out the "dual hundred" policy, so that through all these measures the initiative of the broad masses of workers in literature and art was revitalized, exquisite new works of literature and art bloomed forth in a steady stream, a large number of excellent pieces of literature were published, the situation was greatly improved, leading to outstanding achievements, and a completely new situation began to appear, a "blooming of a hundred flowers" as never before experienced, thriving and flourishing in great quantity.

At this time of commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party, we look back on the course of our past struggle and correctly sum up the historical experiences. Restoring and developing the revolutionary tradition in literature and art, affirming our achievements and overcoming our shortcomings, firmly adhering, under the leadership of the party, to the direction of serving the people and serving socialism, correctly implementing and carrying out the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," firmly upholding the four basic principles, continuing to emancipate our minds and exerting ourselves in promoting the cause of socialist literature and art, these are the glorious struggle tasks assigned to us by the new era and by the masses.

On the eve of the founding of new China, at the critical moment when the Chinese revolution was about to move into its new historical stage, Comrade Zhou Enlai called on all progressive workers in literature and art to "make an effort to get to know the Chinese communist party," to "study Mao Zedong," which was of great effect. Thirty years later, after the smashing of the "gang of four," when the focal point of our party's work has been shifted to the socialist modernizations, and when we find ourselves at a new turning point in history, Comrade Hu Yaobang also issued a call to workers in literature and art to "correctly look upon" the Chinese communist party, Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, and this was equally significant.

The historical experiences of 60 years proved that "there could be no new China without the communist party," and the great truth that "only socialism could save China." History will moreover prove in future that only the Chinese communist party could lead our people to triumphantly realize the socialist modernizations, and that without the communist party, there can be no socialist modern new China. Even though our party committed mistakes, even very grievous mistakes, in the course of our revolution and socialist construction, and even though bourgeois careerists of the type of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng wormed their way into our party and these conspirators and double-dealers brought on a serious disaster for our party, our state and our people, our party smashed and eradicated them, saved the revolution and saved the party, relying on the strength of the party and the people! This enabled our party and our socialist state to recover their vitality, and to advance along the scientific path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. We see from these facts that our party is a great and glorious party that we can trust completely and that it is "the force at the core of leadership in all our undertakings." Although Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years, his merits are primary and his mistakes secondary. He was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary. His immortal deeds for the Chinese revolution will never be forgotten by the Chinese people. Mao Zedong Thought guides us in carrying out the four modernizations and has revitalized the theoretical foundation of Chinese thinking. There can be no doubt and no wavering in this opinion. Without a correct knowledge of, and approach toward, the Chinese communist party, toward Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, there is absolutely no possibility to correctly understand and give expression to the new era in which we find ourselves today.

To make great efforts in portraying the glorious party and portraying the members of the party is the sacred responsibility of the workers in our revolutionary literature and art.

In order to help the people, particularly the masses of our youths, to study the history of our party, study the revolutionary tradition and fine work style of our party, to have them know that our revolutionary victory had not come lightly, our workers in literature and art must exert themselves to give expression to the heroic and outstanding achievement and immortal deeds of our party leaders, our veteran proletarian revolutionaries and our innumerable revolutionary martyrs. In the long history of our revolutionary struggle, how many revolutionary heroic men have there been whose earthshaking and moving deeds will shine through all eternity! They are our nation's soul, heroes outstanding among the multitudes, pillars of the state and the heroic sons and daughters of the party and the people. With a fervent enthusiasm we must sing their praises and portray them to encourage the people to start out on their new long march. This is not only of great significance in our days, it will also throughout the ages inspire people with ideological strength to advance and will constitute a precious asset in building a highly socialist spiritual culture.

According to newspaper reports, the Society for the Study of Historical Figures of the CCP plans to compile the biographies of 500 historical figures who have influenced the history of the party. This is a very meaningful and inspiring plan. We hope that qualified workers in literature and art will participate in the compilation. Basing on the biographies of historical figures and basing on the great amount of historical facts, one should do some artistic summarizing, processing and creating, write various kinds of literary creations, such as stage plays, film scripts, biographical essays, revolutionary historical novels, narrative poems, revolutionary memoirs, in an effort to portray model images of proletarian revolutionaries and party members. This would enrich the themes of our literary and art creations and could definitely fill the needs of the masses and be welcomed by them.

In writing the biographies of figures of our revolutionary history, we must certainly uphold the viewpoint of historical materialism, and maintain a scientific attitude of respect for history and of seeking truth from facts when we assess and portray these historical figures. In this respect Comrade Zhou Yang [0719 2254] once pointed out: "When describing the lofty moral character and the great spirit of revolutionary leaders and revolutionaries, literary and art works must certainly give correct expression to the relationship of the leaders to the masses, and when describing the

the outstanding role played by leading personalities, expression must be given to the fact that it is the masses who are the motive force that creates history. The leader is the guide of the people, but also society's public servant who serves the people wholeheartedly. He must under no circumstances by an "omniscient and omnipotent" savior, arrogantly placing himself above the masses. Any deification of a leading personality and a favor-granting viewpoint toward the masses, are contrary to the objective realities of life and defy the principles of historical materialism; they are all distortions of the leading personality and a contemptuous slight for the people.

Our literary and art creations must not only portray the leading figures of the party and heroic personalities, but must also portray ordinary party members. They must not only portray the revolutionary martyrs, but also model party members of today who live among us. In the courageous attacks of the four modernizations, in the dynamic activities on the various fronts and on various posts, how great the number of fine members of the communist party! They resolutely implement and carry out the line, principles and policies of the party, and under the leadership of the party and taking upon themselves the role of models and vanguards, they organize, lead and rely on the masses. They bravely carry out reforms and with great courage create new things. Unafraid of hardships and difficulties, they struggle courageously, overcome obstacles and have created and are still creating new heroic achievements. The brilliance of communist ideology radiates from them. They personify communist ethics, discipline, moral integrity and other such lofty characteristics. They fully reflect the fine traditions and the revolutionary work style of the party. They are the pioneers of the four modernizations, the socialist new men. We must learn from them most reverently and most honestly and must furthermore enthusiastically describe them and sing their praises. Of course, in describing them we must also adhere to the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, correctly describe their relations to the masses and to the party organization; we must not willfully "glorify" them and distort their image into individualist "heroes," divorced from the masses and from the party organization.

2. Comrade Mao Zedong exhorted the workers in literature and art of the Chinese revolution, already 39 years ago: "You must go into the masses, you must go into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers for a long time, unconditionally and wholeheartedly, go into the fiery hot struggle, go into the widest and most abundant source, observe, experience, study, analyze all people, all classes, all masses, every form of vivid life and struggle, all the original material for literature and art, only then will you be able to engage in the creative process." This fully conforms to the special characteristics and developmental laws of literature and art, and is the fundamental road to a thriving and flourishing socialist literature and art. It is not at all out-of-date and cannot become obsolete.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, they regarded every revolutionary literature and art worker as "bourgeois intellectual," "target of the revolution," and member of the "stinking ninth category." They made use of and distorted such slogans as "plunge into the thick of life" and "remold your ideology" to destroy and oppress the literary and art workers. We must continue to expose and criticize their crimes in this respect. We must also correct our inadequate ways, influenced by past leftist ideologies, of demanding and arranging that the literary and art workers plunge into the thick of life and remold their ideology. However, under no circumstances should we waver or doubt as to the correctness of the appeal and demand of "going into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers" and of "learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers," or even negate these demands. It is a pity that not all literary and art workers take this view.

Some young people say that there still was a certain rationale in the past for advocating "plunging into the thick of life," but that things are different today. The Central Committee of the party has already clearly stated that intellectuals are mental workers, belong to the working people and are also a part of the working class. There are some intellectuals who perform not only mental work but also physical work. They all have a "fiery hot life, bubbling over with stirring struggle," why must we then only emphasize "going deep into the life of workers, peasants and soldiers"? The composition of today's workers, peasants and soldiers has also changed very much, many new elements have entered their ranks, and these new elements are not at all wiser in "class consciousness" and "militancy" compared with the old, middle-aged and young intellectuals. Why then should the literary and art workers go into their ranks, learn from them to remold and necessarily portray them? True, the intellectuals of new China are mental workers, belong to the working people and are a part of the working class. Writers are the "engineers of the human soil," but there is still a difference between mental and physical workers, and the mental workers must learn from the physical workers. In his "Political Report to the National Congress of Writers and Artists," Zhou Enlai told us: "Literary and art workers are mental workers and, in a broad sense, members of the working class. Mental workers must learn from the physical workers. A common characteristic of mental work is individual work (of course, the work of singing groups, theatrical companies, film companies is in many respects collective activity). This easily creates a kind of noncollectivist inclination. In this respect the literary and art workers must make a special effort to learn the collectivist spirit from the working class." Comrade Hu Yaobang also told us: "Don't think that the physical workers have nothing that we can learn from them. On the contrary, in many questions the physical workers are wiser than we are. They deserve to be praised and to be portrayed."

We admit, there is today a great change in the composition of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. There has been an inflow of new elements; that is a fact. These people may still carry with them a lot of nonproletarian things. These things are their burden and load that hinder their advance. We must show solicitude for them, guide and help them in their studies and in their ideological remolding, so as to have them gradually acquire the fine qualities of the working class and rid themselves of the unhealthy, particularly of all backward things that are still clinging to them. Everything is developing, and there are continuously new elements flowing into the working class and into the masses of the peasantry; that is necessary. This condition exists not only today, nor is it only a thing of the past, it will possibly also be that way in the future. However, this is no reason to change the position and role of the working class and the masses of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution and socialist construction. In his "Speech at the Symposium on Writing Stageplays," Comrade Hu Yaobang emphatically stated: "Our comrades at the theoretical front, propaganda front and literary front must never forget the people who do physical work. There are two reasons for that: the first is that they make up the overwhelming majority of our population, and the second is that in the past they were the principal force of the revolution and at present the principal force for the four modernizations."

We admit, writers are "engineers of the human soul." They can be, and also must be, the spokemen and teachers of the masses. Their fine revolutionary writings can play the role of "uniting the people and teaching the people." However, if a literary or art worker does not show ardent love for the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, does not go deeply into them and make himself familiar with them, how can he be their spokesman?

If a person does not learn from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, be first of all their good student, how can he very well be their teacher?

If a person does not show ardent love for the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, does not go deeply into them and make himself familiar with them, how can he have a correct knowledge of our new era and depict it, and how can he "link up with the era of the new masses"?

We believe the themes for creative writing are incomparably wide, and that every kind of people among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and among the intellectuals must be depicted, the progressive, the intermediary and the backward ones. Writers have full freedom what to write and how to write. However, reflecting the struggle and life of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers must be the primary theme. This is determined by the socialist character of our country and the socialist character of our literature and art. How can anyone reflect the struggle and life of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers without ardent love for them, going deeply into them and without familiarity with them?

To elucidate the problem, let us study together a passage from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "congratulatory address" at the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists: "To be able to teach the people, one must have first of all received education. To be able to give the people nourishment, one must have first of all oneself received nourishment. Who is to educate the literary and art workers and who is to nourish them? The answer of Marxism can only be: the people. The people are like a mother to the literary and art workers. The artistic life for all progressive literary and art workers depends on their flesh-and-blood ties with the people. Forgetting, neglecting or cutting these ties will dry up the artistic life. The people need art, but art needs the people even more. Consciously drawing material from within the life of the people, deriving main theme, plot, language, poetic sentiment and pictorial ideas from the people, drawing nourishment from the rousing spirit of the people as creators of history, that is the fundamental way on which the cause of our socialist literature and art will flourish and thrive." The people that are referred to in the above passage are in my opinion mainly still the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Let us firmly and unswervingly advance together along this road!

3. Leading comrades of the Central Committee have recently pointed out that if one is to promote studies, one must earnestly study the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong. We must primarily study philosophy, study the philosophical writings of Comrade Mao Zedong, integrated with this should be the study of a certain amount of history. This conforms with the needs of the development of the modernization projects and with the wishes and demands of the masses; it is equally of important significance in guiding the literary and art workers.

Dialetical materialism and historical materialism are the foundation of all Marxism, are the powerful ideological weapons used by the proletariat and the working class to gain liberation and build socialism, and are the ideological foundation for the revolutionary line, principles and policies set forth by our party. Only by studying and applying these principles can one correctly sum up the historical experiences, correctly assess historical events and historical personalities and effectively correct leftist and rightist mistakes.

Only by studying and applying these principles, can one correctly understand, implement and carry out the party's line, principles and policies established since the Third Plenary Session, and can one also, based on the developmental changes in the life of the society, analyze the new situation, study the new problems and smoothly proceed with the four modernization projects.

The literary and art workers must exert themselves to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, raise their own cognitive life and analyze the capacity of life, only then will they be able to see through the phenomena of the diverse and complex life of the society and grasp its essence, main aspects and the direction of its development, and only then will they possibly be able to reflect correctly the actual life of society and avoid losing their direction.

The great revolutionary writer, Comrad Mao Dun, who recently passed away, said: "Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the world outlook of the proletariat. No work can be done without it, and departing from it will result in mistakes, and for the workers in literature and art this world outlook plays a decisive role."

There are of course many reasons for this or that fault or mistake that we committed in our creations, theories and work in literature and art, but the most fundamental reason is that we did not earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and that we did not use the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in "surveying the world, surveying society and surveying literature and art," idealism and metaphysics are still causing trouble.

Comrade Mao Zedong very early already pointed out: "Anyone who considers himself a Marxist revolutionary writer, especially writers who are party members, must have Marxist-Leninist knowledge, but there are today some comrades who lack the fundamental standpoints of Marxism." Does this condition not still exist among the ranks of our literary and art workers today? There are, for instance, such things as "putting forward" the idea of a so-called "bureaucrat class," the "repudiation" of the revolutionary slogan of "fear neither hardship nor death," the wild talk of "breaking" the four basic principles, the "view" that, as they say, "politicians have no conscience," disregard for the social effects of works of literature and art, neglecting the needs of the broad masses, separating the subjective and the objective and "advocating" a literature and art of "self-expression" which treats "self" and the broad masses as opposites, allowing formalism and estheticism, divorced from the masses and from the realities, to "raise their heads," the lopsided opinion that only works which "expose the dark sides" are true and realistic "viewpoints," emphasizing and acknowledging only man's natural attributes and disregarding or denying his social nature, "probing" into class character, etc, etc. Isn't all this a sign of a "lack of the fundamental standpoints of Marxism"?

There is now in some people's minds the idea as if Mao Zedong Thought is no more effective and that it seems unnecessary to study it. This is absolutely wrong. One must know that Mao Zedong Thought is the product of an integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is a concentrated combination of the wisdom of Comrade Mao Zedong himself and of his comrades-in-arms, of the wisdom of the whole party, the proletariat and the working people. It is the crystallization of the Chinese revolutionary experiences and a valuable spiritual asset of our party and our people. In the past, it guided the Chinese revolution in gaining its great victories, and at present it is still our guiding ideology in carrying out our socialist modernizations. We must raise high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and earnestly study Mao Zedong Thought, particularly Chairman Mao's writings on philosophy. We must not only study "On Practice" and "On Contradictions," but also "Strategic Problems of the Chinese Revolutionary War," "Strategic Problems of the Anti-Japanese Guerilla War," "On Extended Warfare," and "Problems of War and Strategy." Workers in literature and art should particularly study earnestly such brilliant works as "On New People's Democracy," "Speeches at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" and "On Coalition Government." The study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must not remain merely an oral or debating exercise, but must be definitely studied most thoroughly and earnestly. One must definitely adhere to linking theory with the reality, overcome doctrinairism, guard against and abandon the pragmatist and formalist study methods advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," only this will ensure genuine and fairly effective results.

4. Launching a sound literary and art criticism is an important link in promoting the flourishing and sound development of socialist literature and art and a necessary guarantee for a correct implementation of a correct direction and policy in our socialist literature and art. It is also an important method of party leadership in literature and art. The purpose of literary and art criticism should be: summing up experiences, affirming achievements, overcoming faults, correcting mistakes, helping writers and readers to improve literary and artistic creations, and raise the level of literary and art appreciation and theory, thus promoting a flourishing development of literature and art. To achieve this aim, literary and art criticism must be guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and firmly and unswervingly follow a direction of serving the people and serving socialism and the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." It must commend good works, foster the newly created works and criticize the mistaken and harmful ones, and thus raise the knowledge of the functions of literary and art criticism, which should be conducted in a correct attitude and with careful methods, giving consideration to its effects. In criticizing any work, one should start out from the true facts of the specific work and proceed according to the rules governing the characteristics and development of literary and art works.

A scientific analysis must seek the truth from facts. The facts must be fully presented and things reasoned out, helping those that are being criticized and convincing them by reasoning. We must resolutely guard against and abandon the evil methods which were habitually used when the "gang of four" were on the rampage; giving farfetched interpretations, making limitless exaggerations, willfully applying the big stick methods, indiscriminate accusations and trumped up charges, threats of death and destruction and other such oversimplified crude ways. As to contradictions among the people, especially concerning ideology and artistic perception, we must adopt methods of strengthening leadership and guidance, methods of education and discussion, and strive to have the writer carry out self-criticism. If the criticized person does not agree with the criticism, he may make an explanatory statement or write a rebuttal. There is a relationship of equality as between comrades between those criticizing and those being criticized. There must be no bluffing and blustering, using power to intimidate people or using the party organization to force certain views on people. Criticism of the work must be separated from criticism of the person of the writer or artist and both must not be mixed up. We have had many painful lessons in this respect. After the smashing of the "gang of four," are there not still people who exaggerate in their criticism and make unrestrained accusations, frightening people with "digging up embarrassing facts from the past," "making a general settlement of all accounts," or "tossing around material"?

Toward the masses of writers and artists we must adopt an attitude of loving care, support and encouragement. Toward the young writers, amateur writers and their works, we must impart even greater encouragement and support. On the one hand our demands on them must be strict, but on the other hand we must help them with warm sympathy. Under no circumstances must we show an attitude of nitpicking in every conceivable way, apply "big stick" tactics, dampen their enthusiasm, be patronizing or go to extremes in our expression of disapproval. On the other hand we must also not blindly and without good reason lavish praise on them and go to extremes in our praises. We must also change the attitude of some writers who are afraid of criticism or reject criticism. To sum up, we must raise the level of literary and art criticism, improve our methods of literary and art criticism, regularize and normalize it, carry out sound literary and art criticism and have all questions on our advancing literary and art front gradually find their reasonable solutions for the benefit of an increasingly flourishing and healthy development of our socialist literature and art.

5. Experiences of several decades have proved that revolutionary literature and art is part of the entire cause of the proletarian revolution. The party must lead literature and art, the party can lead literature and art. Without party leadership, literature and art is out of the question. This was the case in the past and will equally be so in future.

To strengthen the party's leadership in literature and art, the leadership of the party must be improved. Improvement is the heart of the matter. Improvement of the leadership of the party must be undertaken precisely to strengthen the party's leadership and not at all to break away from party leadership. Every tendency to weaken, break away from, abolish or fight the leadership of the party is mistaken.

Representing the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping demanded: "Party committees at all levels must do an effective job at leading literary and art work." Following the Third Plenary Session, especially since the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, the party has very much strengthened and improved its leadership in literary and art work with important successes. However, further progress must be made in overcoming the phenomenon of oversimplified coarseness, willful interference and tendencies toward a disrgard for one's responsibilities, allowing things to slide.

How shall we set about improving and strengthening the party's leadership in literary and art work? Concluding from the successful experiences in many localities, the main points are: (1) We must carry out the literature and art line, principles and policies of the party, completely, correctly, firmly and unswervingly. (2) Based on the characteristics and developmental laws of literature and art, we must help the writers and artists gain suitable conditions (including material as well as spiritual) for creative activities in literature and art, study and work. (3) We must correctly approach literary and art work and writers and artists, affor a suitable position to literary and art work, regularly study, sum up and improve. We must on the one hand realize the good points and achievements of the writers and artists and on the other hand realize their faults and shortcomings. We must be prompt in praise and encouragement, but also at the same time give them appropirate help and instruction when necessary and ensure that our policies are applied to them. If the leading comrades in literary and art work do not earnestly study and carry out the party's line, principles and policies on literature and art, if they do not eliminate all leftist ideological influences, if they do not understand the basic characteristics and developmental laws of literature and art, if they do not exchange opinions and discuss problems with the writers and artists in an attitude of equality as comrades, if they merely rely on their "official positions" to issue orders and rely on the power in their hands to simply "run" literature and art work, it will certainly not be an easy thing to "run." If things are "run" this way, it will only result in arbitrary orders, willful interference and bad consequences for our party's literature and art cause.

The writers and artists too shoulder a very great responsibility in the matter of strengthening and improving the party's leadership in literature and art. What attitude should writers and artists adopt? Concluding from the experiences of a large number of comrades, the main points in this respect are: (1) Consciously accept the leadership of the party. Earnestly study and actively implement the party's line, principles and policies on literature and art, respond enthusiastically to the relevant appeals of the party, consciously maintain unity with the CCP Central Committee in matters of politics. (2) On your own initiative strive for leadership of the party. Give comprehensive and correct expression of conditions, in important questions promptly request instructions and submit reports. At times, necessary and appropriate propaganda and explanatory work to the party organization could help the leading comrades to understand the conditions; this could benefit carrying out party leadership. (3) Actively assist the leadership of the party. In order to assist the party in carrying out a correct leadership, we must proceed from the interests of the party in the literature and art cause, dare to reflect the conditions, explain the problems and suggest measures to solve the problems for consideration of the leadership. At the same time, faced with incorrect opinions, we must also dare to seek the truth from facts, adhere to our principles and firmly uphold the truth. To do all this, we have first of all the task of continuously studying, reforming and improving. We must furthermore feel a strong sense of responsibility for the development of the literature and art cause of the party. Otherwise, it will be very harmful for the development of the literature and art cause of the party.

We firmly believe that under the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee, with our literature and art orientation of serving the people and serving socialism, guided by the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," working on the rich soil of an abundant and colorful life of our great socialist fatherland and on the foundation of the tremendous successes already achieved, also relying on the vigorous efforts of the broad masses of writers and artists and on the powerful support of the masses, the socialist literature and art undertaking of our party will flourish and prosper more and more, thrive and grow, and that it will play an even greater role in the course of building a socialist highly developed material civilization and highly developed spiritual culture.

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BRIEFS

HENAN ILLITERACY ELIMINATION FORUM--To mark International Illiteracy Elimination Day on 8 September, the Henan provincial education department held a forum in Zhengzhou Municipality. The forum was attended by representatives of advanced illiteracy elimination units and teachers who have made outstanding contributions toward illiteracy elimination work. Before 1966, the province educated some 7 million illiterates. Over the past 2 years, the province has educated 800,000 illiterates. Some 170,000 people who are no longer illiterates after education have now entered spare-time primary and middle schools and some 50,000 people have entered technical schools. [HK051239 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 81]

XIZANG SOCIAL ORDER RALLY--On 31 August, Xizang Region and Lhasa Municipality jointly held a rally in the Laboring People's Culture Palace. The rally was attended by some 1,000 cadres, staff and workers. The rally mobilized people in the region to further tidy up social order, to stamp out all kinds of criminal activities and particularly to strike blows at all kinds of criminal activities in the economic sphere. (Zhang Xiangming), regional party committee secretary; (Guo Renting), Lhasa Municipal Revolutionary Committee vice chairman; and Jiangcun Luobu, chief procurator of the regional People's Procuratorate, spoke at the rally. [HK051320 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/66

'WEN WEI PO': BAI HUA'S REACTION TO 'WENYI BAO' CRITICISM

HK091500 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 9 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Dispatch from Wuhan by special correspondent Chen Langwu [7115 2597 2976]: "Bai Hua's Reaction to Criticism Article in WENYI BAO"]

[Text] On 7 October, RENMIN RIBAO reprinted an article by WENYI BAO entitled "On the Erroneous Tendency of 'Unrequited Love'," and on the same afternoon I paid a visit to Bai Hua at his home.

On entering the door, I found him dressing a duck in preparation for a dish, an apron round his waist. When he saw me, he immediately rubbed his hands clean and enthusiastically ushered me into his study. His study was simply but tastefully furnished, and on the desk was that day's RENMIN RIBAO.

"Have you read today's article criticizing 'Unrequited Love'?" I asked. "Yes," he said.

When I asked for his reaction to the article, he said: "I have read the article once, and I feel that the article adopts a comradely attitude by reasoning things out, and this is quite convincing. Different from the past articles using a big stick, this one is well written. Especially in the fourth part of the article, it was pointed out that 'from the creative life of Comrade Bai Hua, one of the authors, and the lessons from "Unrequited Love," one cannot but think that there exist profound contradictions in the world outlook of authors.' I have written good works, but also written bad ones, and this indeed reflects the contradiction of world outlook. I shall reread the article and think it over again."

I learned in Wuhan that Bai Hua, who is a CCP member, has recently made a self-criticism at a party meeting of the political and cultural departments under the Wuhan Military Command. The topic of our conversation turned to criticism and self-criticism.

Bai Hua said: "Some people asked me: 'After studying the document of the forum on problems arising from the nation's ideological front, do you feel nervous?' I replied that I did not feel nervous but warmth. The criticism has been made by the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee with a kind heart in the hope that I would stand on the side of the party and not get rid of or depart from the leadership of the party."

I chatted with Bai Hua for about an hour. He is quite a good talker, and seemed to have a frank and open personality as he talked without any restraint. Knowing that he still had to prepare a delicious supper, I felt embarrassed to have taken up too much of his time and took my leave. He still had to cook the duck, otherwise, I would have talked with him for a long time.

CSO: 4005/68

'TA KUNG PAO': DENG YINGCHAO TALKS ON UNIFICATION

HK121055 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 11 Oct 81 p 1

[Dispatch from Beijing: "Our Country Should Be Unified and the Whole Family Should Live in Harmony--Deng Yingchao Talks With Guests at a Tea Party"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 Oct--Sister Deng Is Welcomed by the Guests

A tea party to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution was held this morning (10 October) at the banquet hall of the Great Hall of the People.

The moment Deng Yingchao entered the banquet hall, a group of guests went up to greet her. Many women guests from abroad requested to have group photos taken to mark the occasion. They cordially talked about friendship handed down from generations before and their desire for the motherland's peaceful unification. Of course, those sharing the same table with Deng Yingchao would be seen in most of the group photos. Among them were Liao Chengzhi, Sun Mofo, Seimin Miyazaki and his wife, Li Moan and his wife, Huang Zhicheng and so on. This was indeed a combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young and a combination of Chinese and foreigners.

A Group Photo of Tanzhen's Wife and Five Daughters With Deng Yingchao

Tanzhen's wife Quan Ruzhen who came from the United States and her five daughters in China: Tan Yu, Tan Ming, Tan Quan, Tan Rui and Tan Kun had a group photo taken with Deng Yingchao. Deng Yingchao said to them that our country should be unified and the whole family should live in harmony and hoped that [words indistinct] our father was alive, he always held that the KMT should cooperate with the CCP. We should carry out our father's behests and make our contributions in the great cause of our motherland's peaceful unification."

Li Zhongxiu, the son of Li Yuanhong, said: "I am now 70 years old and happened to be born in 1911. I find it very touching and glorious to be able to participate in activities celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution." He said that the 9-point proposal made by NPC Chairman Ye and CCP Chairman Hu's speech made the day before were very good, very sincere and very touching, and for the sake of the happiness of the future generations and of the bright future of the motherland, Taiwan of course should make an enthusiastic response.

Nephew of Wang Zhengting Talks About His Feelings in Coming to Beijing

Wang Gongbin, nephew of Wang Zhengting, said that his grandfather, a doctor, was a good friend of Dr Sun Yat-sen. When his parents got married, Madame Sun gave some clothes to his mother. He also said that after he came to Beijing from the United States, he read the proposal of NPC Chairman Ye and listened to the speech of CCP Chairman Hu. Both of them were good and showed that the CCP was sincere. He hoped that the other side would put the nation's interests before other things and begin the peace talks at an early date in order to realize cooperation between the two parties.

Luo Zhunian, the son of Luo Yiqun, said that it was a great thing that CCP Chairman Hu invited personages of the Taiwan authorities and people in various circles to visit the mainland. We Overseas Chinese residing abroad wholeheartedly hoped to see the peaceful unification of our motherland and hoped that the two parties would hold talks at an earlier date in order to cooperate with each other.

CSO: 4005/68

HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON HU YAOBANG REUNIFICATION APPEAL

HK110640 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 11 Oct 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Peaceful Reunification and Vigorous Development of the Chinese Nation--Thoughts After Listening to Hu Yaobang's Speech"]

[Text] At a mass rally held in Beijing to solemnly commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, Hu Yaobang once again issued the call for "returning Taiwan to the motherland and accomplishing the great task of reunification." This call has evoked strong repercussions in the mainland, Taiwan and foreign countries.

In the past, Dr Sun Yat-sen issued a call for "peace, struggle and saving China." Today, Hu Yaobang has also issued his call for "peace, struggle and vigorously developing China." "Vigorously developing China" means carrying on and developing Dr Sun Yat-sen's behest and accomplishing China's present greatest historical mission.

Struggle over the past few decades drove away all imperialist forces from China. Since then China has stood proud and firm, and won its independence and liberation. The Chinese mainland has established its comparatively complete economic system in the construction over the past 30 years. This has created the conditions for further improving the livelihood of the entire Chinese people. The present task confronting the Chinese people is to reunify the great motherland and win a glorious future.

Reunification and construction are our two unified tasks which cannot be separated from each other. Without reunification, the strength of the Chinese people will be broken up and weakened in the struggle to resist the enemy. Once China is reunified, the mainland and Taiwan can learn from each other to offset their weaknesses and cooperate so that the construction on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits will be accelerated.

We are all the descendants of the yellow emperor. Why should we use weapons to kill each other and exert our efforts toward military confrontation and civil war?

We belong to the same country. Why should we refuse economic and cultural exchanges? Due to our previous erroneous practice, foreign countries controlled our capital, technology and market. As a result, our construction was delayed and harmed.

The split over the past few decades has made our motherland suffer. It is time for us to sit together and conscientiously discuss the matter of peaceful reunification and vigorously developing the Chinese nation!

We should not use historical hatred and hostility as a pretext to hamper the peaceful reunification of the motherland. A statesman who values the interests of the motherland and national righteousness above everything else should have a broad vision and seek bright prospects. He should keep abreast with the trends of historical development, accomplish the desires of the broad masses of people and follow the trends of the times. It takes a long time to eliminate hatred and hostility and to bind the wound. However, we can do so only through mutual intercourse. Now, Hu Yaobang has invited leaders and senior statesmen of the Kuomintang such as Chiang Ching-kuo and others to visit the mainland to have heart-to-heart talks or make an inspection. If Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and others accept the invitation, they will help eliminate hatred, differences of opinion and misunderstanding. In so doing, they will make important contributions to the reunification of the motherland. In the past, Mao Zedong, chairman of the Communist Party, personally went to Chongqing for the sake of peace. Now why should not Chiang Ching-kuo, chairman of the Kuomintang, visit Beijing and have a look? If both sides do not put forth any preconditions, everything can be settled easily. If leaders of the two parties cannot have contact at once, they should let people on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits establish their relations and contact each other. Any leader who claims that he is leading a prosperous society and is firmly supported by the people should have self-confidence. He should not be afraid of contacting the other side. Only by contacting each other, can we deepen mutual understanding, produce great impact, create a favorable atmosphere for peaceful reunification and open up a path. We believe that the Taiwan authorities understand this. We hope that they will not refuse this peaceful proposal.

CSO: 4005/68

SPEECHES AT BEIJING RALLY MARKING 1911 REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Miao Yuntai Speech

OW121303 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0926 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Speech by Miao Yuntai at Beijing rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution--live]

[Excerpts] Compatriots: At this grand commemoration rally today, I am as excited and happy as you are. I have high hopes for China's future. Here I would like to talk about my observations and thoughts:

1. I would like to talk about my own understanding of the 1911 revolution. The 1911 revolution is the first and greatest revolution in China's history.

2. I would like to talk about my impression of the 1911 revolution. My impression is that a revolution always takes place when the people can no longer endure difficulties, suffering and oppression. If the people's livelihood is improved after the revolution, the people will support it. If the people's livelihood is not improved after the revolution, the people will rise to wage a second revolution.

I have returned to China to settle down because I think socialism is the most advanced and most modern social system in the present era. In the early years of the Republic of China I cherished the ideas of capitalism and democracy.

That was in the past. Now I have lived long enough to enjoy a new socialist life in the socialist motherland. I am all the more happy and elated.

3. I would like to talk about my hopes. The road of China's democratic revolution is long. As I have just said, the first, second and third revolutions took a very long time. The Kuomintang led by Dr Sun Yat-sen made important contributions to the old democratic revolution, but it is the Communist Party led by Mr Mao Zedong that accomplished the new democratic revolution and moved on to accomplish the socialist revolution. It came down in one continuous line from the 1911 revolution to the founding of new China. The CCP has inherited and carried forward the tradition of the 1911 revolution. Both the CCP and the Kuomintang have separately made very great contributions to the Chinese revolution and accomplished the revolutionary cause left unfinished by Dr Sun Yat-sen. I am a man without party affiliation. I represent the wish of the overwhelming

majority of the people without party affiliations, who hope that the Kuomintang and the CCP will once again join hands and cooperate with each other to reunify the motherland, make China prosperous and strong and promote world peace. Dr Sun Yat-sen hoped and fought all his life for our national independence and unification. Today, in commemorating the 1911 revolution we should better preserve and carry forward this tradition. [applause]

I sincerely support the nine principles and policies specifically elaborated by Chairman Ye Jianying concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of China's peaceful reunification. I sincerely hope that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will put national interests above everything else, carry on Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit and, for the motherland's reunification and for the well-being of future generations of the Chinese nation, respond to Chairman Ye's call, begin talks with the CCP as soon as possible and discuss national policies together. I most sincerely hope that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will not disappoint us. [applause]

Qu Wu Speech

OW112357 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1539 GMT 9 Oct 81

["Full text" of Qu Wu's speech at 9 October Beijing rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Chairman, gentlemen, comrades: We are gathered here today to solemnly commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. First, let us salute Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner who led the 1911 revolution, and those comrades who laid down their lives in the heroic struggle for the victory of the revolution.

Comrade Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, has just delivered an important speech. On behalf of the China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, I fully endorse and resolutely support his speech. The revolution of 1911, which occurred 70 years ago, was of great historical significance in the period of democratic revolution in China.

While commemorating the 70th anniversary of the revolution of 1911, we express our regret that Taiwan has yet to return to the motherland, the reunification of the country has yet to be achieved and our kith and kin on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are still artificially separated. All this is against our national interests. On the eve of the 32d anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Chairman Ye Jianying, a man of high character and great prestige, issued a statement proposing that talks be held between the CCP and the KMT of China on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties could cooperate for the third time to accomplish the great cause of national reunification. In his statement, he elaborated on a nine-point policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification.

Kuomintang-Communist cooperation was first proposed and initiated by Dr Sun Yat-sen. We are all descendants of the yellow emperor, and we are all kinsmen. What disputes and differences are there between us that cannot be settled through negotiation? The point now is to open the door of negotiation and for the two sides to send people to meet for an exchange of views to remove obstacles and lay the foundation for the third instance of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. Since the Taiwan authorities call themselves loyal disciples of Dr Sun Yat-sen, they should follow his revolutionary behests and put national interests above everything else, forget previous ill will, act in all sincerity and work together with us for the sake of the country's reunification and the unity of the whole nation.

Carrying on Dr Sun Yat-sen's progressive revolutionary spirit, our China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang came into being and has grown in size in the long years of struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. Many among the military and administrative personnel in Taiwan are our schoolmates, old friends, colleagues and fellow officers. To realize our ideal of saving the country and people, we placed our faith in Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ideas and together followed him in working for the cause of revolution. Today, however, we can definitely join hands and strive to accomplish the great cause of national reunification and rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

"As success for the revolution has not yet been achieved, comrades must continue to work hard." This is a famous sentence in Dr Sun Yat-sen's testament. Although today's conditions and the Chinese people's revolutionary tasks are entirely different from the past, to review this sentence is still very important. Today, the country has not achieved complete unification; the building of a country, strong, modern, highly democratic and highly cultured, has not yet been completed; the great task of rejuvenating the Chinese nation has yet to be accomplished. Our Chinese nation is a great nation. The Chinese people are patriotic. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the CCP and through the concerted efforts of the whole Chinese nation, the great task of rejuvenating the Chinese nation, which began with the 1911 revolution, will certainly be accomplished and China will make greater contributions to mankind.

Eternal glory to the martyrs of the 1911 revolution!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese nation!

Li Moan Speech

OW120535 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1640 GMT 9 Oct 81

["Text" of speech by Li Moan at the Beijing rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Chairman, gentlemen, friends:

I am honored to be invited by the preparatory committee for the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution to return to the motherland, after having been away for more than 30 years, to participate in the commemorative activities. I am especially elated to see with my own eyes the tremendous achievements the motherland has made in the past 30-odd years. Here I would like first to give my heartfelt thanks and respects to the central people's government and the Chinese Communist Party.

Although I have been abroad for many years, the matter of the motherland's reunification has always been in my thoughts. Whenever I heard people abroad refer to "Chinese in Taiwan" and "Chinese on the mainland," I was always immeasurably shocked and deeply ashamed. This time, when I first arrived in Beijing, I heard Chairman Ye Jianying's talk elaborating on policy toward Taiwan, and I felt very excited. I think the talk has given consideration to not only the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, but the interests of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world and also the interests of the Taiwan authorities. It expresses the common wish of compatriots at home and abroad for the reunification of the motherland at an early date. Realistic, fair and reasonable, it is a policy in line with the national interests. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will also proceed from the national interests, think about the future generations and decide to attend peace talks as soon as possible, to help the flesh-and-blood compatriots on both sides of the straits reunite, jointly accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland and make contributions to building China into a prosperous and powerful country. I think this is a golden opportunity for Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to make contributions to the country and nation and write a glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation in his remaining years. I hope that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will do the right thing.

I also hope that my old schoolmates [meaning schoolmates at the Huangpu Military Academy] and old friends will push for the motherland's reunification from all sides so as to live up to Dr Sun Yat-sen's teaching "strive to save China in peace," and make contributions to the third cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP. Let us join our hands and strive to build a prosperous, powerful, socialist new China! This is the best way for us to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution.

Hu Juewen Speech

OW120203 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1607 GMT 9 Oct 81

["Text" of speech by Hu Juewen at the Beijing rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--The 1911 revolution was a great revolution in the history of our country.

In commemorating the 1911 revolution, we should cherish the memory of all the revolutionary martyrs, especially Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner.

The late Chairman Mao Zedong pointed out in 1956: "Save for a handful of reactionaries, the people of contemporary China are all successors to the revolutionary cause to which Dr Sun Yat-sen dedicated himself." The founding and progress of the People's Republic of China are precisely the continuation and development of the revolutionary cause to which Dr Sun Yat-sen dedicated himself. In the past 32 years, we have never forgotten Dr Sun Yat-sen's behest to seek China's unification and construction. We have a clear conscience. We also vow to closely unite with all people with lofty ideals, who are willing to carry on Dr Sun Yat-sen's behest, and work together with them to accomplish China's four modernizations.

Concentratedly reflecting the Chinese people's pressing demand and political stand to realize the motherland's reunification, Chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC Standing Committee, on the eve of National Day this year, elaborated on the principles and policies concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification.

I was born in 1895, the year the Qing government ceded Taiwan. I am now 86 years old. Like many patriots from the old society, I feel deeply that "time is running out for me to work for the country, which makes me all the more anxious to do something for her." In my lifetime, I not only hope to see our country become prosperous and strong but especially to see Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of the great cause of the motherland's reunification. I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words to compatriots in Taiwan and all Chinese and foreign personages concerned about the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

"Is it a united front scheme?" I and many others in industrial and commercial circles and democratic parties joined the united front after the founding of the People's Republic of China. I have several decades of personal experience. True, our united front is initiated and led by the Chinese Communist Party. The united front policy, however, is not the policy of the Communist Party alone, but the common policy of all democratic parties and personages of all circles as well as the people of all nationalities throughout the country. The crux of the united front policy is to unite all people who can be united, bring into play all positive factors and turn negative factors into positive ones to serve the country's reunification and construction. What is wrong with this policy? What scheme is there to talk about? Under the guidance of the united front policy, the industrialists and businessmen on the mainland not only have played an active role in building the country, which was unthinkable in old China, but have taken up leading posts in political organs at all levels and participated in running the country. We feel deeply that the united front is indeed a magic weapon for our country's revolution and construction. I am an historical witness to the policy and practice of the united front. I feel it is my duty to sincerely advise compatriots in Taiwan and people abroad who are influenced by the allegations about the "united front scheme." When you study the series of principles and policies explained by Chairman Ye Jianying, you must do your best to eliminate the influence of such slander, establish a correct idea about the policy of the Chinese people's united front and see Chairman Ye's talk as a policy of the Chinese nation, a policy of the people of all nationalities in the whole country to win glory for our ancestors and bring benefit to posterity. Nothing can be accomplished without the people's trust. To establish mutual trust, this problem of misunderstanding should first be settled.

"Is the situation on the mainland good, or bad after all?" Not long ago, the Chinese Communist Party published the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," which has fully and scientifically answered this question. Before the adoption of the resolution, opinions were solicited from nonparty people, including me. Therefore, the resolution not only reflects a summation of the history of the Communist Party, but also expresses the common view of us nonparty people on the history, present situation and direction of advance of new China. I think that fundamentally speaking, to comment on whether the national situation is good or bad, we must first make a comparison and next we must see how it is developing. We insist on looking at it this way: As long as the present represents progress from the past, even though the progress is not great, and is developing in a direction for the better, the situation is good. Conversely, even though the present situation is attractive, if it is beginning to go downhill and there is no hope for the trend making a turn for the better, or if the future is uncertain, the situation is then bad, not good. I went some places recently and grasped some firsthand information on urban and rural conditions. Even though I saw and heard that there still were mistakes in work, I still have reasons and grounds to say with certainty that the situation on the mainland is good as a whole. The growth of industrial and agricultural production, the development of culture, education and science, the improvement of the people's livelihood and other brilliant achievements in the past 32 years are there for all to see. So long as the whole nation continues to work hard along the road of construction suited to our national conditions, uphold truth and correct mistakes, the situation will become better and better step by step.

"Haven't you made many mistakes in the past?" In the past 32 years, indeed we have made many mistakes, some very serious. All this has been truthfully written in the above-mentioned "resolution." I lived for more than 50 years in old China and experienced different periods of rule. What made me very indignant was the fact that the rulers of that time not only committed the grave crime of surrendering the country's sovereign rights under humiliating terms and almost forfeiting the entire nation's future, but especially confused right and wrong, covered up their errors and used all kinds of despicable means to smother the will of the people. Although the Chinese Communist Party and our people's government have made mistakes, as far as the nature of the mistakes is concerned, they cannot be put on a par with those made by the rulers of old China. What is particularly gratifying and inspiring to us is: The Chinese Communist Party and the people's government have summed up past experience and lessons and made clear what is right and what is wrong in guiding ideology. Therefore, they are becoming increasingly capable of seriously dealing with shortcomings and mistakes in work, promoting democracy, conducting self-criticism and correcting shortcomings and mistakes. I myself have often put forward criticisms and suggestions on problems and errors in work which I saw or heard about, and in return I have seen only sincere welcome and earnest efforts to improve. Chairman Hu Yaobang's reply to my report on an inspection tour of Changzhou, published in the newspapers in July this year, is just one example. There never was a government in Chinese history that was so modest and open-minded, did not conceal its own shortcomings and mistakes in work and dared to expose and resolutely correct its mistakes. In view of this, I have often told my friends in the past few years that as far as those who aspire for the motherland's reunification and construction are concerned, we are standing before a golden opportunity that rarely occurs in a thousand years. So, as we southerners say, we must strain every muscle like a suckling baby to share the burdens of state and serve the country.

Let the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including compatriots in Taiwan, unite as one and join hands. We also hope that the Taiwan authorities will put national interests above everything else and join us in dedicating our whole heart and effort to reunifying the motherland and making China prosperous and strong.

CSO: 4005/67

CHINA LAW SOCIETY PROPOSES TIES WITH TAIWAN JURISTS

OW101133 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1420 GMT 8 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The preparatory committee of the Chinese Law Society today called for establishing ties with law circles in Taiwan to pave the way for an academic exchange.

It said that the statement made by the NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying to XINHUA correspondents concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification, reflects the common aspirations of compatriots both on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan. We will work hard for the materialization of Chairman Ye Jianying's nine-point proposals. For this purpose, we offer the following suggestions to the law circles of Taiwan and to Chinese jurists in foreign countries:

1. It is the common desire of those in law circles on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan and of Chinese jurists in foreign countries to express their ardent love for their motherland and to see it reunified by peaceful means. We expect them to join hands and strive for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

2. Personages from Taiwan's law circles and Chinese jurists in foreign countries are welcome to teach on the mainland of the motherland, visit their relatives and friends and to exchange visits in the interest of promoting academic communications.

3. We call on the law circles of Taiwan and Chinese jurists in foreign countries to establish ties with the Chinese Law Society so that we may communicate with each other for the purpose of promoting academic exchange.

CSO: 4005/67

PRC TRADE UNIONS ADDRESS LETTER TO TAIWAN WORKERS

OW141335 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1229 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 12 Oct (XINHUA)--The third session of the Ninth Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions today approved "an open letter to brother and sister workers and trade unions in Taiwan."

The open letter says: The fundamental interest of the Chinese nation lies in the peaceful reunification of the motherland. The reunification of the motherland is everybody's business. We, the masses of workers and staffs, are the creators of the motherland's material and spiritual wealth and are shouldering the unshirkable duty of realizing the reunification of the motherland.

The "open letter" puts forth three proposals to Taiwan workers and trade union organizations:

1. We warmly welcome brother and sister workers of all professions and trades in Taiwan to come to the mainland to visit friends and relatives. The trade union organizations and the masses of workers and staffs in the various localities on the mainland are ready at all times to receive them and provide them with conveniences. In recent years crewmen on both sides of the Taiwan Strait have been keeping friendly contacts in Jilong and other ports abroad; we hope that these friendly contacts will be developed continuously.

2. The people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait have been separated for over 30 years. They earnestly hope to hear from each other and to have a family reunion; they also hope to supply what the other side needs, to develop trade and to engage in exchanges so as to make the economy on both sides of the Taiwan Strait flourish. Our workers and staffs in the posts and telecommunications, communications and transport and commercial fields have already made all the necessary preparations. We hope that our Taiwan counterparts will make joint efforts in promoting the mail, trade, air and shipping services at an early date.

3. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and affiliated trade unions and local trade union councils welcome the Taiwan trade union organizations in consulting on such matters as developing the above-mentioned activities, maintaining contacts and establishing ties to facilitate the reunification of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/67

TAIWAN COMMANDER DISCUSSES STRATEGY AGAINST PRC

OW151415 Taipei CNA in English 1344 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Taipei, 15 Oct (CNA)--The Republic of China Society for Strategic Studies Thursday held a meeting with a group of former U.S. military mission chiefs in Taiwan on the strategic situation in the Taiwan Straits area.

During the discussions, Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, former chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG), praised the armed forces of the Republic of China for their good training and high morale. "This is one of the most important achievements of the Republic of China," he stressed.

Former commanders of the U.S. Taiwan Defense Command and other MAAG chiefs attending the meeting were Vice Adm. William E. Gentner, Vice Adm. John L. Chewn, Vice Adm. Walter H. Baumberger, Vice Adm. Edwin K. Snyder, Rear Adm. James B. Linder, Maj. Gen. Kenneth O. Sandborn, Maj. Gen. Dwight B. Johnson, Maj. Gen. Chester A. Dahlen and Maj. Gen. Slade Nash.

Tao Hsi-sheng, chairman of the society, gave a hearty welcome to the U.S. visitors. Afterwards, Gen. Wego Chiang, commander-in-chief of the Combined Service Forces, delivered a speech stressing the use of "flexible offensive" as the best strategy to attack the Chinese communist regime.

Only after the Republic of China recovers the mainland from the Chinese communists, can the Free World stop the expansionism of the Soviet Union, Gen. Chiang said.

On the other hand, the U.S. military experts urged the Republic of China to publicize positively its economic achievements and reconstruction abroad and let other nations of the world understand fully the cause of this country.

They also asked this nation to insist on its strategy of no talks with the Chinese communists.

CSO: 4000/5

'CHINA POST' EDITORIAL CALLS YE OVERTURE 'A DUD'

OW140520 Taipei CHINA POST in English 6 Oct 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Yeh Chien-ying's Overture, a Dud"]

[Text] Chinese communist observation of its October 1 anniversary took the form of a statement issued by old cadre Yeh Chien-ying on September 30 outlining a 9-point program calling for peaceful unification and talks between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang. If Yeh expected his statement to arouse the people of Taiwan to respond favorably, he was absolutely wrong. For his statement has proved to be a dud, not taken seriously by any people on this anti-communist bastion, for they all know that Yeh's statement represents the oft-employed united front tactics which could not deceive anyone.

The statement was first refuted on the same day by Dr James Soong, director-general of the Government Information Office, who described the statement as "a continuation of their united front propaganda" and containing "nothing new." He said that Yeh's intention is to subjugate the free Chinese in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu under communist rule. Yeh was trying to gain control of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu by deceit and treachery without firing a shot. It is typical Chinese communist ploy which cannot deceive anyone.

Premier Sun Yun-hsuan, replying to an interpellation by legislator Jao Ying-chi, stated on October 2 that the so-called peaceful reunification overture of Yeh Chien-ying is merely one more trick of the treacherous Chinese communist united front ploy. He said that the reunification of China must be conducted under the Constitution of the Republic of China and should be based on the implementation of Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of the people calling for a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Premier Sun also mentioned the communization of Tibet as the best example of the malicious intent of such a ploy. He said that "not only people of free China but also people of the Free World should remember this lesson and see through the communists' united front tricks and not be deceived." He also pointed out that the real conflict between the ROC Government and the communists is the conflict between principles and systems, the conflict between benevolent and tyrannical rules, but not the scramble of interest and advantages. He said that Yeh's overture has not gone to the heart of the problem which is whether China should adopt a free and democratic system or a totalitarian and dictatorial one.

Premier Sun also declared that there is no room for compromise between the benevolent rule of the Republic of China and the tyrannical one of the communists. It is certainly not what the Chinese communists have claimed as the confrontation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party and that real peace will come as soon as two parties share political power. He urged the Chinese communists to give their allegiance to Dr Sun's three principles of the people, return to the national system established by Dr Sun and strive for the happiness and bright future for all the people.

The above statements should be carefully noted by free people everywhere including the Overseas Chinese people around the world. They should not be deceived by the Chinese communist tricks in believing that the Chinese communists are peace-loving and willing to cooperate with the Republic of China. Their overture was issued at the weakest moment of their strength and in the midst of turmoil and crises prevailing on the Chinese mainland. They try to hide the true deteriorating conditions on the Chinese mainland by launching a peace offensive hoping to generate a smoke screen to divert attention from the discontent and resistance of the mainland people.

But the Chinese ploy cannot fool anyone. Not only the people of the Republic of China but also the free people all over the world have seen through their sinister designs and paid no attention to their ridiculous claims. The fact that Yeh's statement evoked no responses even among the leftists and that they did not observe the October 1 anniversary proves the declining of the Chinese communist prestige and influence.

As a marked contrast, the enthusiasm with which people are preparing for the celebration of the double-tenth National Day of the Republic of China shows the tremendous support the government of the Republic of China under the valiant leadership of President Chiang Ching-kuo is receiving. There is no doubt that the remaining days of the Peiping regime are numbered indeed.

CSO: 4000/5

TAIWAN LEGISLATOR URGES EASING MAINLAND VISITOR ENTRY

OW140345 Taipei CHINA POST in English 7 Oct 81 p 12

[Text] Legislator Pu Shao-fu Tuesday suggested the government loosen restrictions on visitors from mainland China by allowing some selected ones to enter this territory, saying this will help this country carry out its movement of reunifying China under the guidance of the three principles of the people.

Interpellating the Executive Yuan, Pu said that since the trial of the gang of four, Red China has been trying to create a vision of peace among nations, giving certain convenience to either foreigners who wish to visit the mainland or mainland Chinese who wish to tour abroad.

Pu pointed out that many distinguished scholars in mainland China who were purged in the Cultural Revolution have been allowed to visit the United States.

According to Pu, scholars including mathematician Hua Lo-keng, sociologist Fei Hsiao-tung and painter Liu Hai-su were turned down by the government here when they asked to visit the island.

He urged the Ministry of the Interior to think better of its restrictions on mainlanders, saying the restrictions might turn away those who wish to affiliate themselves with this country.

The government has achieved what is internationally reputed a "miracle" in Taiwan in the past 30 years and is now advocating the movement of reunifying China under the three principles of the people, Pu said. However, reverse effects may be resulted if the government continues to stick to its restrictions on mainland visitors, he indicated.

CSO: 4000/5

TAIPEI PAPER LAUDS CHIANG STAND ON PRC TALKS

OW141210 Taipei CHINA POST in English 9 Oct 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Exposing Chinese Communist Tricks and Chicanery"]

[Text] President Chiang Ching-kuo's remarks on Chinese communist tricks and political chicanery at Wednesday's Kuomintang Central Standing Committee meeting should expose Chinese communist lies and deceit in proposing peaceful unification talks by Yeh Chien-ying.

Recalling the Chinese communist record of bad faith in "gestures of surrender twice during the last 60 years," President Chiang told the Central Standing Committee members that "these bitter lessons have convinced us that the communists raise the slogan of 'cooperation' as part of their demands to be accepted only when they are weak and need to strengthen themselves by clinging to the Kuomintang. When they have become stronger, they lash out once again. He also recalled that from beginning to end both Dr Sun Yat-sen and the late President Chiang Kai-shek 'found not a single word of the communists that was not a lie and not a single move that was not political chicanery.'"

President Chiang pointed out also that the Chinese communists are now frightened by the proliferating crisis of faith within their party and the military, unnerved by our compatriots repudiation of communism, the communist system and communist rule and by our compatriots yearning for the political and economic progress and prosperity found in our bastion of national recovery. They are also panicking under the shock wave generated by our determination to "unify China under the three principles of the people." They therefore proposed "a third cooperation" between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

But there is vast difference between our benevolent government and the tyrannical rule of communism. No confusion can be allowed between the two political philosophies. Chinese communist peace talk clamours, as pointed out, are designed to weaken our resistance and lead us to death. They create a false impression that we do not want peace. They want to deprive the people on the Chinese mainland of any hope of our national recovery and their eventual liberation.

President Chiang's forthright stand to tell our compatriots on the Chinese mainland of our confidence and determination to deliver them and our solemn mission to carry out the three principles of the people and unify China is most timely and serves to refute Chinese communist insinuations and double-talk.

We hope that the people of the United States would not be deceived by phoney peace gestures of the Chinese communists. They should realize that behind their smiling face, there is a hidden dagger ready to kill us.
CSO: 4000/5

JAPAN DIET LEADER SUPPORTS YE JIANYING STATEMENT

OW092059 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, October 9 (XINHUA)--Haruo Okada, vice-speaker of the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet, told XINHUA today that Chairman Ye Jianying's statement on Taiwan's return to the motherland for a peaceful reunification of China is "an important proposition of historical significance" which "we vigorously support and would like to offer our assistance with its realization."

Okada said, "From a long-term point of view, the Kuomintang authorities founded on a small base of only 10 million odd residents in Taiwan is getting increasingly isolated in the world. Criticism of them by the residents in Taiwan is also growing. They are obviously on the path of decline. On the other hand, the government of the 32-year-old People's Republic of China with the support of 1,000 million people is stable and active in the United Nations and other international organizations. Its actions are closely followed by the whole world." This shows that the proposal places before the people of the world a concrete line for Taiwan's return to the motherland and for the reunification of the Chinese nation. It is "really an important proposition of historical significance." He said that Ye Jianying's statement demonstrated the greatest sincerity of the Communist Party of China in its effort for a peaceful reunification of the country and its firm confidence in the stability and development in the mainland.

Okada said, "The proposition will contribute greatly to the struggle against the Soviet-U.S. rivalry for hegemony and to the promotion of peace in the Asia and Pacific region and the whole world."

Okada said that the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Chinese revolution befalls this year. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had dedicated his whole life to China's national unification and social progress. One of his greatest achievements was the great unity of the Chinese nation through cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

This is a patriotic proposal as it advocates the third cooperation between the two parties. "Like the cooperation on two previous occasions between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang which served as important turning points in the advance of Chinese history, the present proposed cooperation will also constitute a great turning point in the development of China and Asia," he stressed.

Okada said: "The return of Taiwan to the motherland is certainly China's internal affair. However, the realization of national unity and national self-determination is the common objective of the nations and people in Asia and the world. In addition, the struggle against hegemonism and for safeguarding peace in Asia and the world is also the common task of all the countries and people in the world. Therefore, we express our active support for the proposal on the return of Taiwan to the motherland and are willing to offer our assistance for this end."

"For the people in Taiwan," he said, "this proposal is very specific and should not be difficult to implement. Their desire to see Taiwan return to the motherland will grow stronger and stronger. The Overseas Chinese also wish for the reunification of the motherland. From a long-term point of view, this proposal will surely be materialized."

Okada said: "For the Taiwan authorities, it is better to choose cooperation with the Communist Party rather than facing decline and destruction in the future, and proceeding from the overall interests, they should make up their mind to embark on the road of national unity, a road of historical certainty."

CSO: 4000/5

FILIPINO GROUP SUPPORTS PRC REUNIFICATION CALL

OW131230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Manila, October 13 (XINHUA)--The Filipino-Chinese Amity Club recently issued a statement calling on the Taiwan authorities to respond to the statement made by Ye Jianying on the peaceful reunification of China and Hu Yaobang's speech on the same issue.

The statement said Ye's statement is "on a firm footing and moderate, and really contains the will of seeking a complete solution by various ways."

It pointed out that the statement shows the Chinese Government's sincerity for achieving peaceful reunification of the Chinese nation by respecting the existing interests of different parties.

"Peaceful reunification of China is the common will cherished by the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. Both the Chinese Government and the authorities in Taiwan have consistently held that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. Yet the mainland and Taiwan have not been reunified in the past more than 30 years, and this is what we regret for a long time," the statement said.

Referring to Hu Yaobang's speech on the eve of the 1911 revolution anniversary, inviting Chiang Ching-kuo and other KMT officials to visit the mainland, the statement said, "It seems no loss would be brought about to the Taiwan authorities if tourist delegations can be organized to visit the mainland and make on-the-spot surveys of the present situation of the mainland."

"We further hold that trade between Taiwan and the mainland be further developed with both parties supplying the other side what they have and getting what they lack." "We also hope that post and telegraphic communications between Taiwan and the mainland be improved, so that the Chinese living on either side of the Taiwan Straits may communicate with their relatives and friends on the other side," the statement concluded.

CSO: 4000/5

NEW YORK CHINESE SUPPORT PRC ON REUNIFICATION

OW130738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, October 12 (XINHUA)--Many Overseas Chinese in New York supported China's policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland expounded recently by Chairman Ye Jianying of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the local paper CHINA DAILY NEWS reported.

Eng Hack Chen, permanent honorary chairman of the Fu Kien Association of America, said the nine-point policy is the most elaborate and clear-cut formula to date concerning reunification of the motherland. Reunification is a must of history and cannot be hampered by any forces. Anyone, he noted, who goes against this aspiration of the Chinese people will become an unforgivable traitor in history. If Taiwan does not put forth any detailed plan for the reunification and only makes repeated counter propaganda, it can only prove that it is Taipei, not Beijing, that has a sense of guilt concerning reunification. He urged Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo to make an immediate reply.

Chun Yick Lau, manager of Oriental Culture Enterprises Co., said that any excuse advanced by any party or group to impede reunification runs counter to the desire of the Chinese people. Those who disregard the interests of the nation and state will certainly be spurned by the Chinese people. He described Ye Jianying's statement on peaceful reunification as "timely, sincere and reasonable."

To repair the separation of decades, talks must first be held between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, he noted. Now that one side has put forward a proposal, the other can also make a counter proposal, and let the Chinese people form their judgment.

Fai Tang It, president of New York Fay Chaw Merchants' Association, expressed the support of his association for Ye Jianying's statement. The Chinese Government and the Communist Party have displayed extreme forbearance for the reunification of the motherland by making such a great compromise. He hoped Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo would put the national interests above everything.

Kowk P. Chan of Lep Yan Company said that the proposal should be acceptable to Taiwan. But it would be difficult to realize it in the near future if Taiwan is only concerned with one-party interests and has no concern for national interests.

Wun Chi Ming, director of Youth Club of New York Tsung Tsin Association, Man She Yen, first vice-president of Chinatown Planning Council, Simon Ho of the Chinatown Gallery and Art (Supplies), and Peter Yao, manager of Tung Feng Travel and Tours, also praised the Chinese Government's policy and urged the Taiwan authorities to set great stores by the national interests, to go with the trend of history and to make contributions to the cause of reunification.

CSO: 4000/5

BRIEFS

JAPANESE DIET DELEGATION--Taipei, Oct. 10 (CNA)--A large Japanese parliamentary delegation, headed by former Lower House Speaker Hirokichi Nadao, arrived in Taipei Friday to attend double ten. The delegation consists of 48 Diet members from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialist Party, the New Liberal Club, and others. Other members include Teizo Horikoshi and Akira Nishiyama, chairman and president of the Japan Interchange Association, and Prof Seiichi Uno, president of the Japan-ROC Cultural Association. The visitors were greeted at the airport upon their arrival by Gen Ho Ying-chin, strategy adviser to the president. [Text] [OW100335 Taipei CNA in English 0305 GMT 10 Oct 81]

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END

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 229

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28 October 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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MA WENRUI ADDRESSES SESSION OF SHAANXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Wu Jingmin [0702 7234 2404] and Wang Hongge [3769 3163 7041]: "Shaanxi People's Congress Emphasizes Economic, Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Fifth Shaanxi Provincial People's Congress concluded its 10th session on 20 August. During the session, Ma Wenrui, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial People's Congress, pointed out: During the second half of this year, special efforts must be made to promote economic work and work on the ideological front. We must promote material production and insure success in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

When the Standing Committee was in session, its members conscientiously studied speeches delivered by the leading comrades on the Central Committee and related documents, freely exchanged their experiences in studying the "Resolution," and discussed our province's economic work in detail. Also discussed were the "Report on the Results of the Readjustment of the National Economy in Shaanxi Province. Since the Beginning of this Year" delivered by Hui Shigong [1920 0013 1872], vice governor of Shaanxi Province, and the "Report on the Implementation of the 1981 Fiscal Budget by Shaanxi Province During the First 7 Months of the Year" delivered by Jiang Yi [1203 0001], vice governor of Shaanxi Province. The session approved some resolutions on official appointments and dismissals through discussion.

Chairman Ma Wenrui presided over the session. At the end of the session, he delivered a speech on economic, political and ideological work. In this connection, he said: Our province has scored an initial success in the work of readjustment of the economy. Although the overall economic performance has been good, we still face many difficulties and problems. The proposal for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of this year's national economic plan calls for hard work. We must firmly and confidently implement the economic measures in order to achieve a development compatible with the actual local conditions in the course of readjustment.

Comrade Ma Wenrui pointed out: The work for the next several months is very urgent, work we must grasp without fail. We must strive to fulfill and overfulfill this year's national economic plan. While efforts are being made to reap a bumper harvest throughout the year, special attention must be focused on the implementation of our industrial production plan. In this connection, we must concentrate on grasping firmly the following points: 1) Specific guidance should be strengthened.

Fatal weaknesses in the work of the current economic leadership that have come to the surface are the lack of a healthy workstyle and of specific guidance. Leading groups and leading cadres at all levels must establish the system of responsibility, under which all jobs are well defined, all tasks are unequivocally specified and everyone has a specific role to play. Leading cadres at all levels must keep in constant contact with the lower units and help grassroots cadres solve problems. General directives must be accompanied by specific guidance. General directives not accompanied by guidance in explicit terms won't work. Those who do a good job should be commended, while those who have performed poorly should be criticized. Financial losses caused by bureaucratic practices should be investigated and those responsible identified. 2) Ideological and political work should be strengthened. Rural villages, factories, and economic affairs departments, must give priority to ideological and political work. At present, we must study the "Resolution" thoroughly. Only in this way can we unify our thinking, strengthen unity and boost the morale of the masses. 3) We must be prepared to widely put into effect the economic system of responsibility. 4) The principle of "to each according to his work" should be resolutely implemented and take the place of egalitarianism and the system of distribution in which everyone can eat out of "one big pot of rice." 5) Efforts must be made to strengthen the leading bodies. In the course of consolidating the enterprises, first priority must be given to the consolidation of their leading bodies. We must resolutely remove the "three categories of people" from the leading bodies. We must transfer to the lower units those who have used power to serve their private interests, who are found guilty of violating law and discipline, and who are aloof from the masses. Those who cannot do a good job in their present posts should be reappointed to other suitable posts as soon as possible. Young cadres of political integrity who are popular with the masses and who know technology must be selected to assume leadership positions. Only in this way can the leading bodies of enterprises be transformed into vigorous and militant contingents capable of leading workers to fulfill production tasks and of surviving any test.

Commenting on the problems facing the ideological front, Comrade Ma Werui pointed out: Although our province has scored some success in improving the ideological and political work since last year, this work still needs to be strengthened, because some of our leaders have failed to truly attach importance to it. Some who originally believed that "politics and education can perform miracles" have changed their minds and are preaching that "material incentives can perform miracles. Foremost in their minds is a desire to increase their individual income in whatever they do. In this way, they have led the people to "do everything for the sake of money." On the political front, criticism has lost its momentum. Some people have taken criticism and self-criticism as a tendency to wield the stick and as a form of intimidation, rather than as an excellent tradition inherited by our party or a driving force that pushes our work forward. Actually lurking behind this argument is an attempt to quit the leadership of the party or a tendency to derail us from the socialist track. Some people have even openly voiced their opposition to the four basic principles, while cherishing the bourgeois form of freedom. Clearly, the leadership on the ideological front remains weak and in disarray. This situation is mainly caused by the 10-year catastrophe and the erosion caused by bourgeois ideas and ways of life from abroad.

Comrade Ma Wenrui stressed: The state of disorganization and weakness that exists in the work of leadership on the ideological front must be changed. There still exists in our society a trend of thought which reflects a desire to steer away from the socialist orbit, to quit the leadership of the party and to promote the bourgeois form of freedom. We must sternly and correctly criticize and struggle against this trend of thought in a well-reasoned way, just as we treat the "leftist" errors. No one should view all forms of criticism as a tendency to wield the stick or a form of punishment. In so doing, we may be forced to give up all forms of criticism. In political life, we should never lay down the weapon of criticism. True, in the course of developing criticism and self-criticism, we must persist in applying the correct methods, seek truth from facts, present facts and reason things out, and take a friendly attitude toward the people. Harsh and violent measures, unauthorized criticism and struggles should be avoided along with any political movement. As for those remnant followers of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques who are still embarking on subversive activities, and other elements who are hostile to socialism and desire to create trouble for everyone, we must treat them differently because they fall under another category of people. We must resolutely expose them and strike them down. We must criticize fallacies spread by them and eliminate their pernicious influence.

Comrade Ma Wenrui concluded his speech by saying: We must study carefully the "Resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenum for the purpose of unifying our thinking and strengthening unity, boasting the people's morale, and promoting production and other work.

The session was attended by vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Shaanxi Provincial People's Congress: Chang Lifu [1603 7812 1133], Yang Wenhai [2799 2429 3189], Zhang Yichen [1728 3015 1820], Lin Yinru [2651 5419 1172], Hou Zonglian [0186 1350 3425], Yuan Chengting [0626 2398 1656], Dong Xueyuan [5516 1331 3293], Shi Feng [4258 6912], Wang Jie [3769 2638], Xiong Yingdong [3574 2019 2767], and Liu Lizhen [0491 0500 6297]. Attending as observers were Hang Shangzeng [2635 1424 1073], vice president of the Shaanxi Provincial Higher People's Court, Yang Cunfu [2799 1317 1381], deputy chief procurator of the Shaanxi Provincial People's Procuratorate, responsible comrades of the provincial level departments and bureaus; responsible comrades of the county, municipal and district people's congresses; and members of the Standing Committee of the Xiang Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

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SHANGHAI GARRISON COMMAND EMPHASIZES STUDY OF MAO WORKS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Under the New Situation, How Should We Study the Works of Mao Zedong?"]

[Text] Under the new situation, should we adhere to studying Comrade Mao Zedong's works? How should we study Comrade Mao Zedong's works? An investigation conducted recently by the Political Department of the Shanghai Garrison Command summed up the conditions and experiences of the 8th Company of a certain artillery regiment. This has universal significance. This company once had many problems: Leading cadres were in a state of inelasticity, and there was a phenomenon, in varying degrees, of inelastic organizational discipline and unfavorable sentiments among some cadres. Under the guidance and assistance of a higher echelon in a concrete way, they earnestly analyzed its causes, and understood clearly that they must strengthen both political and ideological work and accelerate their ideological revolutionization. Comrade Mao Zedong's works are the powerful weapon of remoulding ideology. It is for this reason that under the new situation, we must resolutely study Comrade Mao Zedong's works and educate cadres and fighting men with Mao Zedong thought.

Since April the party branch of this company has organized its cadres and fighting men to study 15 articles of Comrade Mao Zedong's works; such as, "Serve the People," "On Combating Liberalism," "On Practice," and "On Contradictions" and the like. At the same time, they have clearly set forth five objectives in their study: To make clear the purposes of life and establish the ideology of serving the people; to establish lofty ideals and adopt a correct approach toward individual honor and progress; to cultivate a noble sense of morality and inherit and develop the tradition of our party and military for arduous struggle; and to strengthen the ability of observing and analyzing problems.

After studying for several months, the spirit of the cadres and fighting men took on a new look. The company has developed further solidarity, alertness, solemnity and vitality. Many comrades have said from their first hand experience that "although the study of Mao Zedong's works cannot directly solve practical problems, it definitely helps us to heighten our awareness, develop our open-mindedness, nurture our morality and strengthen our fighting spirit. Thus, all of this helps us adopt a correct approach toward practical problems."

In the process of its practice, this company recognized that in studying Comrade Mao Zedong's works under the new situation it must draw three lines of demarcation and handle well three relationships. (1) One must draw a line of demarcation between necessary formality and formalism, and resolutely brush aside such formalism of ways of doing things in the past as "looking at the number of articles in reading, computing the number of characters which one gained from one's study and the frequency of application of what one has learned." However, one must adhere to proceeding from the different situations and the ideological practice of cadres and fighting men, establish a study system and a set of measures and requirements, pay attention to practical effects, and conduct investigations and sum up conclusions as well. (2) One must draw a clear line of demarcation between learning basic viewpoints and memorizing a phrase or two. One must not use the old ways of simply memorizing Mao's quotations. But one must emphasize the sincere study of Mao's original works, and completely and accurately grasp the basic viewpoints of Mao Zedong Thought and its spiritual substance. (3) One must draw a line of demarcation between the integration of theory with practice and getting quick results, and must guide every one to recognize that getting quick results actually denies the fact that the transformation of spirit into substance must go through a certain process and that this simplifies and vulgarizes the study of Mao Zedong's works. However, one must adhere to the revolutionary style of learning to integrate theory with practice. One cannot deny the importance and necessity of integrating theory with practice.

In the process of organizing the study of Comrade Mao Zadong's works, this company also paid attention to three combinations. The first is to combine the study of Mao's works with political education. For example, in the education of "Four Haves," "Three Discussions," and "Two Don't Fears," this company organized every one to study "In Memory of Bai Qiu-en," "Serve the People," and "The Direction of the Youth Movement" and the like, thereby improving the quality and quantity of education. The second is to combine the study of Comrade Mao's works with the company's operational duties. For example, when the company was burdened with the heavy duty of both conducting military training and supporting local areas, it organized every one to study such articles as "The Foolish Old Man Removes the Mountain," and "Continuously Maintain the Spirit of Arduous Struggle," thereby raising their revolutionary spirit and giving them the courage to overcome adversity. The third is to combine the study of Comrade Mao's works with the ideological practice of cadres and fighting men. For example, under circumstances where the spearhead of struggle was carried out against some comrades whose discipline was inelastic, the company let them study such Comrade Mao's works as "On Combating Liberalism" and the like, thereby strengthening organizational discipline and the development of work style.

CSO: 4005/81

NINETEENTH CENTURY EASTERN REFORMS EVALUATED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU in Chinese No 4, 15 Aug 81 pp 88-101

[Article by He Fangchuan [0149 5364 1557], Lecturer, Department of History, Beijing University: "Reform Movements in the Upper Levels of Eastern Countries in the Middle of the 19th Century"]

[Excerpts] In the modern history of the East, there is one phenomenon that deserves our attention: more or less around the middle of the 19th century, reform movements were set afoot in the upper levels of some of the major countries with ancient civilizations in Asia and Northeast Africa, excepting India, which had already been reduced to the state of a colony. For instance: the reforms of Mirza Taki Khan in Persia, 1848-1851; the series of reforms in the Osman Empire, climaxing in the "Imperial Decree of [Gulhaneh] Park" in 1839; the reforms of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, which ended in 1841; the reforms of Theodore II in Ethiopia, 1855-1868. The "Westernization Movement" that started in our country in the sixties of the 19th century and the Meiji Restoration in Japan also occurred at that time.[1]

Why should all these reform movements occur in the East around the middle of the 19th century? Why should these reforms occur in those countries with ancient civilizations that for long periods of time since the Middle Ages had slowed down in their developments? What are the common features of these reforms, and how are we to assess their role in history?

The present article tentatively probes into these questions.

1. That the above-mentioned reform movements should all occur around the middle of the 19th century is not a chance coincidence, and it is also not accidental that they occurred in some major Eastern countries with ancient civilizations.

The most fundamental reason that brought about these reform movements was the development of world capitalism.

The first half of the 19th century was an important period, a turning point, in the modern history of the Eastern countries. This is particularly true of the major countries with ancient civilizations on the Asian and African continents.

Although Western colonialism had already invaded the Eastern countries for 300 years before that time, it was at that time only the initial stage of primitive accumulation. The objectives in this period of primitive accumulation were the plunder of gold, spices and black slaves. Colonial invasions, using undisguised brute force as their method of plundering, resulted in immense calamities for the countries of the East: 2.5 million kg of gold and 100 million kg of silver were plundered in Spanish South America and shipped to Europe, whole tribes and races of American Indians were practically wiped out. Africa lost 100 million people in the heinous black slave trade. These are some of the tragic consequences of the early colonial incursions. However, the areas which sustained the most grievous harm from the Western colonialist invasions were generally speaking mainly either countries of a comparatively low degree of social development, or, if they were indeed already somewhat advanced, areas and countries small in territory and population, whose powers of resistance were weak. These cases were often quite different from the conditions in the Eastern countries with ancient civilizations which had highly developed state and social organizations. The Western colonial invasions inflicted serious disasters in these places too, but were not able to subjugate them completely or utterly devastate them. Apart from the special case of India, not one of the major Asian and Northeast African countries with ancient civilizations suffered the fate of the Latin-American countries or the lands on the African continent south of the Sahara. On the contrary, at times the aggressive moves of the colonialism met with serious setbacks in these countries, as, for instance, in the 17th century when the Ethiopian people, led by their King Fasilidas, drove off the Catholic Christian forces that had come with evil intentions. Our own people, led by our national hero Zheng Chenggong [6774 2052 0501] drove out in one sweep the Dutch colonialists who at that time were at the zenith of power and prosperity, the "coachmen of the seas," and recovered our fatherland's precious island, Taiwan, etc.

Toward the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, conditions had changed. The industrial revolution developed and reached full fruition, and the Western colonial aggression moved from primitive accumulation into the era of "free" capitalism. Commodity markets and places of raw material production took the place of precious metals and black slaves as the major objectives pursued by the colonial aggression in this new era. The means of colonial aggression also underwent new developments and changes. Apart from plundering by naked force, the export of commodities gained an increasingly important significance. Marx and Engels exposed the character of this "free" capitalism when they pointed out: "The low prices of their commodities were their means to break down all 'great walls,' and constituted the heavy guns that subdued the tenacious hatred of foreigners by the barbarians." Against the heavy guns of cheap Western commodities, none could withstand, neither the Eastern countries with feudal organizations and a fairly high degree of development, nor those with natural economies with closely integrated agriculture and handicraft industries.

The cheap Western commodities flooded the East like a tidal wave. Due to the 100-year calamity of the black slave trade, the vast expanse of Africa south of the Sahara was devastated to a state of utter destitution. Latin America too had suffered the ruthless plunder and extortion of colonialism. These conditions, for a time, disqualified them from becoming ideal commodity markets, so that the cheap Western commodities naturally poured like an unrestrained tidal wave in even greater volume into the Asian continent and into North Africa, into countries with ancient civilizations that had previously not been fundamentally encroached upon.

The dumping of commodities by Capitalism unsettled the foundations of the feudal societies that had existed from ancient times in all Eastern countries. It shattered the economic basis on which the eastern autocracies had relied for hundreds of years, namely the village communes with their natural economy of self-sufficiency. It threw millions of peasants and handicraftsmen in the Eastern countries into the deep abyss of bankruptcy and ruin, and as a consequence aggravated the social contradictions in these countries in an unprecedented way, throwing the rotten feudal societies of the Eastern countries into a crisis from which they had no way of extricating themselves, moving closer to collapse and disintegration with every passing day.

In the wake of the industrial revolution, the Western war industry similarly experienced never-ending changes and developments, bringing huge modifications and advances in military organization, armament, equipment and strategy and tactics. The disparity between East and West in military matters sharply increased. Even Eastern countries that had been paramount powers for ages, like the Ottoman Empire, Persia and China, were now easily defeated by the Western colonialists. The invaders were even able to drive deep into these countries and capture their capitals and heartlands. Examples of this kind are Napoleon's expeditionary force invading Egypt (at that time nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire) and occupying Cairo in 1798 and the joint invading armies of England and France occupying Beijing in the second Opium War, 1856-1860. The Western colonialist powers relied solely on their military superiority to step up their aggressive moves, be it as vanguard or as the backing force for their commodity dumping. In over half a century since Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, there was almost no letup in the Western aggressive wars against the East or in humiliating peace terms with the West throughout all the area of Asia and Northeast Africa. All the major civilized countries of the East were facing the fate of being reduced to complete or semi-colonization and the national crises deepened sharply.

Marx pointed out: "The true task of bourgeois society is to establish world markets (or at least a general layout of such) and a production based on these markets. Because the world is round, the process seems to have been completed with the colonization of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 29, p 348). From the first part of the 19th century on, the national and social crises in the major Eastern countries with ancient civilizations occurred on the whole in unison with the capitalist process of establishing world markets; it progressed in an eastward flow extending to China and finally to the easternmost land of Asia, Japan.

Even if one were to say that the unprecedented social and national crises created by the Western colonialist aggression and the fate of being reduced to a semi-colonial or colonial status were not consciously realized by the people of the various Eastern countries, the effects were well felt by them personally.

Because the broad masses of the lower strata of the population in these countries with ancient civilizations could not bear the exploitation and oppression by the colonialist aggression and by their own feudal systems, they rose in revolt, as for instance, in the great rebellion of the Indian people, the uprising of the Babist sect in Persia and the Taiping Rebellion in our own country, which all constitute the first upsurge of modern national liberation movements in Asia in the middle of the 19th century. These surging movements dealt heavy blows to the colonialist aggressive forces, displayed the strength of the Eastern people and moreover acted as the forerunners of the national liberation movements in the modern history of the East.

The colonialist aggression, and the deep crises that it engendered, forced the upper ruling classes in the Eastern countries to respond with some action on their part. They could no more go on ruling as they had done in the past. If they would go on ruling as before, they would call in doubt the very existence of their own ruling class. Finally, there emerged at this historic moment one wing (made up either by members of the original ruling class or by a new force of a ruling clique suddenly coming to the fore). Although national conditions in the various countries differed widely, there was not one society throughout the first half of the 19th century in the above-mentioned Eastern countries that carried out reforms in which a new class, representing the new production methods of capitalism was making its appearance. The forces that took charge or gave impetus to the reforms, in all their immense variety, were therefore all fundamentally not relinquishing their links with feudalism. All they undertook was therefore reforms merely to safeguard their own feudal rule. There was of course no reason for such reforms to occur in countries where feudalism had developed to only a low degree. However, countries that had already developed feudal societies but were rather weak and small and right at the start of events came face to face with the threat to their existence, as for instance Indochina, were also left with no time to realize any kind of reforms.

This is the background for the reform activities in the major Eastern countries with ancient civilizations at around the middle of the 19th century.

2. The content of the various reform activities in the upper strata of the Eastern countries around the middle of the 19th century covered a wide range over the years, however, they have certain aspects in common.

The army is an important component of the state's political power. The rapid decline of the Eastern feudal system became particularly acute in the decline of its armies. The feudal armies were no more capable to suppress people's uprisings at home nor to withstand Western colonialist aggression from abroad. This was a great worry for the feudal ruling class in the various Eastern countries that would not let them sleep in peace. "Strengthening of the army," that is, military reforms, were therefore placed on top of the agenda and became the central content of reforms in the various Eastern countries. The various major Eastern feudal states all had enormous armies, but by the 19th century all these armies had rotted and decayed irredeemably.

What had become of the armies of the Ottoman Empire that had been invincible in past days? "The number of men was too large with no enemy to fight. They were their own enemies, and with regard to state treasury, they were nothing but true robbers. They ... would run away even before the enemy was in sight."

This was the way the troops of the Ottoman Empire were portrayal, but it was a portray that also fitted the armies of all major Eastern feudal countries. Military reforms would therefore have had to start, first of all, with the reform of these rotten troops. This was the uppermost common problem that met the eyes of all who advocated reforms in the various Eastern countries. When our "Westernization Party" began to pursue their "Westernization Movement," they also placed the training of modern troops into primary position. It was expressed as follows: "The way to govern a country is to strive to become strong, to judge the right hour and to size up the situation correctly. In striving to become strong, the main thing is to train soldiers. To train soldiers one must first of all manufacture arms for them," because they saw clearly that "the old way, using our banner troops and Chinese troops with their bows and arrows, swords and spears, carrying fowling-pieces, is totally inadequate to control the foreigners or to eradicate domestic banditry." In the sixties, they organized and trained modern troops and in the seventies a modern navy was created.

In order to equip its new troops, a country had to develop its own modern war industry. In that respect we might mention as the most active and most effective example the Egyptian reforms of Mohammed Ali. In that reform period, the Egyptians built the Cairo Arsenal on a rather large scale and with very modern equipment. In the large gun workshop, there were 1,500 workers and in the rifle workshop there were 900 workers.[2] In 1829, the Alexandria Naval Shipyard was built, employing 8,000 workers. Half of the ships of the Egyptian navy were built domestically. Ethiopia, which among these countries was comparatively poor, backward and secluded, was also not to be left behind in the feverish quest for modern arms. Emperor Theodore eagerly sought out European craftsmen and had his own people serve as their assistants in the manufacture of big guns. To meet the needs of this venture he collected brass all over the country for the casting of guns.

"National prosperity" was one of the objectives pursued by the various Eastern countries in their reforms, while they also wanted at the same time "strong military power." The methods adopted in the reforms of the various countries were, as we may observe, of two kinds:

One kind was carried out around military reforms. Because establishment of a modern army or developing modern war production requires enormous funds, it forced financial reforms on these countries. These kinds of reforms mostly started out with opening up widely new sources of revenue and an emphasis on eliminating the many long-standing abuses of feudalism.

The other kind of reforms embraced a much wider field, they were purely financial reforms. Apart from eliminating age-old malpractices, greatest attention was given to adopting measures for a development of production. The Ottoman Emperor Mahmud II abolished the feudal system of military fief towns, that had been outdated and disintegrated for a long time, and the Ethiopian King Theodore II forbade the slave trade, both actions were significant in removing tumors which had obstructed the advance of social production. In that respect, it is still the reforms carried out by Mohammed Ali that appear exemplary. In agriculture he not only abolished the land property rights of the Mameluks, abolished the system of tax franchises and reformed the whole taxation system, but also undertook water conservancy projects and developed agricultural production. Under Mohammed Ali's rule over 20 canals had been built and 30 dikes. The area of arable land, which in 1800 had been 3.2 million feddan had steeply increased to 4.5 million feddan by 1852.[3] Moreover the planting of such economic crops and cereals as cotton, tobacco, corn, rice and wheat was greatly encouraged. In industry, apart from war production, great attention was given to the industrial production for civilian use, and factories were set up for the production of textiles, sugar, oil extraction and dyestuffs. Most effective among these were the textile enterprises, 30 textile mills were built in that period. Mohammed Ali proudly told the French consul: "In the past, Egypt had to buy your woolen goods and silks and pay a lot of money to Europe's factories. Now we have opened our own factories and that sum of money stays in Egypt."[3]

There was yet another outstanding feature that the reforms in the various Eastern countries had in common, namely the eagerness to learn advanced science and technology from the West, an endeavor to bring their countries into the modern age. Apart from a class of feudal diehards and their ostrich policy, the advances of Western science, technology and other fields were facts that could not be more clearly demonstrated. Even the "Modernization Party" in China was very fond of the Western "special skills." "Why the 'special skills'? One, for the excellence of warships, and one for the effectiveness of machines." Mohammed Ali expressed it even more frankly. When he sent the children of his native country to study from the foreigners, he fervently hoped that "they will well remember what they have learned from the foreign engineers so that they can replace them in future." He also promised that "those who will have first learned all there was to learn, will be given high salaries by the government and promoted to factory directors." As to Theodore II of Ethiopia, his zeal to learn the Western "special skills" almost reached the stage of frenzy. When a group of European missionaries presented him with a set of religious books, he declared that he would have been more pleased if he were presented with a box of British ammunition. To immitate the European big guns, Theodore eventually insisted that these missionaries serve him as engineers to help casting guns. The day the first gun was completed he declared to be the happiest day of his life.[4]

We must point out here that this learning from the West in the middle of the 19th century, from training of troops, establishment of various army units, manufacture of armament, explosives techniques, down to the setting up of a modern machine industry for civilian requirements, covered a very wide range. In the thirties of the 19th century, the Ottoman Emperor Mahmud II even went so far as to emulate Western methods for his administration. In imitation of European models, he established a ministry of the interior, a ministry for foreign affairs and a ministry of finance. He also changed the title of his Grand Vezir to premier.[5] Although these emulations of foreign methods were very superficial and shallow by today's standards, it was a trend (not merely individual or sporadic imitations, but a mass surge) which, as far as the modern East is concerned, was the first manifestation of a coming custom.

3. All the above-mentioned reforms in the countries of the East ended up in failure. This is another point that all reform movements in the various Eastern countries in the middle of the 19th century have in common. Why did this unfortunate result come about?

First of all, there were the colonial aggressions of Western capitalism that created the external reasons for the failure of these reforms.

The Western colonial powers, at the stage of full development of free capitalism and engaged in "freely" transforming the East into their economic dependencies, were of course not willing to allow the East to become truly powerful and prosperous. Toward the reforms in the various Eastern countries they therefore maintained an antagonistic attitude and obstructed and sabotaged these reforms in a thousand and one ways.

Undisguised armed interferences and aggressive wars were the major methods by which Western colonialism sabotaged the reforms in Eastern countries. It was not the unique experience of only one reform movement in the Eastern countries for a country to suffer an aggressive war unleashed by Western powers.

Egypt under the rule of Mohammed Ali, situated at the communications hub between Europe, Asia and Africa, was highly important for the incursions of Western colonialism into Asia as well as Africa, for control of the eastern Mediterranean and even the lands of the Balkan. Napoleon once pointed out the strategic importance of Egypt: "If France can occupy Egypt, the British will be in an untenable position in India." How would the Western powers allow the Egyptians at that time to institute reforms on that piece of land to transform it into a rich and militarily powerful state? How would they allow that land, which "at that time was the only viable part of the Ottoman Empire," ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 9, p 231) to develop its own power and prosperity, somewhat like Russia after the reforms of Peter the Great, and allow, in the Near East so close to themselves, a great Arabic empire to arise with its own modern army and industry? Eventually, the Western powers stirred up the second Turkish-Egyptian war of 1839 with the object of using the hands of the Ottoman Sudan to destroy the Egyptian reform enterprise. When the imperial Ottoman army suffered a crushing defeat, the Western powers themselves appeared on the scene and staged an armed intervention. In 1840, the four powers, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria, issued an ultimatum to Mohammed Ali and the British land and sea forces launched a fierce attack against the Egyptian army. Under the threat of a bombardment of Alexandria, they finally forced Mohammed Ali to surrender. The terms of surrender were very harsh. They destroyed Mohammed Ali's painstaking labor of half a lifetime: he had to surrender the entire fleet, was allowed a land force of only 18,000 men and was to accept the conditions of the 1846 Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce. In the end, Egypt was also reduced to a dumping ground for their commodities and a raw material producer for Western capitalism. By 1846, the 30 textile mills existing at the height of Ali's reforms had been sharply reduced to only 3 remaining in operation.

In the same sense one may also say that the historical period of the 30-year "Westernization Movement" in China was also finally bankrupted by the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.

The Western colonial powers also adopted all kinds of other methods, besides open armed interventions and aggressive wars, to destroy the reform movements of the Eastern countries. These other destructive methods also had the effect of ruining the reforms and to finally turn the Eastern countries into colonies or semi-colonies. For instance, England, in 1838, forced the Ottoman Empire to sign the Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement which fixed the Turkish customs duty for imports at a low 5 percent, prohibited monopolies for any kind of commodity and permitted foreigners to engage in trade anywhere within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, without firing a single shot, an agreement on paper basically cancelled out with one stroke of the pen the positive achievements of all past reforms, and even those to come, in the Ottoman Empire. From then on, the Ottoman Empire was wide open for the commodity dumping of the West. Not only that, in the fifties, England and France dragged the Ottoman Empire into the Crimean War to serve as their junior partner. Nominally, the Ottoman Empire was a victor in this war, but actually it sank deeper into a state of dependency toward the West. In 1856, an imperial edict on the Sudan was outwardly a continuation of the 1839 "Imperial Edict of Gulhaneh Park" as it agreed to establish banks, build railways, open up canals and develop trade. It loudly proclaimed "to devise means to utilize European science, techniques and capital in the reform projects," etc. However, the basic direction of developments had already changed. Banks were indeed opened, but their capital all belonged to England and France. Railways were indeed built, but the railway concessions were in the hands of foreign capitalists. The foreign indebtedness of the Ottoman Empire steeply increased from 75 million francs in 1854 to 2.5 billion francs in 1870. Turkey had mortgaged its customs and other revenue to its creditors. The economic lifelines of the state had fallen into the hands of foreigners Western colonialism had used equally successfully non-military means to destroy the reform movement of an Eastern country.

Due to the fact that the societies that in those days pursued reforms had not yet produced a modern bourgeoisie and proletariat, representative of the new forms of production, and due to the fact that the peasantry and the handicraftsmen in these countries were not able to adopt a more effective struggle form than that of the old peasant wars, these reform movements could only be pursued by groups or factions of men with vision within the feudal ruling class. This determined the fundamental innate weakness of these reform movements.

Cruel extortion of the peasantry and of the other working masses was at the basis for these reforms and one of the fundamental objectives pursued in these reforms was to consolidate and strengthen this rule over the masses.

All the varying undertakings in these reform movements, including the establishment of a modern machine industry, which at that time was a most progressive undertaking in the East, bore the deep imprint of feudalism and were thus afflicted with a fatal malady.

Egypt's establishment of a modern industry made it an outstanding case among reforms in the various Eastern countries. However, the many modern factories with machine production that Egypt built, were basically operated on a system of feudal state ownership. For instance, the arsenals were controlled by the ministry of war. The managerial staff were active or retired military men. Machinery and factory building expenses were not made part of the costs of their products. Raw materials provided by one factory to the other were provided without profit. The ministry of war industry provided its products directly to the troops without taking part in any market exchanges. Workers were mostly conscripted by force and had a status similar to peasant serfs. They were moreover organized on military lines in battalions, companies and platoons without any personal freedom. As a consequence of this ownership system, the system of personal bondage and the administrative system, all of a feudal character, enterprises were run very poorly. Some cotton mills equipped with imported looms were running at only half their capacity because their machines were producing for the military departments.

Conditions of the "Westernization Movement" in our country were in certain respects very similar to those in Egypt. Taking war production departments as example, their production also did not participate in market exchanges, but were provided directly to the military without cost calculations. For instance, the ships built by the Bureau of Shipping Administration were "sent to various provinces who were charged not one penny for the costs," "construction of the ships and the operation of the ships are all in the hands of the state, so the two sides naturally need not haggle over it." There was also a military system to control the workers. "In our employment for all our work we have every day 800-900 able-bodied workers. If not treated strictly according to military rules, they may scatter, be hard to hold together and calling out to them may not elicit a response, so finally we appointed one corporal for each file of ten men to control them and for every five corporals one group officer to be in control, and ordered diligent and able military officers to be in overall control. ... This is the way we established our camps of able-bodied men." We hardly need add anything as to demonstrate the incompetence of this kind of an enterprise management.

Moreover, due to the fact that the groups and factions advocating the reforms were men of vision from within the feudal ruling class and that the reforms had no new social class or forces as a basis to rely on, their strength was generally weak. The reform groups and factions often met with deep-rooted powerful and desperate opposition from feudal diehards within their own class, and on the other hand, due to their cruel exploitation and oppression of the masses of working people, also could not count on support from the people. It was therefore very easy for the forces of domestic diehards and foreign colonialist aggressors to break up and destroy the reform movements.

The failure of reforms in the Eastern countries clarifies this problem: the feudal lord class in its time was unable to prescribe an effective remedy for the disease of the feudal system which was sick to its very vitals. It was also unable to stop or divert the course of history that moved the Eastern societies toward semi-colonialism and colonialism. The old-type peasand wars of the lower strata of working masses ended in failure. The upper strata ruling group also failed in the reform activities they sponsored. Finally, the entire East, including all the most powerful countries with ancient civilizations on the Asian and African continent, were reduced to colonies or semi-colonies of the West. The only thing that could save the East was a new social force, a new class, to rely on.

4. It is a rather complex question how to assess the historical role of the reforms in the various Eastern countries. Presently, scholarly circles are often poles apart and sometimes diametrically opposed to each other in their views on these reform movements. For instance, there are widely divergent opinions on whether to priase or condemn Mohammed Ali's reforms. Those who praise him believe "he left lasting influences in all spheres of Egyptian life and laid the foundation for the country's economic, social and political development." Those who condemn him denounce him as a "tyrant" who "paved the way for the exploitations by foreign capitalism."

Why is it that although the available historical data are more or less the same, their evaluation can differ like that? To solve this problem, in our opinion, further detailed data are required as well as a uniformity of criteria for judgement. The present article merely attempts to present, from one angle, a humble opinion for reference.

The purpose of all reforms in the various Eastern countries around the middle of the 19th century, judging from the subjective aims of the groups and factions that promoted them, was to preserve and consolidate the feudal systems and feudal rule. All these efforts at reforms, one after another, ended in failure because of the sabotage, in one way or another, by Western colonialism and the opposition of the domestic feudal diehards, and also because of the innate defects of the reforms themselves. Can we then determine their historical role based on these points, namely based on the outcome of their subjective aims and the certainty of their failure? We cannot.

In certain historical undertakings, such as reforms, change of political institutions, etc, the subjective aims that were pursued and the final success or failure are undoubtedly of major significance in evaluating these affairs, but we must not make them the only or the major criterion for our evaluation.

Lenin said: "In judging historical merits and achievements, we must not base our judgement on the fact that the historical event did not contribute to what we are presently demanding, but rather base on whether it contributed new things in relation to the generation that preceeded it." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 150). Historical figures should be judged in this manner, the same as historical events. Even though the reforms in the various Eastern countries in the 19th century had as their fundamental aim the preservation of a declining feudal rule, and although the stamp of a backward and decadent feudalism was deeply imprinted on the reforms themselves, let us rather look squarely at the historical facts which will then show us clearly that these reforms, to a greater or smaller extent, "provided new things."

The reforms in the various Eastern countries around the middle of the 19th century were instituted and promoted by historical figures of all shades. Can we then base our judgement of the merits and faults, right and wrong, of these reforms on this point, namely on the personalities that instituted and promoted the reforms? We cannot.

Indeed, the reform movement and the launching of it on the one side and the personalities who support the reforms on the other, are two things and no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two. This is so because the latter, to a high degree, influence or even determine the subjective aims of these reforms, their political trends as well as their course and outcomes. The reforms in the various Eastern countries around the 19th century mostly suffered defeat at the hands of the Western colonialist aggressors. Among the historical figures who supported these reform movements, there were such types as Theodore II, who met military defeat in his fight against aggression and committed suicide, a hero who chose death rather than humiliation, but then there were also such figures as Li Hongzhang who persistently compromised and sought peace by betraying his country. The former gave the reform movement a tragic complexion, while the latter branded it as a shameful event. Our evaluation of the leaders of the reforms closely affect the historical role that we assign to the reforms themselves, but we also must not simply use the evaluation of the historical figures as an assessment of the historical events that these historical figures have engendered. For instance, as to the attitude with which they dealt with the Western colonialist aggressors, Theodore II was evidently firmer than Mohammed Ali, who surrendered to the Western powers when their armies reached his city walls. Theodore's way of concluding the conflict was also so much more heroic, but Ali's reforms stand out as much more important in the modern history of the East; the depth and breadth of his reforms clearly by far exceed Theodore's reforms, a point on which there can hardly be any doubt.

The reforms in the various Eastern countries around the 19th century have indeed, objectively, a certain positive and progressive significance. In summary, these are approximately in the following respects:

(1) In political respects, these reforms mostly strove to strengthen the centralization of state power and the unity of the country. Emulating Western patterns, they organized modern armies, enhanced the unity of the country and the strength of resistance against foreign aggression. Some countries, moreover, established ministries in the central administration and devised new local administrative districts, which was of definite positive significance in weakening local separatist forces and for the formation of a modern national state.

(2) In economic respects, these reforms mostly strove to learn Western advanced science, technology and to introduce the productive forces of Western capitalism. Some abolished or rectified long-standing abuses, some actively set up modern industries, etc. These activities provided some necessary prerequisites and foundations for the later development of capitalism.

(3) In ideological and cultural respects, these movements were the start of breaking out of the state of seclusion and out of the trammels of conservatism, the emergence of a new atmosphere of learning from the West. They nurtured contingents of qualified native engineers and technicians and, what is even more important, started to bring into being modern intellectuals who had received initial education in Western capitalism.

In a critical review of the reform movements in the Eastern countries, we must frankly and realistically state what objectively had been their positive and progressive functions. This is an attitude demanded of us by historical materialism. However, whether a historical event of objectively positive and progressive functions is thus also certain to have been positive and progressive in its own nature, should be concretely analyzed according to the concrete conditions.

As everyone knows, Marx already gave a detailed exposition of the objective historical effects of British colonial rule in India. In his essay "The Future Effects of British Rule in India," he clearly pointed out that several items that England brought to India in the course of its ruling that country, such as political unity, a modernized army, an independent press, a land system, a new stratum of intellectuals, as well as telegraph, the steam engine, etc, were all of positive significance for India's future, independent of man's original intentions. Marx, moreover, most pertinently, pointed out: British colonial rule "created in Asia the largest social revolution, which frankly was also the first and only one in Asian history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 67)

The various consequences which were listed above, in particular the largest social revolution in Asia, which was also Asia's first and only one, we cannot but consider objectively as of huge progressive significance, but can we therefore judge that British colonial aggression against India and its rule over India were of a progressive character, or simply say that it was a progressive rule? Obviously, this would be absurd. In pointing out the objective consequences created by British rule over India, Marx still adopted a stern, critical attitude toward this rule and pointed out that it "inflicted a calamity on Industan which in comparison with past calamities suffered by Industan was undoubtedly of quite a different character, but in degrees many, many times more serious." (Ibid., p 63) Moreover, when discussing British colonialism "serving unconsciously as the tool of history" and its creating a social revolution and other such objectively progressive effects, Marx emphatically declares: "It appears that whatever the English bourgeoisie will be forced to do in India, it will neither bring freedom to the masses, nor basically improve their social condition, because these two things are not merely determined by a development of productive forces but decided by whether the productive forces belong to the people."

It is true, Marx discusses here the relationship between oppression of people and people suffering such oppression, but the statement allows us to draw some conclusions with regard to the question of assessing the modern reforms in the Eastern countries.

Now, in the same manner, as to the reforms in the Eastern countries that did possess the above-mentioned positive effects, what makes us decide whether their character is after all progressive or reactionary?

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: in all the contradictions in modern China, "the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation is the principal among all the various contradictions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 594) This method of analyzing can be equally applied to the entire modern East. The contradiction between imperialism (including its precursor: free capitalism) in the various Eastern nations is the most important contradiction among all the contradictions that beset the various Eastern countries in modern times. In assessing the reforms in the Eastern countries, we must in the final analysis firmly grasp this most important contradiction and subject it to observation and study. We must look at the reforms and see what effects they have had under the new historical conditions, when the fatherland suffered aggression and humiliation from colonialism and imperialism, whether the reforms contributed "new things" previously not extant to the new historical era, and whether they made contributions toward the struggle of resistance against colonialist and imperialist aggression and toward the protection of national independence and unity.

One aspect of modern Chinese history is "the collaboration of imperialism and Chinese feudalism in the process of rendering China into a semi-colonial and colonial state." (Ibid., p 595) However, this "collaboration" was not accomplished in one move. It came about step by step in the course of the entire process of China's transformation into a semi-colonial state. If we do not give due consideration to the conflict of interests also existing between the two, and to the fact that in the beginning the conflicts were the primary factor which yielded to collaboration as primary factor only in the later period, and that conflicts persisted even in that later period, we shall find it difficult to understand the repeated aggressive wars that the capitalist and imperialist powers launched against our country in modern times, the two Opium Wars, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War and the war of the Eight-Power Allied Forces. Similar conditions prevailed in all the Eastern countries in modern times. We are therefore of the opinion that in analyzing the reform period in the Eastern countries around the middle of the 19th century, we should place the above-mentioned reforms (including the positive roles which they played, objectively) into a framework of the contradiction between colonialism and imperialism on the one hand and the relevant Eastern nations on the other hand for the purpose of observation and study. In concrete terms it means that we must observe what position is taken by the feudal lord class that promotes the reforms, especially also the groups and factions that institute the reforms, in the contradiction between imperialism and its own nation, and whether they are primarily in a state of conflict with colonialism and imperialism or primarily cooperating, whether the reforms that they instituted were launched in conflict with colonialism or along the road of smooth cooperation with colonialism. If it is the former, it is undoubtedly a progressive movement; if it is the latter, it is basically a reactionary movement, even if it has objectively certain positive consequences independent of original human intentions, and even if we must admit and cannot evade mention of these positive consequences, because in its basic functions this kind of reform did not produce "new things" demanded by the new historical era, namely taking a militant stand against the encroaching forces of colonialism and imperialism.

Measured according to these standards, the reforms in the various countries of the East present different conditions.

The "Westernization Movement" in our country was one of the latest reform movements of the upper strata among such movements in the various countries of the East. In its outward conditions, its inception, development and ultimate bankruptcy, we see that it roughly coincided with the process of change of capitalism into imperialism. Considering the internal conditions, we see that when the movement started, our country had been on the road to be reduced to a state of semi-colonialism for 20 years. In that period, our feudal ruling class had been defeated already twice in aggressive wars unleashed by the Western colonialists and had a record of having twice capitulated on its knees, suffered national humiliation and forfeiture of its sovereign rights. It was moreover creating yet another and even more monstrous record: in collusion with the aggressors, the feudal ruling class suppressed the Taiping Rebellion. The "collaboration" of imperialism and Chinese feudalism displayed at that time was not a singular historical event, but merely the high tide of such actions. The 30 years of the "Westernization Movement" were a process of basically "integrating" the two elements, the step by step incursion of the Western powers as they passed on to the stage of imperialism and the step by step surrender of the Chinese feudal class (the complete "integration" came after the invasion of the Eight-Power Allied Forces). Looking at it from the perspective of the entire process of developments, we see that although there were conflicting interests at the time of the "Westernization Movement" between the Chinese feudal ruling class and foreign capitalism and imperialism, collaboration between them was obviously the primary factor. Even if at some times and in some places the "Westernization Movement" did show certain conflicts between the feudal ruling class and colonialism, the "Westernization Movement," which was the main practical activity of the Chinese feudal ruling class at that time, was in its general direction going the road of compromise and cooperation with colonialism. In this sense we may say: even if the "Westernization Movement" in its objective social significance was far superior in depth and breadth to the reforms in the other Eastern states, its fundamental character was such that we still cannot approve of it, cannot praise it as "a movement which had a progressive nature." We can even less regard it as a reform of any kind of a progressive character.

FOOTNOTES

1. There is a common historical background to the Meiji Restoration and the reforms in the other Eastern countries. However, the result was that Japan as the only Eastern country developed into a fully developed capitalist state. This was due to internal conditions in Japan which enabled it to break away from the common pattern of upper strata reforms and to develop a modern capitalist national

democratic revolutionary movement. This question must be reserved for a special study and shall, for the time being, remain outside the discussions of this article.

2. Cf. Yand Haocheng (2799 3493 1004), "Some Questions on Mohammed Ali's Economic Reforms," in SHIJIE LISHI (WORLD HISTORY), No 5 (1980). (Later quotations of material in the Arabic language are quoted from this article)

3. Cf. John Marlowe, "Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1800-1953," London, 1954, p 50. The "feddan" is an Egyptian unit of land measurement, at that time equal to 6.3 Chinese standard mu.

4. Cf. Richard Pankhurst, "Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935," (Addis Ababa, Haile Selasie I University, 1968) p 10.

5. Cf. Miller, "Short History of Turkey," Moscow edition of 1948, p 64.

9893
CSO: 4005/933

'BA YI RADIO' VIEWS INJUSTICE OF LIN BIAO CASE

OW181350 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] After the Sixth Plenum of the party drew an official conclusion on comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes Huang Yongsheng, former chief of staff of the PLA, who is presently sick in jail, wrote a letter to comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, clarifying the so-called Lin Biao case. Meanwhile, letters were also written by Jiang Tengjiao and Li Zuopeng, as well as former deupty chief of staff (Luo Ping) and former combat department head (Lu Min) of the air force headquarters, requesting that an investigation be conducted to reveal the truth of this case in accordance with the spirit of the resolution adopted at the party's Sixth Plenum, so that mistakes made in the trial and judgment of the case can be corrected. In addition, dozens of PLA cadres who were mistreated several years ago have staged sit-in demonstrations in the offices of the general political department and the general staff department during the past few months to demand correction of their wrong verdicts. All this indicates that though the assessment of comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes and the exposure of the mistakes of the cultural revolution made by the Sixth Plenum of the party were far from being thorough, the people have seen a gleam of hope from such assessment and exposure.

Comrade (Su Renzhi) points out in the organ of the party: "In his late years comrade Mao Zedong was extremely suspicious and did not trust any old comrades within the party. He let the expansion of the scope of the class struggle affect the whole party and viewed the normal differences in opinion in andparty as a life-and-death class struggle. At the time preceding the cultural revolution, there were no forces whatsoever that could restrain comrade Mao Zedong." Besides, many comrades hold that the cultural revolution was a real counterrevolutionary movement. During the period when the fascist autocratic rule prevailed many military leaders rose up to oppose the gang of four and the savage acts of comrade Mao Zedong regardless of the danger to their lives. How can this be regarded as a towering crime? Even comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the party's Sixth Plenum that it would be impossible to overthrow the gang of four if comrade Mao Zedong were not dead.

In his letter to the central authorities, Jiang Tengjiao raised three questions which are worthy of our earnest attention. In the first place, since the mistakes committed by Mao Zedong during the cultural revolution were so serious, isn't opposing him different from opposing the party and the revolution? Secondly, during the trial it was stipulated that no mention should be made about anything concerning Mao Zedong, and that nobody should shift the responsibility to Mao Zedong. Now that the party's Sixth Plenum has made a preliminary assessment of Mao Zedong's mistakes, the legal basis for the original trial and sentence is completely untenable. Thirdly, when the former principal leaders of our army were put on trial a lot of [words indistinct] crimes were fabricated to meet the needs at that time. For example, it was fabricated that a plan was made to assassinate Chairman Mao by using flame throwers and 40-mm bazookas to attack his train. By firing anti-aircraft guns point-blank, by using aircraft to bomb and by blowing up the Hongqiao Oil Depot. Now these rumors fabricated by Kang Sheng and the gang of four should be clarified according to the principle of seeking truth from facts.

The above-mentioned opinions and requests are quite right. In the past Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Tao Zhu, Peng Zhen and Hu Yaobang were accused of the crimes of opposing the party and Chairman Mao and being renegades, hidden traitors and scabs. Haven't their cases all been corrected today? Why is it impossible to change the cases of the former principal leaders of our army and the tens of thousands of PLA cadres who have been wrongly charged and have been suffering from persecution?

CSO: 4005/64

CRITICISM PRAISED AS WEAPON TO CORRECT MISTAKES

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by a fan [7093 1581]: "The Banner of Criticism Cannot Be Abandoned"]

[Text] I.

At a time when the bourgeois laissez-faire tendency is still prevalent in our society, the task of further settling accounts with and eliminating the "leftists" really presents a difficult problem. At the heart of the laissez-faire tendency is a desire to abandon, resist and even openly reject the leadership of the party. To overcome this tendency is an important concern of our current criticism campaign. In the face of this challenge, some localities and units have failed to provide strong and well-organized leadership on the ideological front. They have also failed to criticize and struggle against certain erroneous tendencies and misleading statements and wrong-doings as well as bold challenges to the four basic principles. Some Communist Party and CYL members have also failed to face this situation squarely and distinguish right from wrong. This situation is in urgent need of change.

As a matter of fact, the leading comrades on the Central Committee have repeatedly emphasized this problem, calling on us to reach a consensus in this connection. For example, we must recognize that the criticism of the "leftist" guiding ideology and the struggle against the laissez-faire tendency are two indivisible aspects of a single program, and that we cannot concentrate on grasping one aspect and forget the other. If we fail to eliminate the erroneous "leftist" aspect from our guiding ideology, we will find it difficult to overcome and combat the influence of the bourgeois laissez-faire tendency in our society. Like wise, if we fail to take stern measures against the influence of the bourgeois laissez-faire tendency, we will hand over victory to the adherents of the erroneous "leftist" ideology on the propaganda front. We must carry out the struggle on the two fronts simultaneously for the single purpose of better implementing the party's line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenum as an indispensable step in the direction of implementing the guidelines of the Sixth Plenum.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" calls for applying correctly the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, for further liquidating the "leftist" errors, and for struggling against erroneous ideologies that deviate from the party's correct principles. Under no circumstances can we depart from this position. However divided over the issues of the past, we communists should present a united front on the major issues of principle and should follow the decisions adopted by the Central Committee. Otherwise, our party will stand no chance of strengthening its fighting power. In dealing with the bourgeois laissez-faire tendency now prevalent in our society, the following options are open to us: First, we can choose to shut our eyes to what is taking place and let everything take its natural course; second, we can show courage by criticizing what is wrong by means of reasoning and persuasion. Since justice is on our side and erroneous ideas are unpopular with the masses, why should we fear them? Of course, criticism is a process of seeking truth from facts, a process of exposing the cause of disease in order to save the patient. In this process, we must emphasize appropriate methods for the purpose of achieving unity; we should refrain from engaging in any political movement. Nor should we conduct criticism on the basis of a clash. When we emphasize these points, we must first conduct criticism conscientiously. Without criticism aimed at distinguishing right from wrong, can anything be done?

II.

Originally, there was a clear distinction between the regular form of criticism and self-criticism and the tendency to wield the stick. Gone, however, is this distinction as a result of the turmoil spaning 10 years. Today, some comrades have responded to all forms of offensive criticism with the outcry: "The stick is being wielded again."

Excessive struggles within the party often culminate in a desire to abolish the regular form of criticism and self-criticism as an antidote to such excessive struggles within the party. Whatever the outcome, we must denounce all wrongdoing but not the correct ideas. Although excessive struggles should be avoided by all means, the banner of criticism can never be abandoned. Criticism can be called a debate. Socialism can develop only through debate and application of dialectics. It is certain that some individuals associated with the "leftists" for years may tend to wield the stick under the pretext of criticism. Although this cannot be totally avoided, it should never be cited as a reason for resisting criticism. For example, fish also have bones. If someone who chokes on fish bones due to his own fault suggests that all species of fish be wiped off the earth, I will certainly view him as the most unwise person in the world. If we want to carry forward the party's excellent tradition and workstyle, we must conscientiously pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

III.

Unlike eulogy, criticism will make its targets flush and feel uncomfortable. Nevertheless, you must understand that only good comrades who truly love you will conscientiously criticize and help you correct mistakes when you commit them. In this connection, I would like to quote the following passage from an ancient poem: "The sun rises in the East, the rain falls in the West; Nature exudes cold as well as warmth."

On the other hand, remember that if someone refrains from criticizing you when you commit mistakes, and instead praises and flatters you, never forget to ask him why.

I have noted another unhealthy phenomenon: when an individual is the subject of correct criticism, some people, rather than helping to educate him, start to flatter him, encourage him to resist criticism, and make him happy and look like a hero.

This unhealthy practice merits our attention. Historical experience shows that just nodding one's head in the process of criticism is a metaphysical approach which is harmful to those being criticized.

When expressing his views on "excessive criticism" and "excessive flattery," Lu Xun maintained that no one should fear excessive criticism, but that everyone should guard vigilantly against flattery. Lu Xun was never fooled by flattery. In 1936, Lu Xun received a letter from a Troskiyite praising him as a man of great wisdom. After going over this flattering letter, Lu Xun wrote a reply giving the sender a dressing-down and categorically pointing out that his letter harbored ulterior motives. We must learn from Lu Xun and carefully analyze the motives for flattery so that we will never be misled by it.

9574
CSO: 4005/9

NECESSITY OF CAPITALIST STAGE DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Guo Dekui [6753 1795 1145]: "Is A Capitalist Stage Still Necessary in China?"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" pointed out: "Only socialism can save China. This is an unwavering conclusion drawn from the intimate knowledge of the people of all nationalities throughout the country over the past 100 years, and the most fundamental experience of history in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China." A summation like this is undoubtedly the most correct one. However, in recent years, there have been those who have quoted the classics in finding fault with our socialist system and in questioning it. One of the viewpoints among them was: Since the new-democratic revolution has achieved victories throughout the country, our productive forces remain at a level too low to provide a ground for the transformation into socialism, therefore, it is necessary for us to undergo a capitalist stage and to practice socialism only after the level of productive forces has been improved. This argument is untenable and must be clarified.

To Follow the Socialist Road is Determined by the Specific Course of Historical Development in Our Country.

One of the bases of the above-mentioned argument is: Marx and Engels once said that socialist revolution cannot take place separately in any single country but will first achieve victories simultaneously in the developed capitalist countries. On this ground, it is felt that it is not compatible with the tenets of Marxism for our country to directly practice socialism by overstepping the capitalist stage.

True, Marx and Engels have once imagined it to be this way, but they did not confine their own thought and thereby rule out the possibility of waging socialist revolution in countries where capitalism was not yet well developed. In 1894, Engels pointed out in his article "Peasant Problems in France and Germany": "We do not have to wait until the time when the consequence of the development of capitalist production is manifested everywhere in an extreme form or when the last small handicraftsmen and the last small farmers have become victims of the capitalist large-scale production to bring about this change." (p 312, Vol 4 "Selected Works of Marx and Engels"). In 1923, based on the practical experience of the Russian Revolution, Lenin further elaborated Engels' viewpoint in his article "On the Revolution of Our Country." He pointed out that the proletarian class can fully utilize the alliance of workers and peasants which has already been in existence to seize state power and then to rely on the proletarian regime to develop economy and culture so as to realize socialism. In the light of the view expressed by the opportunism of the Second International that "productive forces in Russia have not yet been developed to a level at which socialism can be realized," he sharply pointed out: "why cannot we first create in China such prerequisites of civilization as banishing the landlords and Russian capitalists and then march to socialism? Just what books are you reading that say changes of this kind are not allowed or possible under the ordinary historical order? (p 692, Vol 4, "Selected Works of Lenin"). It is thus obvious that it is untenable if we neither proceed from reality nor consider the objective situation which has already changed but merely apply the classic views of a time prior to socialism has become a reality as the basis to argue that our country should not turn towards socialism.

Owing to the fact that different historical conditions exist in different countries, it is inevitable that they follow different revolutionary roads. The reason why our country can overleap the stage of capitalist development and move directly to the socialist road after victories achieved in the new-democratic revolution is that it is entirely conditioned by the specific course of historical development in our country. Viewed from international conditions, the world has entered an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The revolution in our country has become a part of the worldwide proletarian revolution and we can win the support of international proletarian classes. Particularly the victory of the October Revolution in Russia has turned socialism from a scientific prediction into a living reality which has provided a successful precedent and set a glorious example for the underdeveloped countries to directly enter into a developing stage by surpassing capitalism. It has had a profound influence on the revolution in our country. Precisely as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Follow the path of the Russians—and that is the conclusion." As far as our domestic conditions are concerned, first, we are under the correct leadership of the proletarian class and its party--the Chinese Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We have a firm worker-peasant alliance. Especially since the establishment of the new type of state power of people's democratic dictatorship, that is the proletarian dictatorship, after the democratic revolution has achieved victories throughout the country, the proletarian class has in its hands absolute political predominance and firmly grasped the revolutionary leadership. Although there were only a few modern industries in our country, yet they were comparatively more concentrated in the hands of the bureaucratic-capitalist class which amounted to approximately 80 percent of the total capital. We have confiscated bureaucrat capital and put it under the possession of the state led by the proletarian class and thus enabled the people to control the economic lifelines of the country to make the socialist state-owned economy the leading power of the whole national economy. By relying on both the state and the economic leadership firmly grasped by the proletarian class we can establish socialist public ownership and enter into a socialist society by carrying out socialist reforms on both individual private ownership (agriculture and handicraft industry) and private capitalist industry and commerce. Since we can directly carry out socialism under the condition of a backward economy, why must we for a period of time run counter to the course of historical development to once again return to the capitalist road and let the people once again suffer capitalist exploitation?

To Follow the Socialist Road is the Objective Requirement of the Development of Productive forces in Our Country.

The second argument of those who do not feel that there is ground for us to transform into socialism is: Socialism must be established on the basis of a well-developed economy, but our economy lags far behind and production relations in our country outstrip the development level of productive forces.

There is no denying the fact that production relations must suit the development level of productive forces, but it must not be mechanically interpreted as that only when productive forces have developed to a very high level can we then establish socialism. Since it is only a relative concept to say that the level of productive forces is high or low, or it is advanced or backward, nobody can possibly determine a clear and unambiguous norm as the standard and demarcation line for bringing about a change to the old production relations. According to the viewpoint of Marx, the key to the change of production relations lies in the question of whether productive forces can still be accommodated by production relations conditioned by the productive forces itself. When productive forces have developed to a point at which it can no longer be accommodated by that kind of production relations, or when contradictions have developed to a certain critical extent, it is bound to set off a revolution in order to destroy the existing production relations and establish new ones which will suit a certain level of productive forces. During the initial period of the founding of the People's Republic, especially after the task of confiscating bureaucrat capital for putting it under state ownership as well as that of agrarian reform have been accomplished, five different kinds of economic status including socialist state-owned economy, individual economy such as peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy, cooperative economy which is semi-socialist in nature, and state capitalist economy were at that time in co-existence. Judged by the condition of productive forces, our country was then indeed far behind the developed nations. However, sharp contradictory conflicts yet existed between this very low socialist productive forces and the then existed production relations. In the cities, although capitalist industries and commerce have still played a certain positive role in promoting production, restoring national economy and satisfying people's demand under the situation when our economy was seriously damaged, but the aim of its business activities was to extract excess value, therefore, the workers were still exploited by them. The very nature of profit-before-everything mentality resulted in blind competition among the capitalist enterprises themselves and that was a blow against the economic plan of the state. The capitalist class at the same time employed the "five evils" to wage savage onslaughts on socialism. In rural areas, although the system of feudal private ownership of land has been abolished and the peasant private land ownership system has been established through agrarian reform and thus enabled agricultural productive forces to be liberated from the fetters of feudal exploiting relations, this individual and backward small-scale peasant economy was unable to reasonably utilize land and labor force, nor would they be able to adopt agricultural machinery and advanced technology or to resist natural disasters because of their limited production scale and decentralization of management. As a result, it was difficult to expand reproduction. This kind of small-scale peasant economy which stood at the crossroads was also very unstable and easy to produce a polarization. Situations such as this told us that contradictions between the working class and the capitalist class as well as that between the socialist road and the capitalist road had become principal contradictions at that time and turned out to be shackles hindering further development of the productive forces. Therefore, to carry out socialist reforms for agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce making them compatible with the situation in China in order to transform the system of private ownership of the means of production into the system of socialist public ownership and to lead the national economy as a whole onto the socialist track is not only the objective requirement of the development of productive forces in our society, but also a shining example set by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong through specifically applying the law of adapting production relations to the nature of productive forces for solving practical problems of our country.

The establishment of socialist system has brought about the liberation of productive forces in our society. For this reason, even though it has been only a short period of time since the founding of the People's Republic and we are inexperienced in leading the socialist construction, yet by relying on the superiority of the socialist system, we are able to establish, step by step, the independent and comparatively more comprehensive industrial as well as national economic systems on the basis of a mess of poverty and blankness of old China, and thereby build China from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agricultural country at a fairly good level. Our economic power has been much improved. At constant prices, it is calculated that in 1980 the total value of industrial and agricultural output increased 15.1 times compared with that of 1949, of which the total value of agricultural output increased 2.8 times, total value of industrial output increased 45.2 times, while that of light industry increased nearly 26 times, and our gross national income increased more than 9 times. Such a high rate of development not only was hard to imagine in old China, but even the developed capitalist countries nowadays are far far behind. In the 28 years from 1949 to 1977, the total value of industrial output in our country has had an average annual increase of 13.5 percent, while in such capitalist countries as the United States, Japan, West Germany, Great Britain and France, industrial growth rates only registered as 4.3, 12, 6.2, 2.3 and 5.3 percent respectively. It is obvious that the rate of industrial development in these countries is far far behind ours. Besides, we have also achieved tremendous successes in some sophisticated branches of technology. In short, since the year we started to implement the first five-year plan until 1980, we have in a period of only 28 years achieved successes unprecedented in old China, and traversed various courses which many developed capitalist countries have spent more than a half century time to cover. The fact fully proves that socialist system is in conformity with the situation in our country. It can create a labor productivity higher than that of any other social system. Compared with any other social systems, its superiority is matchless. Such being the case, why must our country take the capitalist road for a period of time or turn back to make up the "absence" of the capitalist stage? Of course, we have to admit that the level of productive forces in our country is low and it has really caused numerous difficulties to the socialist modernization construction, however, these difficulties can gradually be overcome through arduous struggles of the people throughout the country. It is absolutely not allowed to negate the objective inevitability and practical possibility for practicing socialism in our country simply because of these difficulties.

We Must Objectively Treat Problems Which Have Emerged in the Course of Socialism in Our Country.

At a time when we are achieving tremendous successes in the socialist construction in our country, we have also made mistakes, especially the protracted grievous mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which affected the overall situation. Some people attributed these faults and mistakes to the socialist system itself and, therefore, were doubtful of the superiority of it, or even expected to negate it once and for all. It is absolutely wrong.

The mistakes and errors we have made in the course of socialist construction are primarily due to subjective factors, and are not necessarily intrinsically related to the socialist system itself.

First, one of the superiorities of the socialist system is the rapid development of productive forces which have opened broad prospects and provided objective possibilities. However, in order to turn such a possibility into reality, not only certain objective conditions are necessary, but the more important is that the subjective guidance must be correct. Owing to the fact that socialism is a completely new cause never undertaken by our forefathers, our understanding of the objective development law of socialism must be probed through practice and we have to pay certain price. Therefore, it was only natural that we should make mistakes of one kind or another. For instance, in a certain period of time, we made mistakes by enlarging the scope of class struggle politically, impetuously rushing construction economically and attempting speedy transition in production relations. All of these mistakes were related directly to our inexperience, our insufficient understanding of the objective law of socialism and our subjective deviation from objective reality. They were not the mistakes of the socialist system itself.

Second, socialism in our country is still in its initial developing stage and it is naturally imperfect in some aspects, especially in certain specific links of socialist production relations and superstructures where malpractices detrimental to the development of productive forces still exist. For instance, in the system of economic management, power is over-concentrated in the central government and it is thus harmful to bringing the initiative of the local authorities and enterprises into full play. In the management method, executive orders have been a usual practice and economic measures have not been well applied for administering economics. In financial aspect, the large-scale system of payment partly in kind and partly in cash by practicing unified revenues and expenditures has resulted in the phenomenon of "eating out of a common pot." In addition, in the style of work, such evil trends as bureaucracy and red tape still exist.

All these have presented obstacles to bringing the superiority of the socialist system into full play and thereby hamper productive powers in our society to move forward at an accelerated rate. These evils and shortcomings are not innate in the socialist system itself, but are problems of our understanding and work. So long as we can correctly sum up our experiences and lessons, and continuously probe and reform in practice, it is certain that the socialist system will gradually be adapted to individual specific links and to socialized mass production, and thereby give full play to the superiority of the socialist system. As for the interferences and obstructions originating from the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, it is an issue which is different in nature and the socialist system is not to blame.

9560
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CALL FOR EFFORT AT IMPLEMENTING THE 'RESOLUTION'

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 81 p 2

[Article: "Exert Effort in Implementation"]

[Text] The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" which accords with the heart of the party and with the will of the people. Many party organizations not only seriously study it and widely promote it, but moreover they are attentive to uniting it with reality and using the spirit of the "Resolution" in moving to solve the salient problems of their their own areas and units. This sort of excellent study style which intimately combines study and promotion with implementation and execution has not been seen for many years and is worthy of strong support.

Exerting effort in implementation does not mean that we should overlook study and promotion, nor is it to say that we already did a sufficient job of study and promotion in the period prior to this. An historical document as rich in content, as ideologically profound, and with as far-reaching significance as the "Resolution" first requires time and energy for serious study and penetrating research. We must comprehend the spiritual essence, raise our individual understanding, and also adopt numerous ways of carrying out broad and penetrating promotion with great fanfare among all party members and the masses in order to unite our ideology and allow us to look forward in unity. This is the foundation for implementing the spirit of the "Resolution." The study and promotion of the previous period was only the beginning. We still need to further strengthen these areas. Otherwise, we will have but a smattering of knowledge half understood, mere light and shadow, or we will not reach full understanding in our ideology in which case there is basically no way we can speak of using the spirit of the "Resolution" to direct our work. But what is clear in guiding ideology is that study and promotion must take implementation as the point of departure and the stepping stones. The two must be intimately combined and not distinctly separated.

The reason that in guiding ideology we must be clear on this point is reflected in the fact that in some areas and units the party style and the style of study that was damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet been completely corrected. This makes it conspicuously clear that in recent years some leading comrades in their treatment of the new spirit of the Party Central Committee and its established principles and policies have been satisfied to simply transmit them to the masses, halting efforts after ordinary promotion and calls for adherence have been made, and having no concrete plans or actions regarding how they and those under them should implement things. For these comrades it seems as though transmitting, promoting and organizing several study sessions can be considered implementation. This causes the spirit of the Party Central Committee and its principles and policies to be put poorly into effect at the grass roots level so that problems that should and could be solved do not get solved. The masses are very dissatisfied with this and criticize it as a "gust of wind." This time around in our study and promotion of the "Resolution" we should naturally consider this to be a taboo and exert greater effort in implementation, not stopping after merely blowing a "gust of wind."

That which is called implementation is the thorough manifestation or embodiment (of principles, policies, spirit, methods, etc.). Obviously, study, transmission, and promotion of the spirit of the Party Central Committee is not equivalent to implementation. In implementation we must look to practice where we still need to make great efforts. If energy is lacking, if the workstyle is lethargic, and if duties are discharged in a perfunctory manner, then it is impossible for a leader or a party committee to thoroughly implement the spirit of the Party Central Committee, and they will forever blow a "gust of wind." Also, some comrades believe that the spirit of the Party Central Committee has deeply captured the hearts of the people and that by simply promoting it among the masses inside and outside of the party the masses will consciously bring it to realization. This viewpoint is onesided. Besides needing the initiative of the masses, implementing the spirit and the principles and policies of the Party Central Committee requires a great deal of work by leaders who must understand the actual situations of their own areas and units, including the actual ideas and demands of the masses, the advantageous and disadvantageous conditions, the primary experiences and lessons learned in their work, every contradiction and important problem, etc. This will make it possible to intimately combine the spirit of the Party Central Committee, its principles and policies, and the reality of the particular area or unit, and to come up with concrete measures and methods to implement. Actually, implementation is the best promotion. In promotion, of course we must first communicate and explain the spirit. We must see to it that the broad party members and the masses grasp the important elements of the "Resolution" and understand its essence. But, the deepening of understanding still rests with practice. Only by carrying out the spirit of the Party Central Committee in our actual work and achieving clear results, things which the masses can see and feel, can the masses' understanding and comprehension of that spirit deepen. This is a much more forceful education for the minority who harbor doubts in their hearts about certain policies and certain conclusions or who lack confidence in being able to put the spirit of the Party Central Committee into effect.

At the same time, how the spirit of the 6th Plenum is implemented is the standard for measuring the effectiveness of our study and promotion. This is because whether or not the "Resolution" and other documents passed by the 6th Plenum are truly accepted ideologically, the depth of the understanding of them, and how complete and unprejudiced such understanding is is not primarily a matter of how attitudes are expressed, but rather is mainly a matter of how implementation proceeds, whether or not attitudes are resolute, whether or not measures are forceful and can solve real problems and whether or not problems are thoroughly solved. In the period just prior to this, there were a small number of persons who, although they studied every word concerning the spirit of the 6th Plenum and transmitted documents in their original form, didn't seriously implement the spirit in their work, and even failed to reach ideological understanding after a fairly long period of time. This makes it clear that their study and promotion was not conscious, but rather they adopted attitudes of merely coping.

Implementing the spirit of the 6th Plenum requires that we continue working hard to improve economic work and further strengthen the construction of a spiritual civilization. Without doubt, in accomplishing these two important tasks we will meet with many concrete difficulties and problems, and so we must proceed in a planned and orderly way. Every area, department and unit in accordance with their actual situations should suggest concrete needs and plans concerning how to do a good job in grasping economic work and the construction of a spiritual civilization. This involves making clear what should be tackled this year and what next year, everything being laid out clearly in our minds. There are still 4 months until the end of this year and, since time waits for no man, the problems to be solved and the measures to be implemented should be more practical. We should seriously tackle several problems and actually solve the outstanding problems obstructing our own progress. Why fear tackling but two or three problems first, for this is far better than the mediocre workstyles of saying you can't do things or failing to distinguish right from wrong, failing to thoroughly solve problems and leaving matters unresolved. The key here is in every leader mobilizing his energy to display the spirit of the foolish old man moving the mountain in overcoming all difficulties in economic work and changing the weak and disorganized state of ideological work.

9705
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SELF IMPROVEMENT FOR LEADING CADRES URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Fang Yisi [2455 0001 1835]: "Don't Forget 'Pursuit'"]

[Text] After the October Revolution, the petty bourgeois democratic faction represented by Sukhanov and the heroes of the Second International used the notion that Russian culture had not yet developed to a level necessary to realize socialism to attack the socialist revolution led by the bolsheviks. In facing this attack, Lenin wrote an article called "Discussion of Our Nation's Revolution (Notes in Criticism of N. Sukhanov)" as a refutation. Lenin asked why, since they said that a definite cultural level is necessary to build socialism, can we not first use revolutionary means to obtain what is a prerequisite for reaching this definite level, and then from this foundation pursue the level of peoples of other nations.

This viewpoint of Lenin's is certainly correct. The Russian Revolution and the revolution of our country both achieved victory under the guidance of just such thinking. But, in actual life, many people remember only the first half of this well-known discourse by Lenin, and forget the second half. They only emphasize that even if you haven't reached a definite cultural level, you can still seize political power, and they overlook the fact that once political power is gained, you must still "pursue" that cultural level.

During the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" greatly revolutionized culture. They considered all the inherited culture of mankind to be poisonous feudal, capitalist and revisionist weeds and made a clean sweep of it all turning a country of 9.6 million square kilometers into a cultural desert. But I will not speak of this sort of senseless behavior here. Within our ranks, in 30 odd years of nation building, we have known the kind of people who do not study or read newspapers, who brag that they are "simple rustics," who believe that the less culture one has, the less knowledge one has, the firmer his class standing, and the higher one's cultural level, the more knowledge one possesses, the more questionable his class standing. Because of this, they not only do not consider not working hard at studying culture and increasing knowledge to be shameful, but they view total illiteracy as a glorious thing. Under this kind of ideological direction, they naturally are not going to go of their own accord and study science and raise their cultural level.

In recent years, because of the forceful call by the Party Central Committee, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee has taken the lead in inviting specialists from the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other units to give classes to the leading comrades of the Secretariat and the State Council so that studying culture and science will become customary and there will be no more instances of persons beating their chests with self-satisfaction and proclaiming that they are "simple rustics." But, is it true that all persons, especially those cadres with specific leadership responsibilities, recognize the importance of raising our cultural level, and so seriously study with a positive result? I really have my doubts. I have heard of this kind of thing happening: in one instance agronomists at one unit or other wanted to try soilless cultivation of rice seedlings. The one in charge of this unit asked how they could do well at soilless cultivation when they couldn't do well at cultivation with soil, and how could anyone cultivate rice seedlings without soil? In another instance, technicians and scientists at a plastics factory wanted to research a breathable artificial leather and needed some funding. The concerned department asked what there was to research about the breathability of artificial leather; wasn't it enough to punch some holes in it? They refused to give any funds. Of course, there are still more situations such as these. Lenin called this kind of unstudied, unskilled, obstinate, "I may approve it, and then I may not" leadership the chit-chitki [phonetic] approach. It is best not used. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others.

Socialism is mankind's most advanced social system. Only by grasping the culture that mankind has created in the process of its complete development, and by reforming and developing this culture can we complete socialism. Without this high level culture we cannot complete this task. Therefore, while we are carrying out the four modernizations, let's not forget this task of "pursuing" the cultural levels of peoples of other countries.

9705
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY EXHORTED TO DO GOOD MILITIA WORK

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Yulin [4151 3768 2651], secretary of the Jiaoxie Commune CCP Committee in Hai'an County: "Maintain the Party's Control of the Armed Forces and Strengthen Militia Building"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the [11th CCP] Central Committee pointed out: "Under international conditions in which the threat of war still exists, we must strengthen the modernization of national defense." "The People's Liberation Army must strengthen its military training, political work, logistical work, and military science research so as to further improve its combat effectiveness.... Militia building must also be strengthened." This is the new demand imposed upon militia building in the new situation.

The militia is an armed force that does not wear military uniforms but is an important force in defending the four modernizations. Especially under conditions in which modern war can suddenly escalate, the handling of militia is an even more effective means to deal with an enemy's surprise attack. Imperialism, particularly social-imperialism, in launching a war of aggression will most likely make surprise attacks of the blitzkrieg type. Relying on modern equipment, it will launch a large-scale offensive. To cope with this kind of enemy, there must be cooperation between regular units and militia in using the tactics of mine, hit-and-run, and ambush warfare so as to continually harass, pin down, and wear down the enemy, delaying the enemy's movements or raiding his supply bases, frontline airfields, guided missiles positions, petroleum pipelines, signal communications systems, and command organizations, thereby dispersing the enemy's forces and annihilating all the enemy soldiers.

The key to handling militia is to have the party committees at all levels control the militia. In a previous period of time, some people thought that, with the shift in focus of the party's work, "economic construction will be given top priority and militia work will be given up." This idea was mainly caused by their gradually forgetting about war because they were in a peaceful environment. This idea is very dangerous. We certainly must conscientiously sum up experiences, carry forward the party's fine tradition of controlling the armed forces, and build up the militia well.

At present, when the responsibility system of pooled output and planned remuneration is being universally carried out in the rural areas, the party controls the armed forces and must strengthen the militia's ideological and political education, help the militia to establish the correct outlooks with regard to honor, suffering and happiness, and life and death so that the militiamen will consciously fulfill their obligations and responsibilities. The party must conscientiously make investigations and studies, timely analyze the new conditions of militia work, solve the new problems encountered in militia work, do well in readjusting the militia system and in reforming military training, and in a down-to-earth fashion do good militia work in the new situation.

9727
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BATTALION POLITICAL INSTRUCTOR HAILED AS NEW LEI FENG

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Li Junjia--Lei Feng of the 80's"]

[Text] On the day that we celebrate the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we specially introduce to everybody a serviceman who possess a high degree of spiritual culture--Li Junjia [2621 0193 3946].

Comrade Li Junjia is the political instructor of the 1st Battalion of a certain unit of the forces stationed in Shanxi. During his student days, he persisted in learning from Lei Feng, did good deeds, and was many times appraised as a "three-good student." After enlisting in the armed forces in 1970, under the cultivation of the party, Li Junjia even more consciously took the Lei Feng path to maturity. He assiduously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and consciously reformed his world outlook. He loves the party, the motherland, and the socialist system, is concerned for the four modernizations, and of his own accord shares the cares and burdens of the party and the state. He has both ambitious goals and a down-to-earth style in his own job. He is selfless, put others before himself, finds pleasure in helping others, and with his whole heart and mind serves the people. He struggles arduously, is modest and prudent, and gets in close touch with the masses....Li Junjia is a model in learning from Lei Feng and in building a socialist spiritual civilization, and is a model soldier of the revolutionary army-men in the "four have's, three stresses, and two fearlesses." His unit has conferred upon him the title of "Lei Feng-type cadre," and the masses have praised him as a "living Lei Feng". The Beijung Units recently held a victory meeting at which they gave Li Junjia a merit citation, first class, and urged all officers and men to learn from him.

Li Junjia is the Lei Feng of the 80's

The great river flows east and history rolls on. Since time immemorial, in the great motherland--this 9.6 square kilometer piece of mother earth--many advanced personages have glittered like the flashes of light from a brilliant galaxy. In the 60's, the great communist fighter Lei Feng emerged before our eyes. Lei Feng was a exemplary member of the CCP; the Lei Feng spirit is the crystallization of the Chinese nation's several thousands of years of spiritual civilization. The birth of the Lei Feng spirit has further removed the private ownership mentality from people's minds and further established the new relationship between people under our country's socialist system. Encouraged by the Lei Feng spirit, new people and new deeds have emerged in an endless stream, and heroic models have become too numerous to count. Today, history has already developed into the decade of the 1980's. Our country, after undergoing the 10 years of civil strife of the "Great Cultural Revolution," brought order out of chaos and is now in a great transitional period. Under the party's leadership, the people of the whole country are determined to surmount every difficulty and with one heart and one mind construct the four modernizations. This great era will certainly produce new Lei Feng's, and exemplary models in learning from Lei Feng like Li Junjia will be produced under these circumstances.

The model deeds of Li Junjia are many sided, but two of them that are most important and rich in significance for this era are: 1) he regards the interests of the party and the socialist motherland as higher than everything else; 2) he contributes everything he has to the construction of the four modernizations. These "two everything's" show Li Junjia put it this way: "Our generation thinks of nothing else but being united heart and mind with the party and struggling all our lives for the party's cause!" He also said: "If we suffer a little in building up our forces so as to strengthen national defense and make the state secure, the people can live in happiness." By promoting China's lofty aspirations and great ideals, by fulfilling the lofty duty of helping the country to get over its difficulties and of relieving the people of their anxieties, by carrying forward the selfless spirit of sacrifice of the war years, and by being absolutely sincere with the party and the motherland, he has composed a stirring new "Song of Lei Feng."

To regard the interests of the party and the socialist motherland as higher than everything else and to contribute everything to the construction of the four modernizations--this is the demand of the era and the great trust of history. This is because today we are faces with the greatest task, vis, constructing a modernized powerful socialist country which is highly democratic and highly civilized. The road is tortuous, but the prospects are bright. Before our eyes are the hearty smiles of victory but also the possibility of the bitter wails of defeat. To triumph over difficulties in attaining our goal of struggle, every communist, every revolutionary cadre, every revolutionary armyman--in a word, every good-hearted Chinese person--should, like Li Junjia, carry out these "two everything's." And they are precisely the important content in the 80's of learning from Lei Feng and of building a spiritual civilization. Just as the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the [11th] CCP Central Committee pointed out: "Socialism must have a highly spiritual civilization...a patriotic spirit of resisting the influences of the decadent bourgeoisie ideology and of the remnants of feudal ideology, of overcoming the influence of the petty bourgeois ideology, and of putting the motherland's interests above everything else; and a spirit of contributing everything in constructing modernization through arduous effort."

Some people say: The Present era is different and "learning from Lei Feng is outmoded"; still other consider those who carry forward the Lei Feng spirit to be "fools". Is this really so? My ideal is to be like Lei Feng." This is correct! Not only in the past were people like Lei Feng needed; they are needed today and will still be needed after the passage of many years. If one speaks about the differences between learning from Lei Feng today and learning from him in the 60's, then the only difference is that to develop the Lei Feng spirit today seems even more important and urgent than in the past. This is not only because the advocacy and spread of the Lei Feng spirit was stifled and damaged during the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution" and must be restored and developed; even more important is that if we want to build a socialist China, we ourselves must possess the trait of being highly civilized. Without a spiritual civilization there will be no four modernizations. So how can it be said that the Lei Feng spirit is "outmoded"!

The Sixth Plenary System of the [11th] CCP Central Committee was held in order to learn from Lei Feng and to launch the activity of the "five stresses and four beautifuls so as to open up a new world. Living Lei Feng's like Li Junjia will appear in great numbers like mushrooms springing up after a rain. We hope that the great number of armymen and civilians throughout the province will, while studying the documents of the 6th plenary session, conscientiously study the deeds of Comrade Li Junjia, take him as a model, and strive to be Lei Feng's of the 80's.

9727
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ROLE OF SURPRISE ATTACK IN GUERRILLA WARFARE DESCRIBED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Lianzhang [1728 6647 4545] et al.: "Surprise Attack--One of the Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare"]

[Text] Surprise attack means, on the basis of full preparations, and with swift concealed movement, suddenly to make a courageous and resolute attack on the enemy. It is a method of warfare that can quickly decide a battle and is one of the main tactics of guerrilla warfare. During the periods of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, our province's militia frequently used this tactic to make harassing attacks and deal blows to the enemy that caught him unawares, thereby seizing victory in battles. In July 1947, our guerrilla forces of Beitongshui in Ju County, Lunan Prefecture, at the instruction of the higher authorities, after making full preparations, taking advantage of the darkness of night after a rain, suddenly make a surprise attack on a motor transport corps of the Chiang [Kai-shek] army stationed in Quanguan village (25 li from Beitongshui) in Yinan County, and won a victory in which it annihilated many of the enemy and captured over 20 motor vehicles. This example of a surprise attack was one that cannot be surpassed in the previous history of militia struggle.

Because surprise attacks employ different concrete methods, they can be divided into "rush attacks," "astonishing attacks," "stealthy attacks," and "strong attacks." For cavalry or motorized infantry to come from a long way off and, after making a surprise attack, swiftly withdraw, is called a "rush attack"; for guerrillas to disguise themselves as peasants or dress in camoflauge clothing and then infiltrate the enemy camp and suddenly launch a surprise attack or make a surprise attack in coordination with outside forces, is called an "astonishing attack" or a "stealthy attack"; and for guerrillas to attack in force an enemy who has a superior force firmly entrenched in defensive works, is called a "strong attack."

In a future war against aggression, the surprise attack will remain an effective tactic for militia guerrilla forces to strike at and annihilate the enemy. The idea that, because in a future war our principal adversary will be an enemy who possesses highly modernized weapons and equipment, surprise attacks will not be as highly effective as they were in the past, is a one-sided idea. In fact, in a future war, because the enemy's equipment will be complex, with many tanks, armored cars, and motor vehicles for which movement is inconvenient and which are easily exposed, they will provide the militia guerrilla forces with even more attacking opportunities. For example, in a modern war, the damage rate of the enemy's weapons and equipment will be greatly increased, and when the enemy is replenishing his weapons and equipment at the front, he will certainly have to carry out on the battlefield crash-repairs of his damaged vehicles, weapons, and equipment. In that case, the guerrilla forces can make surprise attacks on the enemy's maintenance detachments and thus weaken the restoration and regeneration of his combat strength.

In a future war against aggression, in order to make good surprise attacks it is extremely important to do the following several things well. First of all, meticulous reconnaissance must be carried out in order to truly ascertain the enemy's situation, the terrain and the inhabitants in the area under consideration, to clearly find out the patterns of the enemy's activities, to find the enemy's weak points, and to then draw up a thorough plan of action. Next, we must correctly choose the targets of attack and determine the opportune moment for making the attack. Conditions for determining the target of attack are that the enemy is scattered and isolated, his guards are careless, his defense works are not strong, his morale is low, his martial spirit is shaky, his command is irresolute, or the terrain he occupies is disadvantageous for him, etc. Generally speaking, the enemy's logistical facilities, supply structures, guards, and repair detachments can all become the principal objects of our surprise attacks. The opportune moment for making a surprise attack can be determined according to the actual situation. For an enemy who is isolated and cut off, if there is little threat from his air force, we will choose a time before dawn, so that it will be easy for us to utilize the darkness of night to get close to the enemy. For a small enemy group, we will choose the time of dusk, so that it will be easy for us to hide ourslves by camoflauge, and if our surprise attack does not succeed we can slip away under cover of the darkness of night. For an enemy whose defenses are weak and who is relaxed or weary, we can take the opportunity of weather conditions such as wind, snow, rain, or fog to make our surprise attack, and if the target and moment of our attack is well chosen, we can attack him while he is unprepared and catch him unawares, so that we can fully display our own strong points and the role of the enemy's superior weapons will be diminished or not be brought into play at all. This is the key to defeating one's opponent by a surprise move. Moreover, when moving close to the enemy, we must be hidden, secret, and swift and avoid by all means revealing our intentions or acting rashly and alerting the enemy. When making a surprise attack, we whould move with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, attack boldly and powerfully, and force the enemy to fight at close quarters, so that he will lose the protection of his "tortise shell" and we can fully display the power of our hand grenades, submachineguns, and bayonets. We must subdue the enemy quickly, striking accurately and relentlessly with blitzing tactics so that the battle is decided as quickly as possible, and then swiftly withdraw from the fighting zone.

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'BA YI RADIO' ON SUICIDE OF PLA PRISONERS OF WAR

OW160055 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Not long after their return to China, our army's 11 commanders and fighters who were captured by Vietnam committed suicide out of grief and indignation. This is a sad incident. Their suicide has been the result of the erroneous policy of discriminating against and mistrusting captured personnel which our party and army have pursued since the 1930's. Though only a dozen commanders and fighters have committed suicide, the impact on the thinking of the masses of commanders and fighters has been enormous.

Some comrades on the CCP Central Committee's military commission held that the incident was because the ultraleftist thinking of overthrowing everything, doubting everything and calling cadres, who had once been captured and jailed by the KMT "renegades," "special agents," and "degenerates," which was very common during the cultural revolution, had not been completely eliminated. This is by no means an attitude of seeking truth from facts.

We have always condemned Chiang Kai-Shek's cruel philosophy that it is better to kill 1,000 people by mistake than to let a single enemy escape. On the other hand, we have pursued a policy of discriminating against and mistrusting captured commanders and fighters for fear that there may be some untrustworthy degenerates among them. [Words indistinct] commanders and fighters who have been captured on the battlefield after they have been wounded, outnumbered by the enemy and after they have failed to break out of an encirclement, have never won any sympathy except a bad record which affects their political career and future. This has been so even though in most cases their capture has been caused by the mistakes of higher-level leaders in planning and directing operations.

A good example can be cited from the war to resist America and aid Korea. Having made a wrong assessment of the war situation, Mao Zedong ordered the main force to cross the 38th parallel. But logistics support could not reach the frontline because the line was overextended. Our units were cut in half when U.S. troops landed at Inchon. Although our units heroically broke out of the encirclement, tens of thousands were captured. Although the number who chose not to return to China were small, those who returned faced disaster. Whenever there was a political movement, they were the target of investigation. Several hundred committed suicide out of grief and indignation in those few years. Among them were veteran cadres of the war of resistance to Japan and even the long march.

During the war against Vietnam, a large number of our army commanders and fighters were captured. The main reason for this was the mistakes in operational direction and a wrong assessment of the fighting strength of the Vietnamese troops. It should be particularly noted that troop movement was decided solely by the subjective will of a few leaders. Before an agreement on ceasefire was reached between China and Vietnam, China unilaterally and riskily withdrew its troops giving Vietnamese troops an opportunity to pursue and attack Chinese troops. This resulted in the capture of a number of commanders and fighters.

Modern warfare is extremely complicated. As paratroopers and landing troops are used to launch an offensive, the capture of commamders and fighters is a routine matter. Our army's morale will be affected if the pursuance of the policy of discriminating against and mistrusting captured personnel is continued.

CSO: 4005/65

POLITICAL COMMISSAR PUBLICIZES 'RESOLUTION' AMONG TROOPS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Yang Hanlin [2799 3352 2651] et al." "Nanjing Air Force Senior Officer Goes to Mountainous Area To Publicize the 'Resolution' to a Unit"]

[Text] From 12 August until yesterday, Xiao Qian [5135 0467], political commissar of the Nanjing Air Force, while stationed at a certain unit in a mountainous area on inspection work, made the publicizing of the "resolution" ["Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC"] his most important task. Once he arrived at the unit, he investigated and came to an understanding of the unit's study, work, and ideological situation. With the topics of "Conscientiously Learn the 'Resolution' and Do Good Troop Work" and "Correctly Understand the Historical Position of Comrade Mao Zedong," he separately publicized the "resolution" to cadres at the regimental level and above and to cadres and fighters at the basic level.

Political commissar Xiao Qian, when explaining the great significance of upholding Mao Zedong Thought, pointed out that Mao Zedong Thought was formed during half a century of extremely difficult and hard struggle and is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party, and that the upholding of Mao Zedong Thought is an unshakeable principle. He exhorted the great number of officers and men to conscientiously study Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific writings, as well as Vice Chairman Deng's important speech made in 1979 concerning Mao Zedong Thought, and to arm their minds with the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, closely unite around the party Central Committee, enhance their vigor, and work hard to build up the unit well.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG PROVINCE SEES NEED TO UPGRADE EDUCATION WORK

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 81 p 2

[Text] At its 11th meeting on 7 August, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of the province adopted the "Resolution on Strengthening the Work of General Education in Guangdong Province," the full text of which follows:

At its 11th meeting, the Standing Committee of the 5th Session of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress heard a comprehensive report given by Deputy Governor Yang Kanghua [2799 1660 5478] on the work of general education in the province. Following a discussion, unanimous approval was given to the views expressed and the measures outlined by the Provincial People's Government regarding the development of general education in the province.

It was agreed at the meeting that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the implementation of the instructions issued by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council regarding the work of education, our province has put a series of programs on general education into practice and achieved good results in its central task of making readjustments in the work of education and in upgrading the quality of teaching. However, the serious damage done to education as a result of the 10-year period of turmoil caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique has yet to be further remedied. Furthermore, sufficient recognition has not been given in the past few years to the important role played by education and the effects of education on the reconstruction of the national economy. Adequate investment has not been made in intellectual development on a long-term basis. There remain a number of problems and difficulties in education work. The backward state of education in our province has yet to show basic improvement. Many problems remain which require urgent solution.

It was agreed at the meeting that the development of education has a significant role to play in the implementation of special policies, in the adoption of flexible measures, and in the speeding up of the four modernizations in our province. It is necessary to heighten the awareness of the position and function of education and of intellectuals in modernization constructions and to resolutely eradicate the long-existing but totally erroneous views which downgraded education, science and culture, and which fostered prejudices against intellectuals at the height of the "cultural revolution." The various levels of the people's government must honestly exercise their leadership in strengthening education work, accord high priority to the problem of speedily reversing the backward state of education in the province, and find solutions without delay for the major problems in education.

We must firmly uphold the educational policy of promoting moral, intellectual and physical development, promote the idea of the importance of being both Red and expert, strengthen coordination among intellectuals, laborers and farmers and coordination of mental and physical labor. We must pay due attention to the importance of intellectual investment, increase the education budget, and raise the percentage of investment in education in the national economy year by year. We must make sure that expenditures in education should not fall below the average in proportion to the total expenditures of the province for the 17 years prior to the "cultural revolution." Newly incurred expenses must be met, and outstanding debts must be paid in installments so that the conditions for the operation of schools may continue to improve. Although laboring under financial difficulties, the provincial people's government has allocated educational funds for the current year amounting to 42 million yuan. Those at the meeting were of the opinion that the amount was entirely justified. We must continue to implement the educational policy of "walking on two legs." While education is being developed by the government, we must also take active steps to encourage the industrial and mining enterprises, the communes and brigades and the various organizations in society to operate schools. We should take advantage of the favorable conditions in villages with large numbers of overseas Chinese and encourage them and our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao to demonstrate their love for their country and their hometowns by lending their financial support to the development of education. We must actively promote the introduction of reforms in the structure of middle school education so that education work in our province may meet the needs for the implementation of special policies and for the adoption of flexible measures in the interest of economic development. The various levels of government and the concerned departments should take concrete measures to upgrade the social position of teachers and to improve gradually their working and living conditions. Those who are guilty of assaulting teachers and of making trouble in schools must be dealt with severely. Serious offenders must be prosecuted according to the law. Readjustments, improvements and reforms must be made within education circles. Serious effort must be made for the training of teachers, the development of a contingent of teachers, the strengthening and improvement of ideological and political work, the expansion of activities to promote emulation of Lei Feng [7191 6912] (a soldier who died on duty and who purportedly left a diary in which he recorded his thoughts and his efforts to learn from the works of Mao, and who was hailed as a model young man for the youth of China to emulate), the establishment of a new style, the achievement of the three goods (good health, good study and good work) and the "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty," the development of good thoughts and good conduct on the part of the students and the continual upgrading of the quality of education so that it may meet the needs of the four modernizations in our province.

The meeting called for people throughout the province to give their attention and support to the development of education and to promote the establishment of a social climate of respect for teachers. The various departments must establish close coordination in rendering their active support and substantial assistance to the work of the educational departments. The large number of teachers and staff who have labored long and hard in education must continue to devote themselves honestly and loyally to the party's educational endeavors, to play their roles as "gardeners" to better effect, and to engage in the strenuous struggle to speed up the development of general education and talent in our province, and the establishment of our country as a modern, highly democratic, highly cultured and powerul socialist nation.

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OVER-EMPLOYMENT OF INTELLECTUALS AWAITS PROPER SOLUTION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] According to XINHUA reporter, Wang Chunhai [3768 2504 3189], the Chinese Communist Committee of Benxi Municipality and the United Front Work Department, following a recent survey, proposed that the problem of high-level intellectuals holding too many part-time jobs should be adequately solved. The result of the survey indicates that the problem is a serious one. The 21 high-level intellectuals working for the 5 systems such as the Benxi Steel Company and the Benxi Mining Bureau, for instance, hold a total of 138 part-time jobs in addition to their own. On the average, each of them holds as many as six jobs. The one with the most number of jobs has 17, while the one with the fewest holds 3. The holding of too many part-time jobs has had a deleterious effect on high-level intellectuals in their scientific research, their teaching and in their work of developing cadres, not to mention their own health.

The Chinese Communist Committee of Benxi Municipality and the United Front Work Department have come forth with the five following ideas to help solve this problem:

1. Making suitable arrangements for the part-time employment of intellectuals and making good use of their specialties. For those among the scientific and technical workers who are engaged in scientific research, who have achieved good results and who are capable of further development, full opportunity should be given them to exercise their leadership roles in the scientific field and arrangements should be made to avoid giving them concurrent jobs as leaders in the area of administration. As for scientific and technical workers who steadfastly uphold the party line, who have special knowledge in a particular field, who have organizational and leadership ability, who are young and vigorous and who are most capable of playing administrative leadership roles, they should be selected without hesitation to fill the leadership ranks. Arrangement should be made for them to assume responsibility as leaders in business operations so that they may give full play to their special skills and that they may have the job, the authority and the duties within the area of their responsibility.

2. Arrangement for the holding of part-time jobs by scientific and technical workers should be made with consideration to the respective jurisdictions of the cadres. The responsible units are to give due consideration to every aspect of the matter, to exercise a firm hold on the situation, and to make reports and comments to their superiors. As for the arrangement of part-time jobs for nonparty members,

prior consultation should be held with the United Front Work Department. As a rule, scientific and technical workers holding jobs of an administrative leadership category should not be given another part-time administrative job. Those who hold part-time jobs may be permitted to do so within the same system and the same unit. Arrangement should not be made for a worker to hold a part-time job outside his system and unit. As for political and honorary jobs, one is permitted, as a matter of principle, to hold only one part-time job, and one holding a higher position should not hold a part-time job in a lower position so as to avoid duplication and the overlapping of duties. In the academic field, one may only take part-time jobs which are related to his specialty, and the number of part-time jobs should be limited. The number of part-time jobs which one may hold may be left to his own discretion. If necessary, arrangement may be made for those who have established reputations to hold honorary jobs. Strict control should be exercised for the various levels of academic bodies to assume their respective responsibilities.

3. Steps should be taken to reduce the amount of time spent by scientific and technical workers in attending meetings and in taking part in social activities so that they may devote more energy to the study of their business operations and give full play to their special skills. If the person concerned feels that it is not necessary for him to attend a meeting, he should be given a leave of absence. If he feels that it is not necessary for him to take part in a certain social activity, his unit should assist him in sending his regrets.

4. In arranging for part-time jobs for intellectuals, the department in question should first consult the unit in which the person concerned is employed as well as the person himself. With their approval, the responsible department should make the arrangement on an overall basis after having given consideration to various aspects of the matter. Arrangement should not be made for the person concerned without his approval.

5. Investigation and study should be strengthened so that the problem arising from the holding of too many part-time jobs by scientific and technical workers may be adequately solved. The various units must engage in a serious study to find a solution on the basis of the existing problem.

The concerned departments in Liaoning Province are of the view that the holding of too many part-time jobs by high-level intellectuals at the present time is a prevalent problem, that it should be given serious attention, and that an honest effort should be made to find a solution.

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HONG KONG PAPER: AUTHORITIES SUPPRESS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Hong Kong TUNG-HSI-FANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese No 29, 5 Sep 81 p 37

[Article by the Information Center for Democratic Movement: "The Democratic Movement Is Being Supressed by the Chinese Communists"]

[Text] Unannounced Arrest of Champions of Democracy Continues

The Chinese Communists have arrested Wang Yifei [3769 0001 7378], a champion of the democratic movement in Guangzhou, on charges of engaging in "counterrevolutionary" activities. The arrest came after he tried to gain freedom for comrades in arms also dedicated to this movement who were arrested earlier by the local authorities.

Wang Yifei is an auto maintenance worker in Guangzhou who is now in his thirties, born to the family of a railway worker. He was imprisoned and tortured for getting involved in the big-character poster [Li Yizhe; 2621 0001 0772] case. After he was rehabilitated and his status as a resident of Guangzhou reinstated in July 1980, Wang joined the staff of the PEOPLE'S ROAD. He also devoted himself to theoretical research which culminated in the publication of an article entitled, "New Class and New Society," aimed at analyzing the nature of the Chinese society and its prospects.

When Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772] was arrested on 20 April 1981, agents of the public security bureau searched the home of Wang Yifei, where they confiscated books, reams of paper and printing equipment. During the search, he was also cross-examined. Despite this, Wang insisted on defending his legitimate right to publish unofficial journals and never retreated from that position. He also mounted a campaign against the government's suppression of the democratic movement and its secret moves to round up comrades associated with the movement, calling on others to fight for the freedom of those detained and to support the democratic movement.

But the government arrested him for taking this legitimate and justifiable action. Late in July, Wang was arrested by the Guangzhou Municipal Public Security Bureau on charges of engaging in "counterrevolutionary" activities. This massive crackdown on the democratic movement undoubtedly stemmed from a desire to cover up facts by locking up the voices of the people in prison cells. On the other hand, it reflects the fact that the democratic movement remains strong and alive under the crushing pressure.

Nanjing's Xu Shuiliang [1776 3055 5328] Under Arrest

According to foreign news reports, Xu Shuiliang and Yu Weimin [0060 5898 3046], champions of the democratic movement in Nanjing municipality, were arrested by the local authorities along with Yang Xiaolei [2799 1420 7191], another champion of the democratic movement in Hangzhou. Their backgrounds are as follows:

Xu Shuiliang is a native of Nanjing in his thirties. After graduation from college, he was employed by a pharmaceutical plant.

A veteran champion of democracy, Xu's devotion to this struggle dates back to 1975, when he displayed big-character posters in Nanjing streets. Among them was a poster entitled "10 questions and answers concerning socialism." He shocked the entire city of Nanjing with a denunciation of some then popular erroneous theories, for which he gained fame as a Li Yizhe-type person in Nanjing, and he was subsequently arrested by the local authorities. After his arrest, the local authorities originally planned to organize writers and hold meetings to criticize him. But this plan had to be abandoned lest public criticism expand his influence. He was later sentenced to a prison term, until he was rehabilitated and freed from prison in 1978.

After he was freed, Xu continued his theoretical research while writing articles for use by unofficial journals expressing support for the democratic movement. Many unofficial journals in various localities carried his articles in which he adopted the Marxist attitude of thoroughly analyzing the nature of the Chinese society while interpreting it in accordance with his own views. He is a theoretician of the democratic movement. Among his articles are "The Process of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," "Questions Concerning the State and Class," "Matters Concerning Unity and Contradictions," and "Problems of Socialist Distribution."

Yang Xiaolei is a champion of the democratic movement and a worker in Hangzhou.

Yu Weimin is a champion of the democratic movement in Nanjing.

Beijing University's Hu Ping [5170 1627] and Fang Zhiyuan [2075 1807 6678] Under Pressure

Although a large number of persons responsible for the unofficial journals have been arrested in China, the democratic movement still shows no sign of being crushed. Although unofficial journals in various localities have reportedly been closed down, RESPONSIBILITY, organ of the National Federation of Unofficial Publications, remains in operation. In the face of severe tests, the democratic movement has demonstrated an incredible vitality!

Also under pressure are Beijing University students Hu Ping and Fang Zhiyuan, who at the end of 1980 sent a draft "election law" to the National People's Congress for consideration while collecting signatures in support of this draft. Now at stake is their status as students. Apart from the previously mentioned cases of persecution, college students throughout the country are being mobilized to study "document No 9."

Tao Sen [7118 2773] Expelled From Hunan Normal College

Tao Sen was a candidate during the 1980 election campaign in Hunan who lodged a protest with the party committee of the Hunan Normal College for violating the election law. Since winning victory in this struggle, he has been the subject of retaliation and has been ordered to leave the college, while no action has been taken against the party committee for violating the election law. Liang Heng [2733 1854], another student representative, received the same treatment. Also affected is his wife, who is of foreign nationality and who has been forced to resign from a college position. Measures have also been taken to isolate them from society so as to prevent this story from leaking to the public.

It has been reported that most of the persons associated with defunct unofficial publications in various localities were summoned to the public security bureau offices for interrogation with the aim of persuading them to give up their journalistic careers and of gathering more information on the democratic movement.

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 230

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SELF-SACRIFICE DEMANDED OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Wang Zhifang [3076 1807 5364]: "Party Members Should All Have the Spirit of Self-Sacrifice"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] in his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party in China" said: "For us Communists, serving the people means primarily dedication to the cause of communism and readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the interests of the people." That is to say that the brilliant spirit of communism is self-sacrifice is a manifestation of a communist's profound understanding and great knowledge. Every party member must have this type of selfless and fearless revolutionary spirit.

The Communist Party member's spirit of self-sacrifice is the most fundamental phenomenon in our party's wholehearted purpose of serving the people. Just by depending on this spirit of self-sacrifice has enabled our party to be victorious over all difficulties and obstacles, to go through the three great mountains, and establish the People's Republic. After liberation, our party widely held this spirit in esteem and spread its reputation for worthiness everywhere, educating and encouraging the multitudes.

Some people say that this spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of Communist Party members was necessary in the extremely rude environment in which the party was established, but that now and in the future, without an opposing class it is obviously not so necessary. But, in fact, this is a misapprehension. We say that while this era of peaceful construction does not require us to pay out such a large-scale price in lives (although in particular times and environments there still has to be that kind of sacrifice), in it we do frequently encounter the contradiction between public and private interests. For example, as part of economic readjustments some enterprises need to cease production or move, some comrades must change careers, and other comrades lose some income. These are kinds of sacrifice. In the immediate future housing for the masses will be in short supply, and the country, for a time, will be unable to fill the demand and so, in this area, we party members must work to put the people first and ourselves after. That also will be a kind of sacrifice. Because the remote areas require strengthened leadership, some cadres will be sent there from the cities or other more comfortable posts. This is a kind of sacrifice. That there are limited promotion openings requires our comrades to show a modest style which is also itself a kind of sacrifice. Being righteous and brave, helping those in distress and combating evil even at the risk of injury, are also kinds of sacrifice.... It can be seen that the communist's spirit of self-sacrifice manifests itself in many ways, ways that recognize that in this era of peaceful construction we can lose the revolutionary spirit and not share the bitter and sweet of life with the masses and in our thoughts and actions put individual profit above benefiting the masses, which is entirely wrong.

Still there are some comrades who worry: because the "cultural revolution" led to 10 years of internal disorder, the party's excellent traditional work style was poisoned so that it will be difficult for us now to restore and expand the spirit of self-sacrifice! This kind of anxiety is understandable, but one ought to see that although our excellent party spirit was severely abused by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao [2651 1753] and Jiang Qing [3068 7230], there are still a good many excellent Communist Party members who have preserved and enhanced the revolutionary spirit that willingly sacrifices individual benefits for the people's good, even to the point of giving up ones own life. As for the martyrs Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] and Shi Yunfeng [0670 0061 1496] who were sacrificed for the truth, were they not dedicated heroes of the revolution and remarkable Communist Party members? At the same time one must also see that after the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Party Congress, with rebellion put down and order restored, the spirit of self-sacrifice, in the face of insults and rejection, has been restored. Everywhere within the ranks of our party's cadre, comrades who for the sake of party and people "worry before anyone else worries and are happy only after everyone else is happy" are appearing. Their spirit of self-sacrifice is the hope of the party for reviving the nation's institutions.

That party members should all have the spirit of self-sacrifice is not to deny party members an appropriate individual reward. It is to say that in every matter before us we ought to think about and pursue what benefits the party and the people, we should thoroughly eliminate the "when the times are peaceful and happy all come for profit, when the world is shaken all go for profit" viewpoint of the exploiting class and the "without profit I don't get up early, if there is a profit I look forward to the sunrise" type of individualistic behavior. In fact, originally to be a party member meant to endure more hardships than other people. Moreover, in our socialist society, if you sacrifice for other people then at the same time other people will sacrifice for you. But party members should make more sacrifices than the masses in general, their sacrifices should be greater, and they should come first.

The revolutionary pathfinder Xiao Chunu [5618 2806 1166] has said: "It resembles a candle, lighted at the top and burning down to the bottom, it is constantly bright." Communist Party members, taking the world upon their shoulders, should have this "spirit of the candle," to offer unselfishly their own brilliance to mankind, even if it means their own death.

9504
CSO: 4005/929

CITY OF NINGBO WORKS ON IMPROVING SOCIAL ORDER

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Shen Gongxuan [3088 0501 5503]: "In the Jiangbei Ward of Ningbo All Areas Are Closely Coordinating To Put Into Practice Collective Management of Reforms in the Security of Society"]

[Text] Unified under the leadership of the ward council, each department of the ward government and the judicial organizations of the Jiangbei Ward of Ningbo have cooperated closely to give direction to society and to mobilize the masses collectively to manage and improve social order, achieving laudatory results. Up to July of this year, the rate for major crimes compared with the same period last year fell 50 percent; cases of gang violence also declined at a great rate.

The ward has emphasized youth and children in its improvement of social order and peace and used legal education as the major tool, greatly expanding ideological and political work. Over 500 unemployed youths in the ward were organized to study the socialist legal system, current political affairs, scientific culture, and to receive instruction in many types of commercial skills so as to improve their qualifications to enter schools or obtain jobs. Because they have people's attention ideologically and have been given instruction educationally, these youths have gone down the road ahead of them full of faith and hope and, usually, they also have participated positively in public beneficial labor and the defense of law and order. Recently they have also propagandized vigorously the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, developing the "5 lectures" and "4 beauties" campaigns. They organized an exhibition, showed slides at a movie house, and conducted some lively legal education. Using all means, they also enlarged the place of the literary movement, enriching its contents thereby enriching and giving variety to the nonworking lives of young workers and the vacation lives of students, improving the physical health of both groups. Each street also organized public security personnel, block and resident cadre, and retired workers to participate in an educational assistance group that positively improved the work of ideologically transforming delinquent youths and strengthening the legal education of persons released from labor reform or restored from labor education, transforming negative factors into positive factors.

Simultaneously with strengthening educational work, the ward strengthened the detection and disposition of criminal cases, according to the law, severely and quickly attacking the activities of criminal offenders. Public security, procuratorate, and judicial organizations forcefully strengthened the ideological and occupational development of the rank and file security and judicial personnel. The police's efficiency in handling cases and the quality of their work has been continuously raised. In important cases or criminal cases involving more serious harm, the three organizations have closely cooperated, each proceeding with the critical work and greatly raising the momentum in the handling of criminal cases and reducing the time taken to handle a case successfully. Up to July of this year, for the whole ward the solution rate for serious crimes reached 100 percent, affairs of juvenile gang violence fell sharply, and the success rate for criminal cases in general rose 30.6 percent as compared with the same period of last year. The procuratorate and the courts have both filed indictments and conducted trials in a timely fashion, always concluding cases within the time limits set by law, thereby suppressing the arrogance of the criminal elements.

The ward also established and put into operation at each of the three levels, ward, street, and block, mutual defense organizations that practiced united leadership and direction, strictly administered public security, thoroughly strengthening the work of preserving the peace. The various units designated nearly 400 people to take part in these mutual defense ranks. Military personnel stationed in this area assisted positively and cooperated closely. Day and night these mutual defense groups patrolled the major thoroughfares, little alleys, public areas, and major transportation routes to maintain social order. According to statistics, up to July of this year, these mutual defense patrols had arrested 40 criminals of all kinds, and 4 escapees from labor reform and labor education; 120 criminals of various sorts were investigated and tried. Each street and block also established a system of mediators and people's juries, equipped security personnel, and used extensively the "security gate" movement. Some blocks also separately organized and systematized a "public security covenant" for mutual surveillance. The public security organizations intensified their basic work so that in a timely fashion and responding to social conditions, the whole ward produced a strict network of mutual defense of public security, and caused criminal elements not to lightly undertake reckless actions.

9504
CSO: 4005/929

OVERSENSITIVITY TO 'CRITICISM' CAMPAIGN REBUKED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Shi Hua [4258 0553]: "Mistaking the Reflection of a Bow in a Cup for a 'Stick'"]

[Text] In discussing how some comrades turn pale as soon as they hear of criticism, the article "Lu Xun on Literary Criticism" in the "Words of a Hundred Schools" column of WANDAO used the analogy of "mistaking the reflection of a bow in a cup for a 'stick.'" This use was very appropriate.

"Mistaking the reflection of a bow in a cup for a 'stick'" of course evolved from the idiom "mistaking the reflection of a bow in a cup for a 'snake.'" That idiom is ordinarily something with which everyone is well acquainted. But some young comrades may still not know it, so there is a need to give it a brief introduction here.

It is recorded in "Biography of Le Guang," Volume 43 of "The History of the Jin Dynasty": "There was once an intimate guest who failed to return for a very long time. When Guang asked him why, he replied: 'When I was at your table last time, you granted me a cup of wine. Just as I was about to drink it, I saw a snake in the cup. This was rather loathsome to me. After I drank it, I became sick.' At that time, there was a horn hung on the wall of the guest hall of this magistrate of Henan which was painted in the form of a snake. What he took as a snake in his cup was nothing more than the reflection of this horn. Guang therefore again set a table at the previous location, and when the drink was given to the guest, he asked him: 'Do you not see something in your cup again?' The guest replied: 'I see the same thing as I did last time.' Guang thereby told him what was the matter. The guest's mind suddenly opened up, and his long illness was instantly cured."

What is said here has to do with "mistaking the reflection of a bow in a cup for a snake." Some say that the "horn" was actually a bow, because there has been the usage of a "hornbow" since antiquity: others say that it was a musical intrument used in the army in ancient days. I believe the latter interpretation. The story of someone really mistaking the reflection of a bow in a cup for a snake was told in FENGSU TONGYI [General Implications of Certain Customs] by Ying Shao [2019 0508] of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Ying Shao's grandfather Ying Bin [2019 1755] once invited Du Xuan [2629 1357] to drink with him. A red bow was hung on the wall; as the bow was reflected in the cup, it looked like a snake. Du Xuan was possibly somewhat nearsighted and could not see very clearly. He became scared, but he was Ying Bin's subordinate and dared not decline the drink. But once he drank that cup of wine, Du Xuan went home and got sick. He felt pain in his chest and abdomen and could not eat; all efforts failed to cure him. Later, Ying Bin went to see Du Xuan and only then learned that Du Xuan thought the snake was making trouble in his stomach. Thus, Ying Bin invited Du Xuan back to the same place and poured another cup of wine to let him see the "reflection of the snake" in the cup and then also let him see the bow on the wall. Du Xuan's sickness was immediately cured.

It looks like Le Guang's guest and Du Xuan were both oversensitive. But their fear was by no means unfounded. Even if they did not experience it personally, at least they had heard about how harmful a poisonous snake was. The problem was that they lacked a serious, careful, observant attitude. It was really not worth it for them to become scared into sickness without getting a really clear grasp of the situation.

Worthy of praise are Ying Bin and Le Guang. They both held a caring attitude toward their relative and subordinate. After perceiving the other's mental problems, they did not laugh at or satirize them, nor did they reason with them in the abstract, but they let the other person first see the reality. This is a very good method of education. Today, those comrades who think that they see a stick as soon as criticism seems to be in sight, and who take it as a "signal" of some movement underway, would do well to take a good look at reality first. Have several months not passed since the so-called "signal" you saw? Has the thing "come," after all, which you thought was "coming" again?

Materialism tells us that a judgment can only be made on the basis of facts; a judgment based on "reflection," whether because of impatience or as a result of "lingering fear," is liable to cause one to suffer.

9255
CSO: 4005/7

LIAONING, HEBEI CONFERENCES EMPHASIZE IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Self-Criticism by Municipal Leader

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 81 p 1

[Report by He Shanzhen [0149 3790 3791]: "First Secretary of Shenyang Municipal Party Committee Carries Out Self-Criticism Over Soft, Impotent Ideological Leadership; Asks Cadres at Various Levels To Encourage Healthy Revolutionary Trends and Do a Good Job of Fostering Party Workstyle"]

[Text] In the forenoon of 1 September, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee convened a meeting of party-member leading cadres from units above county and corps level. Li Tao [2621 3447], first secretary of the CCP Committee of Shenyang Municipality, took the lead in carrying out self-criticism over the matter of the dissipated, soft condition of the municipal party committee's ideological leadership and the matter of deviation in the party's workstyle in organs at the municipal level. He thereby set himself as an example for the participating comrades.

Comrade Li Tao said that since the beginning of this year, because the municipal party committee has gradually corrected leftist errors in guiding ideology, the political situation and the economic situation in Shenyang Municipality has generally been fine. But several recent incidents also have reflected how soft and impotent the municipal party committee's leadership has become. For instance, without prior appeal for approval or report, the service department of the gas company undertook to suspend its gas supply to the Shenyang electric bulb factory, resulting in suspension of production at the factory. After the incident, several secretaries and the mayor gave the gas company the opportunity to carry out relevant repair and resume the gas supply, but the gas company was unmoved. [In another matter,] the long-distance telecommunications bureau had taken possession of a clubhouse sometime ago. The municipal party committee made a decision, and several secretaries on several occasions undertook to urge to vacate, but the party committee of the long-distance telecommunications bureau dragged on without taking any immediate action. These problems illustrate that the leadership of the municipal party committee has fallen into a soft, impotent state. We must conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism sessions in order to get rid of such unhealthy things.

Comrade Li Tao also made a self-criticism over the existence of unhealthy trends in organs under the jurisdiction of the municipal party committee. He said that in order to revive and give full play to the party's fine tradition and workstyle, we must first of all do a good job of correcting the workstyle of the leading organs. Today there also is evidence of favoritism among organs directly under the jurisdiction of the municipality; in supplying commodities in urgent demand and short supply, such as beer and cigarettes, some markets have adopted a "special distribution" approach, which has resulted in a delay in domestic supplies. This is a dislocation with respect to the masses; in such a case, if you wish to criticize others, you won't be able to stiffen your own back. There are not too many instances like this, but they are very harmful. If such trends are allowed to spread, things will be hard to handle. We can no longer look but fail to see such phenomena. Insofar as unhealthy trends are concerned, we must dare to restrain and control them and do a good job of fostering our party's workstyle in a down-to-earth way. Only thus can we grasp and achieve practical results.

Comrade Li Tao asked leading cadres at various levels not to be afraid of launching criticism sessions, but to make criticism and self-criticism really the good habits in our political life in order to solve existing problems in a practical way.

'Wash Away Political Dirt'

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Zhang Rufu [1728 0320 1382], Secretary of Yuanbao District CCP Committee, Dandong Municipality: "Master the Weapon of Criticism; Cleanse Away Political Dirt"]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism constitute our party's heirloom and are a powerful weapon for overcoming the enemy and achieving victory. The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee fully demonstrates the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and has set a brilliant example for the whole party. The document not only summarizes scientifically the major party events since the founding of our state but also provides a correct appraisal of the position of our great leader Comrade Mao Zedong in relation to the Chinese revolution and also of his merits and demerits. Such an open, aboveboard, and practical spirit of adhering to the truth and correcting mistakes suggests our party's prosperity and development, and it indicates to the whole world; the Communist Party of China has great hope.

Marxism tells us that no proletarian party or leadership personality can avoid having this or that kind of defects and faults. The question is whether such a party or personality can reach the point of admitting one's mistakes when mistakes are made and correcting one's mistakes when mistakes are discovered, so that, through criticism and self-criticism, the political dirt is cleansed from oneself and one's revolutionary youth is thus forever preserved. More than once, Comrade Mao Zedong admonished the whole party to do its best to guard against arrogance and maintain clear thinking. He wanted party members to listen regularly to criticism by the masses and to continue to eliminate erroneous ideas just as they would wash their faces. Practice has fully proved that this is an irrefutable truth. Whenever we pick up this weapon of criticism and self-criticism, daring to correct our mistakes and faults in a sincere and open manner, those above and below in the whole party are always united and the undertakings of the party develop smoothly; but whenever this weapon is abandoned, we deviate from the masses, deviate from reality, and cause the party's undertakings to suffer losses. While comprehensively and fairly appraising Comrade Mao Zedong's great historical merits, the "Resolution" at the same time analyzes, in the manner of seeking truth from facts, the mistakes made by this great Marxist, pointing out that in his late years, because of complex social and historical reasons and the fact that his own prestige had gradually reached a peak, he gradually became arrogant and gradually drew apart from reality and from the masses, his subjectivism and personal and arbitrary workstyle became more and more serious, and he more and more imposed [his will] on the Party Central Committee. All this led to the continued weakening of, and eventual damage to, the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the state, and it brought about serious losses to the cause of the party. This is a painful lesson. Through the summing up of this lesson, the whole party is able to recognize anew how extremely important to our party is the weapon of cricitism and self-criticism. In this sense, this will constitute a momentum for us to continue to advance and a wealth for our party building.

At this great historical turning point today, as our party engages in construction of the four modernizations, reviving and giving scope to the party's fine tradition and launching criticism and self-criticism sessions are a very urgent and salient matters. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the revival of the party's fine traditions and the strengthening of democracy within the party, the atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism has become increasingly pronounced. Many leading cadres have gone deep among the masses, humbly listened to the opinions of various sides, carried out self-criticism, and gained the support of the masses as well as their love and esteem. On the other hand, because of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and because of the influence of unwholesome trends in society, the launching of criticism and self-criticism sessions today still encounters great obstacles. Some cadres like to listen to "minor criticism" but cannot bear to listen to "major criticism"; some can listen to "remote criticism" but not to "close criticism"; and some listen only to abstract criticism but cannot listen to specific criticisms. Some simply cannot tolerate criticism at all; they are arrogant and supercilious and overbearing with others. When they hear compliments, they become conspicuously pleased, but when they hear harsh remarks, their eyes begin to bulge and they even ignore party discipline and the laws of the state and proceed to retaliate. This is very dangerous. If such people do not sensibly convert [their ways], they are bound to trip up.

Through study of the "Resolution," comrades of our district party committee have conscientiously reviewed our work during the past few years and have formulated measures to strengthen our study and improve our workstyle. We are determined to place ourselves at all times in the position of a common party member, accept the supervision of the people and the collective, guard against arrogance, preserve our revolutionary youth forever, and forever work as the people's public servants.

Prefecture First Secretary's Remarks

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Report by Liu Zhihua [0491 1807 5478], Zhang Huifeng [1728 1920 1498], and Xin Yandong [6580 1750 2639]: "First Secretary of Baoding Prefectural Party Committee

Xing Chongzhi [6717 1504 2535] Maintains Contact With Realities in the Prefecture and Sums Up Experiences and Lessons; Continue To Cleanse Away Leftist Ideas, and Complete the Historical Task of Returning to Order from Disorder"]

[Text] From 30 July to 14 August, the Baoding Prefectural CCP Committee convened a study meeting in which more than 500 responsible comrades from the standing committee of the county party committee and departments, divisions, commissions, offices, and bureaus under the direct jurisdiction of the prefectural party committee took part. Participating comrades kept contact with reality while studying the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and Comrade Hu Yaobang's "1 July" speech. Using the "Resolution" as their norm, they conscientiously sorted out the influence of "leftist" and other erroneous ideas, inspected their work, summed up their experiences, studied problems, proposed measures to solve the problems, and achieved the expected goal of unifying their thinking and looking forward in unity.

During the process of study, they kept contact with the reality of their own thinking, analyzed certain historical incidents in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and unified their ideological perception under the spirit of the "Resolution." Many comrades said: In the past, we lacked the spirit of seeking truth from facts in our appraisal of Chairman Mao ideologically, and we also lacked the spirit of seeking truth from facts in understanding ourselves. As for our perception of the "Cultural Revolution," the "Resolution" puts it very clearly: The "Cultural Revolution," the "Resolution" puts it very clearly: The "Cultural Revolution" was an internal disturbance erroneously launched by the leaders and utilized by counterrevolutionary cliques; it brought serious calamities to the party, the state, and the people of the various nationalities. Today, we recognize that if we leave aside this general premise of "internal disturbance," if we leave aside the calamities suffered by the people, and we still vie with each other to see who is better or who is right from a personal standpoint or from the standpoint of a small circle, this will evidently not be a reflection of our high degree of consciousness, of our high level, or of our strong party character. On the contrary, this would be a reflection of our low degree of consciousness, our low level, and our poor party character. Everybody indicated that he was ready to treat historical and realistic problems and to consider problems of the state and the people from the standpoint of the party and the people, to liberate himself from the small circle of personal feelings of gratitude or resentment, and to strengthen his consciousness of winning glory for the party and of working in the interests of the people.

During the process of study, everybody also analyzed the work of his own county or department in the manner of seeking truth from facts. Everybody was of the opinion that the turmoil in Baoding Prefecture during the "Cultural Revolution" was more serious and lasted relatively longer. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, great results have been achieved in various aspects of work, and a situation of stability and unity has been secured. But because of influence by the "left," the uncovering, criticizing, and inspecting tasks in some localities expanded. The reason for the expansion was because "leftist" influence was still present in the guiding ideology in the first place, because boundaries were not drawn clearly in the second place, and because factionalism interfered in the third place. The responsible person of the previous provincial party committee said that, except in Baoding, everyone in Hebei resisted the "gang of four"; this does not correspond to reality and is "leftist" stuff. Taking the question of factionalism as the question of class struggle and taking the attitude toward the responsible person of the previous provincial party committee as the standard for judging right and wrong were also important reasons for people to make those mistakes. Through study, all participants have unified their understanding; the ideological lumps some comrades have grown for a long time have become dissolved, the wounds brought about by leftist mistakes have gradually healed, and a momentum of surging vigorously upward and of striding assertively forward has already begun to appear.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Baoding Prefectural Party Committee First Secretary Xing Chongzhi made a summation speech on behalf of the prefectural party committee. He first of all affirmed how, since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party organizations at various levels, the vast ranks of cadres, and masses throughout the whole prefecture have done a great deal of work in returning to order from disorder, cleansing among leftist ideas, rectifying unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation, checking up on the "three kinds of people" and "four kinds of people," readjusting the leading groups, and solving questions relating to the exposure, criticism, and inspection of remnant problems, as well as to the development of industrial and agricultural production, and have achieved very great results. Then he pointed out they because the period in which the leftist ideology endured was rather long, its influence was rather deep, and its sphere was quite broad, plus the fact that the responsible person of the previous provincial party committee resisted the carrying out of the line, principles, and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the result that no discussions on practice as the criterion for testing truth were seriously launched, the schedule for returning to order from disorder and for the cleansing away of leftist ideas in our prefecture has been affected and the speedy realization of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session has been hampered. Thus it is necessary to spend a great deal of energy and a great deal of effort to continue to cleanse away leftist ideas and complete the historical task of returning to order from disorder. Comrade Xing Chongzhi emphatically proposed, in view of the actual situation in Baoding Prefecture, that we must seriously solve problems in the following areas.

First, continue to eliminate the ideological influence of "the two whatevers." The "Resolution" differentiates between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committeed in his later years, repudiates the theory of uninterrupted revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticizes personal worship, and explicates the Marxist theories concerning leadership, political parties, and the masses; this serves thoroughly to overthrow the viewpoint of "the two whatevers." But in our actual life, it is by no means easy to adhere to seeking truth from facts and to eliminate the influence of "the two whatevers." In our Baoding Prefecture, such thinking as "only the book counts" and "only the superior counts" continues to show up in our actual work, and there is a great tendency to carry out directives from above blindly. In passing judgment on what is right and what is wrong, some comrades use as their criterion not social practice but "the book," or the speech or a certain directive of a certain leader. They place accountability to the higher level in opposition to accountability to the masses. This is bound to lead them to erroneous conclusions, and it becomes forever impossible for them to secure improvement from historical lessons. If we fail to break through the constraint of "the two whatevers" and fail to break the fetters of "the two whatevers," the historical cases of unjust, false, and erroneous ligitation cannot be rectified, the internal turmoil of 10 years of "Cultural Revolution" cannot be negated, negative results brought about by the "Cultural Revolution" cannot be eliminated, the large contingent of old cadres cannot come forth to work again, "leftist" mistakes cannot be corrected, and the party's glorious tradition cannot be revived and developed. Thus we are liable to proceed along the road of "leftist" mistakes right to the very end. Because of this, we should resolutely discard the thinking of "the two whatevers," insist on analyzing all major events that occurred in our locality and our unit with the spirit of the "Resolution," affirm or negate them in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and dispose of them decisively. Only thus can we accomplish the tasks of returning to order from disorder in our actual work.

Second, eliminate the ideological influence of "taking class struggle as the key link." An important aspect of the fact that over the years leftist mistakes have occurred in the guiding ideology of our party is the erroneous appraisal of the situation of class struggle in our country and the resort to an escalation of class struggle. During the "Cultural Revolution," it was even characterized as the great political revolution of one class overthrowing another class. Because of the very deep influence of this erroneous theory and erroneous practice, some of our comrades inadvertently tend to follow the habit of taking the various political movements of the past as struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, struggles of the socialist path against the capitalist path, and struggles of the correct path against the erroneous path. And in theory, too, this has been the case--that is, they usually regard themselves as proletarians and regard others as bourgeois; they think that what they themselves are following is the socialist path and that what others are following is the capitalist path; and they designate what they are carrying out as the correct line and what others are carrying out as the erroneous line. This serves to make an invisible demarcation among our people and to lead to discrepancies in people's perceptions and to disunity in their work. We should carry out a concrete analysis of concrete problems, and not regard all things and all problems as matters of class struggle. Of course, when we say we no longer need to "take class struggle as the key link," we do not mean that there is no longer any class struggle; class struggle continues to exist in certain realms and requires us to correctly analyze and handle it according to the spirit of the "Resolution."

Third, overcome the idea about someone being "always correct." During the "cultural Revolution," this idea that someone was "always correct" was employed at random. People called themselves leftists, thinking that only they were revolutionaries and that only they were leftists. This contributed to the theory of someone being "always correct." In Hebei, among those representatives who were "always correct," the principal responsible person of the previous provincial party committee was one of them. We should absorb lessons from his mistakes. Wishing to be "always correct" also had its influence in Baoding Prefecture. In the past, those who had supported so-and-so were always taken as being correct, and those who had opposed so-and-so were always taken as being erroneous. Today, once the mistakes of the principal responsible person of the previous provincial party committee are exposed, some comrades in turn assume themselves to be those who opposed so-and-so and thereby they look upon themselves as having been "always correct." Actually, none of these attitudes can be said to correspond to reality. During the past 20 years, our party committed leftist mistakes in its guiding ideology. "The movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was completely wrong. Then how can anyone who participated in the "Cultural Revolution" turn out to have been "always correct?" A communist should seek truth from facts and remain open and aboveboard. We should adhere to what is good for the interests of the people and to correct what is mistaken in the interests of the people. We should be able to treat people in the manner of one dividing into two, and we must furthermore be able to treat ourselves in the manner of one dividing into two, regularly inspect our thinking and our work with the method of criticism and self-criticism, and brush the political dirt from ourselves.

Fourth, eliminate the remnant poison of "drawing the line according to the people involved." "Drawing the line according the people involved," along with the idea about someone being "always correct," is an offspring of the "Cultural Revolution." It is a reflection of the idea that someone is "always correct" on the organizational line. Such influence has not yet been eliminated even to this day. But there are three most salient manifestations of this at present: one is factionalism, as people look at problems not from the standpoint of the party but from the small circle of this or that faction; another is that, in their organizational life, people resort to sectarianism and not universality; and the third is personal attachment, as people attach their own destiny to the person of a certain leader, taking party cadres as this person's men or that person's men. For a long time an incorrect trend has existed: When the party wishes to transfer a cadre's work, he refuses to go and the receiving unit thus refuses to accept him. Some people treat the transfer of cadres not from the principle of party character but always from the old-fashioned factionalist point of view. When others are transferred, their thinking also begin to waver along with them; thus they become active everywhere in order to fish out information. They conjecture at random, discuss the matter with gusto, and spend all their energy on it! Also, once a cadre is transferred, some inquire a little here, talk a little there, and stir up trouble everywhere: This is another factor that affects the unity between the higher level and the subordinate level and among comrades. In still another example, once a cadre is transferred, some persons immediately say that he has committee some mistake or he has some problems, etc. All of these are phenomena that should never exist, but they are a reflection that the negative consequences of the "Cultural Revolution" have not yet been eliminated. We must eliminate the influence of "drawing the line according the people involved" and restore the party's organizational work under the party's glorious tradition and correct organizational principles.

In order to speed up the pace of returning to order from disorder in Baoding Prefecture, to make a go of our economic work and our spiritual civilization, and to build the ranks of the cadres into a strong leading force guiding the people of the whole prefecture to carry out smoothly the construction of the four modernizations, Comrade Xing Chongzhi also made concrete demands concerning the work of the readjustment of leading groups, the close grasping and proper handling of our economic work, and the fostering of good social customs and other similar matters.

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PROPER APPROACH TO STUDY OF FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY NEEDED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Gu Zhaoji [7357 5128 1015] in "Words of a Hundred Schools" Column: "Scornful Eye, Covetous Eye, and Envious Eye"]

[Text] In the old society, some people always said that "the moon of a foreign country is rounder than China's." This was typical foreign-worship thinking. After liberation, the Chinese stood up; in the face of the imperialist forces of aggression, they calmly confronted them with raised eyebrows, standing erect and fearless. The pitiful complexion and sense of inferiority of the sick man of the East in the past were all forgotten. The magnificent stanza "Facing the ocean and looking at the world with scornful eye" most fully exemplifies such great national fortitude and dauntless revolutionary spirit.

There is also another kind of scornful eye. As we recall, the Qing government called itself the "Celestial Dynasty," looked down arrogantly upon everything, closed the country to international intercourse, assumed a ludicrous air of conceit, resisted the workd's civilization, and took even trains and railroads as monstrosities, intending to throw them into the sea. In the end, it sustained the blows of imperialism's foreign rifles and guns. Hence, blind arrogance turned into blind self-denigration, and it lay prostrate at the feet of the powers.

Victory is bound to bring about pride. The great victory of China's resolution and construction also put the heads of some comrades in the clouds. They looked upon themselves as persons who could accomplish everything, and they also looked at everything capitalist with a scornful eye, adopted a nihilist attitude, imprisoned themselves in a world of backwardness, and thereby seriously hampered our pace of advancement and speed of construction. In order to change our backward outlook and catch up with the world's advanced level, we must import advanced science and technology and study other countries' advanced experiences. Hence, our door to international intercourse has been thrown wide open, and many comrades have been working diligently at carrying out exchanges with foreign countries and importing technology. Along with this, to some people there has also been the appearance of a colorful world never before seen; there sense of admiration and sense of inferiority welled up involuntarily in their hearts.

A sense of inferiority tends to produce hallucinations. When one looks at the world through self-denigrated eyes, others always look 10 feet tall while one's own self always seems like a midget. Consequently, one exhibits the tendency of facing the ocean with a covetous eye and facing the ocean with an envious eye. When one sees things foreign, one becomes not only covetous but even envious. In the worst possible case, even the trash others have long buried in tombs or thrown onto the garbage piles may be embraced as treasures by some people.

We are not xenophobists, and we definitely do not object to studying the good things of foreign countries. Marxism and steam engines were both learned from foreign countries. But we cannot learn just anything; we cannot behave like country woman Liu Laolao entering the Grandview Garden once we catch a glimpse of the capitalist world, thinking that everything is just fine and praising unceasingly, drooling even over the life of slaves.

We are socialist builders, and we must have a basically analytical attitude toward the capitalist world. We cannot behave in such a way that "when we want to be cold we are willing to lie on ice, and when we want to be hot we are willing to sit in a steambath."

A man must have some spirit; a nation must do so all the more. A nation with backbone will never covet other people's things. A towering edifice starts from the ground. As long as millions of us can work together with one mind and one heart and can struggle hard, we are bound to be able to build a garden of happiness on our own ground according to our own design.

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PARTY AND STATE

WORK OF EDUCATIONAL JOURNALS REVIEWED, PRAISED

National Work Forum

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Report by staff reporter Xiong Yongnian [3574 3057 1628]: "Party Journals Must Actively Launch Correct Criticism--Sidelights on National Work Forum on Educational Journals for Party Members"]

[Text] At the recently convened national work forum on educational fournals for party members, this reporter came to understand that educational journals for party members in many provinces and municipalities such as Shanghai, Tianjin, Anhui, Fujian, Hebei, Sichuan, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang all pay great attention to commendation and criticism. They insist on taking commendation as the main approach, but they also launch criticism actively against unwholesome tendencies. In the 12 issues of ZIBU SHENGHUO [LIFE UNDER THE PARTY BRANCH], Shanghai in the first half of this year, a total of 143 manuscripts of a recommendatory nature were published, while in the same period 67 manuscripts of a critical nature were carried. Each issue included a familiar essay, four cartoons on familiar subjects, and critical sections such as "Warning of an Overturned Cart Ahead" and "Correct Your Mistakes When You Discover Them."

Critical articles are well received by the readers. ZIBU SHENGHUO, Tianjin, recently issued a letter to solicit readers' opinions and discovered that the sections most welcomed by them, are of a critical nature, such as "Make Party Discipline Strict," "The Warning Bell," and "Case Analysis." Readers often send in letters expressing support and encouraging the journal to launch critical discussions. Among the critical manuscripts published, half were provided by readers.

Eliminate Obstacles; Insist on Launching Critical Discussions

The head of the Bureau of Engineering and Communications of Yanting County, Sichuan, Li Dazhang [2621 1129 4545], was hospitalized on account of illness; deputy head Wang Zongru [3769 1350 0320] and other comrades purchased a great deal of expensive medical supplies from abroad in violation of regulations. They also let staff members of the bureau take turns visiting him in Chengdu, and booked two rooms at the guesthouse exclusively for themselves. After Li died of his illness, they further mobilized many people to stage a pompous funeral and to resort to feudal, superstitious activities. The whole extravagant operation cost more than 10,000 yuan of public funds, and its influence was very bad. ZIBU SHENGHUO, Sichuan, published a letter, an appendix on investigation and criticism, from a reader in order to criticize this kind of operation. But some people were not happy, alleging that this was "making a mountain out of a molehill," "getting at the living through the dead," etc. Wang Zongru also made accusations everywhere. The editorial department received anonymous phone calls which castigated the article as a rumor. At a meeting of county party committee secretaries convened by the provincial party committee, some even suggested that ZIBU SHENGHUO should not publish manuscripts critical of the incident. But in the face of such pressure, the editorial department did not cringe. They sincerely believed that correctly launching critical discussions in newspapers and journals is entirely justified. They therefore published five more letters from readers, in a continuation of criticism of this incident at the Bureau of Engineering and Communications of Yanting County. They relied on the support of the Commission for Inspection of Party Discipline and the prefectural party committee, and prompted the county party committee to handle this question seriously; they then reported the results of the handling.

Launching critical discussions in publications persistently requires determination and courage. From early last year to August of this year, ZIBU SHENGHUA, Tianjin, published a total of 107 critical manuscripts, of which many ultimately were published a total of 107 critical manuscripts, of which many ultimately were published only after multifarious efforts and struggles.

Help Others; Correctly Launch Criticism

How to launch criticism correctly? Facts must be accurate, attitudes must be sincere, the timing must be appropriate, and efforts must be made to observe equity and decorum and pay attention to results: these things are commonly understood.

Accuracy of the facts is the foundation. Before critical manuscripts are put out, editorial departments usually have made an investigation and a verification; only if and when the reported situations are true can the manuscripts be published. In order to assure the accuracy of the facts, to control the timing of criticism properly, and to strive to achieve better results, party journals in various places not only adhere to reliance on concerned party organizations by listening to their opinions before criticism is launched, but also show such critical manuscripts to those who are criticized and conscientiously listen to their opinions. ZIBU SHENGHUO, Shanghai, prepared an article criticizing the secretary of the party committee of a certain factory for having taken the initiative to assign good housing to himself. The original manuscript mentioned that the party committee secretary had taken a fancy to one suite on the housing distribution chart and thereby had erased the factory director's name and replaced it with his own name as the assignee. But after looking at the galley proof, the party committee secretary suggested that he actually erased two names, but that he did not change the namelist and only changed the original fine print into bolder print. Examining the distribution chart closely, the reporter discovered that this really was the case. He therefore had the opportunity to avoid misreporting the truth.

Party journals in various places pay great attention to helping others in order to carry out criticism in the manner of saving the patient while curing his illness. They do their best to launch sharp but not acrimonious criticism, to be unequivocal but yet leave some room for amendments, and to insist on principles yet give those criticized some quarter, so as to encourage those who have made mistakes to look forward. Through ideological and political work, they encourage those who are to be criticized to carry out self-criticism as much as possible. Emphasis in launching such criticism is usually placed on helping those criticized to correct their mistakes. It was learned that one party-member technician in Shungliao County, Jilin Province, had become ungrateful and was on the verge of abandoning the fiancee whom he had loved for 6 years. The girl reported the matter in a letter to ZIBU SHENGHUO, Jilin. After its publication in the journal, this incident aroused strong repercussions. The editorial department selected and published some of the letters from readers and also sent people to the county to help concerned departments work on the person being criticized. After repeated, patient education, this technician ultimately made up with his fiancee and got married this spring. ZIBU SHENGHUO, Jilin, published this news and the technician's self-examination at the same time. As soon as that issue of the journal came off the press, people just grabbed it and read it avidly, praising ZIBU SHENGHUO for having done a good thing.

Improve Work; Study Ways To Air Criticism

Party journals in various places have thought of a number of ways to strengthen and amplify the results of criticism. Some choose to make penetrating reports from the side on a negative character. The report in GONGCHANDANGYUAN [COMMUNIST], Liaoning, on gold thief Guang Jingchang [7070 2529 2490] is one which chose to dig deeply into the matter of to how, after he had stolen 800 taels of gold, he sneaked into the party; the educational effects of this type of handling are very good. Some seize one example and report it in a series of articles. In dealing with the incident of how Guo Yufeng [6753 3558 5358], director of the children's welfare institute under the jurisdiction of the municipal bureau of civil administration, let his son do evil and prey on the orphans, ZIBU SHENGHUO, Tianjin, issued five manuscripts from different viewpoints within half a year. It first exposed this question; then it published readers' reactions; the third time it published a report on how Guo Yufeng was punished and how his son was doubly sentenced heavily; on the fourth occasion it published the communique issued by the municipal party committee on this question, while at the same time it also published the story of three fine party members in this case who adhered to principles (through its commendation of these fine party members, it also exposed the matter of how some leaders of the bureau of civil administration had shielded Guo); and finally it published news on the children's welfare institute and two pages of photographs to reflect the conspicuous changes effected by leaders of the bureau of civil administration in their effort to reform the children's welfare institute after the case of Guo had been disposed of. The propagation of this incident, therefore, had its beginning and its conclusion. Readers' reactions turned out to be very enthusiastic.

Not a few readers hope to see responses to the criticism expressed. Accepting the opinions of the masses, the editorial department of ZIBU SHENGUO, Shanghai, set up a special section entitled "After Criticism by the Party Journal." In its No 9 issue this year, it published the article "Such a Family Head" to criticize how a party-member staff member of a certain warehouse of the municipal metal supplies company shielded his criminal, murderous son. Thereafter, it also published the reply from the warehouse party branch which reported that the party branch had carried out solemn criticism of that party member and meted out to him the punishment of being placed on probation within the party for a year, and it also organized all party members and staff members to study the report in ZIBU SHENGHUO. An investigation contained in a reader's letter published in its No 14 issue this year criticized certain party-member cadres residing at Lane 660, Macao Road, who made the mistake of ignoring the interests of the masses and building houses against regulations. The relevant departments had felt that if they wished to rectify the building activities that were in violation of regulations, the obstacles would be very great; hence, for a while no action was taken. Reporters therefore went to the lane, street, and district government's relevant departments to ascertain their plans. The district director convened a meeting of the relevant departments to study the matter and formulated rectification measures. Seeing that the problem had been taken care of and that the party's workstyle was being improved, readers became encouraged and their confidence was strengthened.

Summary Report

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Report: "Number of Educational Journals for Party Members in Various Parts of the Country Doubles; They Are Increasingly Being Run Well"]

[Text] At present there already are 24 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in the country which print a total of 20 educational publications for party members; this number is double that of a year ago. These publications in the various places are all issued quite extensively and reach every party branch, totaling 5.6 million copies; this represents a 110-percent increase over the number of a year ago.

In the light of actualities, these publications propagate the party's line, principles and policies, the four basic principles, and basic knowledge about the party and about party regulations and party laws. They energetically exalt what is advanced, and launch critical discussions on unhealthy trends and illegal and undisciplined practices. Thus they have played a significant role in educating party members and in guiding the party's work at the basic level. Under the guidance of the Central Propaganda Department, a national work forum on educational publications for party members was held recently in Beidaihe, where participants exchanged experiences with one another and considered how to propagate and realize the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the forum on questions on the ideological front from now on.

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PARTY AND STATE

CASES OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 81 p 8

Sun Yat-sen Criticized

[Commentary by Deng Weizhi [6772 0251 1807]: "Let's Start With XIANGTAO's [THE GUIDE's] Criticism of Sun Yat-sen"]

[Text] As the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution approached, I received Comrade Shao Chuanlie's [6730 0278 3525] new work "Sun Zhongshan [Sun Yat-sen]." After I flipped it open, my glance rested at the passage of XIANGTAO's criticism of Sun Zhongshan.

As the dawn of Sun Zhongshan's promotion of KMT-CCP cooperation first loomed, the well known Communist Ts'ai Hesen [Cai Hesen] [5591 0735 2773] somehow happened to publish an article in the party's organ XIANGTAO which criticized Sun Zhongshan: if he single-mindedly relied on imperialists and feudal warlords to manipulate affairs in order to resist violence, the vitality of his revolution would be lost; if he wished to make his revolution successful, "it would be necessary for him to forge an intimate association with the people on the one hand, and establish an irrevocable alliance with Soviet Russia on the other hand." Ts'ai Hesen also suggested that Sun Zhongshan audaciously oppose the two evil forces of imperialism and feudalism.

At a time when friendship between the two sides had just begun to bud, such a criticism was immediately launched; this could not but make one wonder what the effect would be. We cannot say that Ts'ai Hesen's framework of criticism was not lofty enough--because it was published in the party organ; nor can we say that the tone of his criticism was not sharp enough--lest "the vitality of his revolution would be lost." Still more significant was the fact that the person subject to this criticism was of great stature. Although, as a personality Ts'ai Hesen was by no means very small, but compared to China's No 1 great man at the time, he was indeed far smaller. Yet, the effects of the criticism were not at all bad. Sun Zhongshan readily accepted the good advice and made changes immediately correcting his mistakes. The three policies Sun Zhongshan put forward 1 year later, "alliance with Russia, accommodation of the Communists, and support and assistance to the workers and peasants," may not be said to have been due entirely to Ts'ai Hesen's criticism, but it is beyond any doubt that the advocacies of the two were almost identical in content.

As the common saying puts it, "When a man is not a sage, who can avoid making a mistake?" Actually, this saying is not entirely correct either. Even when a man is a sage, he would still make mistakes. In the eyes of the ordinary people, Sun Zhongshan could indeed be regarded as a great sage. But he had his faults, and these were: not enough attention paid to the strength of the workers and peasants, and not enough resolve exhibited in anti-imperialism. It was somewhat beneficial to have them criticized. When one criticizes, one must of course pay attention to methods. In Ts'ai Hesen's article, there were both sharp criticism and positive suggestions; the methods he used were fairly good. Sun Zhongshan was not a Marxist but a bourgeois democrat. If even a bourgeois democrat can treat criticism correctly, why should some of our own comrades be afraid of normal criticism?

In Beijing last month I heard a well known economist say that he had already made arrangements with another well known economist in preparation for their mutual criticism of each other in the newspapers. He also said that his purpose in doing so was to set an initial example for airing criticism, but he must make this different from the affectedly timid kind of criticism. I feel that this initial example was well set. When one expresses criticism, one must be confident and forthright. There are too many criticisms of the half-hearted kind nowadays. There are too many criticisms which are expressed half-willingly and half-hesitantly. There are too many criticisms which leave implications to people's conjecture. Of course, we cannot altogether exclude this as one of the methods for expressing criticism. But we must also promote the kind of criticism which mentions names and facts. Criticism and self-criticism is an old tradition of our party. We must let criticism become regular in time and general in space. When these two, regularization and generalization, are established, who would still pale when talking about "criticism"? And who would still take the reflection of a bow in his cup as "criticism"?

Images, Other's, One's Own

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 8

[Commentary by Yao Ben [1202 1149]: "Flashlight and Mirror"]

[Text] Flashlights and mirrors are articles used in our daily life; even children a few years old know how to use them. Apart from helping a walker at night to illuminate his path, a flashlight may also be put to many other uses; for instance, when a physician examines a patient for oral diseases he uses a flashlight to illuminate his mouth. In such a case, the patient of course listens to what the physician has to say and opens his mouth for him to examine it; if some disease is discovered, he also asks the physician to treat it with care. As for a mirror's uses, they are even more numerous; haircutting at a barber's shop and players putting on theatrical make-up both rely on mirrors. Women applying cosmetics and men shaving themselves must of course all use a mirror. When one's face is smeared with something dirty or develops some pimples or boils, he must likewise look at himself in a mirror in order to identify the dirt or where the inflictions are. Those who love to look at themselves in a mirror also evince different psychological states; one kind of people who look at themselves in a mirror always feel that they look very handsome and they therefore are inclined to secretly praise themselves: "What enchanting eyes!" Another kind of people, however, can look well at themselves in a mirror in the manner of seeking truth from facts; if and when they discover dust and dirt on their faces, they simply wipe them off honestly.

Such uses of the flashlight and the mirror often remind one of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism; how to use this weapon correctly also incurs quite some study. Some people only like to use their flashlight to shine on others and when they look at the defects and faults of others they often act like Ji Chang [4764 2490] learning how to shoot an arrow, i.e., by treating a louse as if it were the size of a cartwheel. On the other hand, while they are very strict in applying discipline to others, they are somehow unwilling to look at themselves in a mirror, and even when they do so, they tend to merely gloss over the defects they discover and treat them perfunctorily. When this kind of people criticize others, they often carry some subjective prejudice and cannot seek truth from facts; when they engage in self-criticism, too, they seek to exonerate their faults and camouflage their wrongdoing, and hide their illness from proper treatment. Criticism and self-criticism are the two sides of a single weapon which happens to provide the uses of both the flashlight and the mirror. Only those who are sincere and honest in following the spirit of self-criticism can humbly accept other people's well-intended criticism and correctly turn their flashlight on other people in the spirit of helping them. Criticizing a comrade is meant to help that comrade correct his defeats and faults; in doing so one must have the spirit of a physician taking the responsibility for his patient; anyone who only examines and diagnoses his patient but does not take responsibility for treating him, or who diagnoses the illness but prescribes heavy medication at random, can hardly be a good physician.

Can anyone be so stupid as to decline examination by a physician after he discovers his illness and has ask him to diagnose and treat him? But in real life, some of our comrades might actually do such a stupid thing with respect to criticism and self-criticism; they would tolerate little critical opinion, nor are they willing to really criticize themselves. There are also those who regard self-criticism as writing up a permit for travel for themselves; once they run through the routine, everything is forgotten. Hence they often look as if they are humble on such occasions, acknowledging all mistakes and severely scolding themselves; but in reality this is really deceiving themselves as well as others, an irresponsible attitude lacking any sincerity in repentance.

In using the analogy of the flashlight and the mirror, we are trying merely to cause comrades to reflect and consider how better to learn expertise in applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, to overcome their weak points, give scope to their strong points, prevent the pollution of political dust, protect the organic health of the revolutionary ranks, and thus do an even better job with the work on hand.

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PARTY AND STATE

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON RESOLUTION ON HISTORICAL ISSUES

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORY STUDY] in Chinese No 7, 1981 pp 13-22

[Article: "Questions and Answers on 'Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation'"]

[Text] What is the guiding ideology of the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation?"

Rich in content, the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" unanimously passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee reviews the fighting course followed by our party in the past 60 years and summarizes the party's basic experiences in the 32 years since the founding of the nation. Then, what is its guiding ideology?

1. Expounding the Historical Position of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. This is the key and foremost issue of the "Resolution." By means of the basic viewpoints of dialectic materialism and historical materialism, the "Resolution" scientifically expounds the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong in China's revolution and the tremendous significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. Citing irrefutable facts throughout the document, it discusses Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions to the revolutionary cause of China, the liberation of the oppressed peoples in the world and the progress of mankind. It points out that Comrade Mao Zedong was one of our party's founders and the main creator of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. At China's most difficult moment, he was the first to discover the correct path for the revolution and, in the collective struggle of the party and the people, successfully integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, summarized and created a series of new experiences, formulated the correct general strategy and produced a scientific guiding ideology adapted to China's conditions --Mao Zedong Thought.

Analyzing Comrade Mao Zedong's shortcomings and mistakes, especially his mistakes in the Great Cultural Revolution, the "Resolution," by seeking the truth from the facts, points out that, though he made serious mistakes in his late years, his merits, in terms of his lifetime, far exceeded his mistakes.

2. Seeking the Truth from the Facts and Evaluating the Right and Wrong and the Merits and Mistakes in the 32 Years since the Founding of the Nation. With a host of facts, the "Resolution" fully affirms our party's history since the founding of the People's Republic of China. It points out that, on the whole, it was our party which, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, led all nationalities in the country to carry out the socialist revolution and make tremendous achievements, and laid the foundation for all future progress and development of China. At the same time, the "Resolution," with a Marxist attitude, makes a correct summary of the party's momentous historical events, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," in the 32 years since the founding of the nation, comprehensively and fully analyzes the accuracies and errors of the party's guiding ideology in such events, and studies the subjective and objective reasons for the mistakes. It also fully affirms the lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session and the gradual establishment of a correct path adapted to China's national conditions for the building of a modern socialist power, and further points out the direction of the continuous progress of China's socialist cause and the party's work.

3. Seeking Unity of Thinking; Uniting as One and Looking Forward. The fundamental goal of the "Resolution" in making a scientific exposition and appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and comprehensively and matter-of-factly summarizing the history of the past 32 years is to clarify the confused understanding, seek unity in the thinking of the entire party, entire army and all nationalities in the country, unite as one and look forward, and make a concerted effort in pursuing the four modernizations. Therefore, it devotes much space to the discussion of the nature of China's society and its major contradictions, points out the goal of struggle, and reveals the truth that only socialism will save China, that, without the Communist Party, there is no new China, and that likewise, without the Chinese Communist Party, there is no modern socialist China.

Xu Zhenqing [1776 2182 3237]

Why was the establishment of the socialist system the most profound and greatest social change in China's history?

The "Resolution" points out that "the establishment of the socialist system was the most profound and greatest social change in China's history and the foundation of all future progress and development of China." This thesis epitomizes the great significance of the victory of China's socialist cause.

Why was the establishment of the socialist system the most profound and greatest social change in China's history?

We know that ours is a great nation rich with revolutionary traditions. In the past, whenever unable to tolerate the rule of dark forces, the Chinese people always rose up and struggled courageously and attempted to make social reforms. In China's history of several thousand years, there were hundreds of major and minor peasant uprisings, resulting in the many changes of dynasties. Nevertheless, such uprisings failed to attain the goal of fundamentally changing China's dark rule. Due to the fetters of the old system, China's society long remained in a state of extremely slow development. Beginning in mid-19th century, it was gradually reduced to the status of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, suffering the ruthless exploitation, enslavement and plunder of the imperialist powers. Many Chinese with the determination to make China strong painstakingly searched for the truth of social changes. Those like Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, Yan Fu and Sun Zhongshan wanted to follow the road of the West to make China powerful and prosperous. Nevertheless, their dream of emulating the West was broken and the social reforms attempted by them encountered failure time and again. Only after the birth of the Chinese Communist Party did China's revolution assume a new aspect. After the course of 28 years, the three big mountains were overthrown, and a new China was created.

For many years, there was never a regime in China's history where the people were the masters. Only with the establishment of the socialist system did the Chinese people truly become the masters of society. For many years, China often found itself in a situation of being all split up, with the princes and warlords tangled in warfare and society in upheaval and unrest. Only with the establishment of the socialist system did China truly realize national unity (except Taiwan province) and achieve and consolidate the great unity of the people of the whole country. For many years, China's social production was extremely backward, to the extent of calling nails "foreign nails," matches "foreign fire," petroleum "foreign oil," and machine woven fabric "foreign cloth." With the establishment of the socialist system, China's construction has made great achievements, winning the attention of the world. For many years, the Chinese people were known as "the sick men of East Asia," suffering such insults as "no Chinese and dogs admitted." With the establishment of the socialist system, the people of China have stood up proudly and truly demonstrated their strength, wisdom and dignity to the whole world. For many years, China suffered under the iron hooves of almost all the imperialist countries in the world, signing treaties of national betrayal and humiliation time and time again. With the establishment of the socialist system, China stands lofty and firm in the world, truly maintaining its own security and independence and overcoming the imperialist and hegemonic aggressions and provocations.

All these fully indicate that only socialism can save China and that the establishment of the socialist system was indeed the most profound and greatest social change unprecedented in its history. All our achievements since the founding of the nation have been made by relying on the socialist system. The view negating the basic fact that China has established the socialist system and entered the socialist society is untenable. Such a profound change and such great achievements have laid a firm foundation for all China's future progress and development. As long as we fully develop the superiority of the socialist system, conscientiously summarize the experiential lessons of history, start from our available foundation and firmly advance along the socialist path, the success of the four modernizations will be ours.

Jin Shi [6855 4258]

Why is it a grave mistake to overlook or negate the achievements of the past 32 years?

The "Resolution" points out that overlooking and concealing mistakes are in themselves a mistake. However, the achievements made by us in the past 32 years are primary. Overlooking or negating our achievements and successful experiences are also a grave mistake.

Why is it a grave mistake to overlook or negate the achievements? The reasons are as follows:

1. Overlooking or negating the achievements of the past 32 years is a deviation from the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method. The Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method ask us to tightly grasp the main current and the essence of things when observing situations, analyzing issues and studying history. In the 32 years since the founding of the nation, we have made both achievements and mistakes in our socialist revolution and construction. Concealing and negating mistakes are naturally improper, for it will only lead to bigger mistakes. However, in the short span of 32 years, we have made great achievements. Such brilliant achievements are the dominant aspect of the socialist cause and the historical essence of the past 32 years. The large numbers of achievements made by us cited in the "Resolution" are completely factual, without the slightest exaggeration and misrepresentation. Overlooking or negating such achievements is a violation of the epistemology of seeking the truth from the facts and the dialectics of understanding; it is also a deviation from the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method when analyzing issues.

2. Overlooking or negating the achievements of the past 32 years signifies discarding the successful experiences of the socialist cause gained by us. In the course of guiding the socialist cause in its tremendous achievements, our party has gained many valuable experiences of success. Today, the level of our party's understanding of the socialist revolution and construction obviously surpasses that of any period since the founding of the nation. Besides certain material and technical conditions for our modernization construction, what is more important is that we have a large group of backbone forces in economic and cultural constructions and their experiences. The experiences of success already gained by us are the foundation for our continued progress in the future. If the tremendous achievements of the past are negated, naturally the many valuable experiences of success gained by us will also be overlooked and negated, and the knowledge of the laws of socialist construction acquired with a strenuous effort will be thrown away. Thus, the success of the socialist modernization construction will turn into an empty phrase.

3. Overlooking or negating the achievements of the past 32 years is failing to recognize the great future of the socialist cause and will lead to the loss of confidence and strength in our advance. The achievements made by us under the socialist conditions were basically impossible in the old China. Our achievements are a preliminary, but effective, manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system, eloquently proving the great and bright future of our socialist cause. Some people shake their heads and sigh at the mistakes and setbacks in the past, and feel pessimistic and discouraged at the difficulties and obstacles before their eyes, but fail to see the brilliant achievements already made by us and to recognize the superiority of the socialist system as the long-range and decisive factor; therefore, they lose confidence in the future. Obviously, overlooking or negating past achievements is no good.

Affirming past achievements is for the purpose of opening the way for the future. Our successes of the past are but the beginning of the 10,000-li long march. As long as we, under the party's leadership, fully develop the superiority of socialism and make a determined effort, we will conquer the "18 bends," ascend the "South Heavenly Gate," reach the "Imperial Jade Peak," and march toward new summits.

Guo Zhen [0948 2182]

What were Comrade Mao Zedong's main contributions to the theories of the socialist revolution and socialist construction?

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist. In leading the people of the whole country in the great practice of the socialist revolution and construction, he made new contributions to the Marxist theories. They were mainly the following:

1. The Theory on the Socialist Reform. After seizing political power, the proletariat, by means of peaceful redemption, reformed the capitalist economy into a socialist economy. It was a conception long proposed by Marx and Lenin but never before realized. Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist principle and, integrating it with China's concrete reality, opened a path for the socialist reform compatible with China's special characteristics. Comrade Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party scientifically analyzed the dual character of China's national bourgeoisie, proposed the policy of "utilization, restriction and reform" on the capitalist industry and commerce and successfully accomplished their socialist reform. They followed the principle of integrating the reform of private industry and commerce with the reform of the industrialists and businessmen, proposed the correct policy of unity, education and reform, and promoted the conversion of the exploiters into self-supporting laborers. In the course of reforming individual farming, they followed the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, setting up typical models and state aid, created a series of transitional forms, advancing from temporary mutual help teams to year-round mutual help teams, to elementary cooperatives of a semi-socialist nature, and finally to advanced cooperatives of a socialist nature, and led the broad peasants to the socialist

path. In theory and practice, the arduous task of building a socialist system in an economically and culturally backward large country as ours was accomplished.

2. The Theory on the Socialist Construction. Comrade Mao Zedong's article "on the 10 Great Relations" is a shining document guiding China's socialist construction. In the article, he proposed the basic policy of the socialist construction, analyzed the 10 great contradictions in the socialist economic construction, and made the ideological and theoretical preparations for China's overall socialist construction. He proposed that we start from the fact that China is an agricultural country, readjust the proportionate relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, increase the proportion of investment in agriculture, and arrange the economic construction according to the sequence of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. At the same time, he proposed properly arranging and readjusting the relations between economic construction and national defense, among the state, the production units and the individuals, between the central and local governments, etc. In 1962, he again proposed a series of correct walking-on-two-legs policies "with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor."

3. The Theory on the Two Kinds of Contradictions of Socialism. In his article "on Correctly Handling the Contradictions within the People," Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically analyzed the domestic political economic situation, created the theory on the contradictions of two different natures in a socialist society, and proposed the method of their correct handling. The contradictions within the people are large in number and primary. As they are formed on the foundation of their basic identity with the people's interest, we can only use the democratic method for their solution, viz., "unity--criticism--unity" in politics, "long-term coexistence; mutual supervision" in the relations between the Communist Party and the democratic parties, and the policy of "a hundred flowers blooming; a hundred schools of thought contending" in scientific and cultural work. The other kind is the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Such contradictions emerge under the condition of fundamental opposition and conflict of interest, and we can only resort to dictatorship for their solution.

4. The Theory on the Building of the People's Political Power. Following the Marxist-Leninist principle and integrating it with China's reality, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the scientific theory of the people's democratic dictatorship, built a powerful and flourishing regime of such dictatorship, and created the proletarian dictatorship, a new political form. It was an outstanding contribution to the Marxist theory on the building of political power.

Shu Fang [3219 5364]

How do we understand that the 10 years between 1957 and 1966 were the period when we began to build socialism generally?

The "Eighth Congress" indicated that our party had adjusted to the changes in the situation and shifted its attention to the socialist construction. The 10 years from 1957 to 1966 were the period when our party led the people of the whole country to begin the general building of socialism.

In 1957, we completed above quota our 1st 5-Year Plan. In 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong sponsored the formulation of the general line to build socialism. In 1961, the 8-word policy of "readjustment, consolidation, reinforcement and improvement" was introduced, hastening the recovery and development of the national economy. At the end of 1964, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion, proposed the magnificent goal of building a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense, and modern science and technology within this century. In the 10 years, our party concentrated on construction and made many achievements. When 1965 and 1957 are compared, the total industrial and agricultural output value increased 59 percent, including close to 10 percent for agricultural growth and 98 percent for industrial growth. National income increased 52.7 percent; the total retail of social commodities increased 39 percent; the people's living was considerably improved; such undertakings as culture, education and public health also made advances; the successful experiment of the atomic bomb, in particular, signified a new level in scientific research.

In leading the socialist construction, our party, in the 10 years, gained many important experiences. To formulate and carry out new policies for the socialist construction in such an economically backward agricultural country like ours, the Party Central Committee made many investigations and studies in 1956, and Comrade Mao Zedong's speech "on the 10 Great Relations" was their conclusion. In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed correctly handling the contradictions within the people, activating all positive factors and building a powerful socialist country. In 1958, the party formally proposed the general line for the building of socialism. In 1961, the Party Central Committee went one step further and proposed the general policy for the development of the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. The enlarged Central Work Conference in early 1962 summarized the experiential lessons in the socialist construction since the founding of the nation, mainly since 1958.

Naturally, the socialist construction of the 10 years was not all plain sailing. In the course of advance, we made mistakes and suffered setbacks. The mistakes made by us were leftwing mistakes, mainly manifested in three aspects: First, we exceeded the objective level of the development of the productive forces, continuously changing the productive relations, blowing the communist wind, practicing equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources in the commune movement, and being overanxious in transition. Second, we exceeded the potential of the finance and resources of the state, appealed for the great leap forward in economic construction, and sought high targets, large reserves and speed, giving arbitrary directions and proning to boasting and exaggeration.

At the same time, the socialist construction general line also had the defect of overlooking the objective economic laws. Third, we attempted to promote the socialist construction by means of the class struggle. From the anti-rightwing struggle, the Lushan Meeting, to the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee, the class struggle was aggravated. The "four-clean-up" movement subsequently launched in some areas also injured a group of cadres.

However, we ought to realize that most of the mistakes in the 10 years of socialist construction were promptly discovered and corrected by our party. At the Wuchang Meeting at the end of 1958 and Zhengzhou Meeting in February 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the communist wind and the tendency to boast and exaggerate. At the Beidaihe Meeting in July 1960, readjustment of the national economy was proposed, and it was formally passed at the 9th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee and introduced in January 1961. At the Guangzhou Meeting in March 1961, Comrade Mao Zedong sponsored the "Work Regulations of the Rural People's Commune (Draft)" (namely, the "60 Articles"), which was formally passed at the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee in September 1962. After the "60 Articles" were transmitted to the lower levels, agricultural production began to improve. With the implementation of the eight-word policy, the entire national economy also rapidly recovered and developed. The socialist construction of the 10 years from 1957 to 1966 advanced in tortuosity and, in spite of the serious setbacks, made great achievements.

Su Li [5685 7812]

How do we understand that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a civil strife causing a severe disaster to the party, the state and the people?

The "Resolution" points out: "As a result of the erroneous mobilization by the leaders, the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' utilized by the counterrevolutionaries, was a civil strife causing a severe disaster to the party, the state and the people." This exposition epitomizes the essence of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Recognizing the essence of the "Great Cultural Revolution" is an important link in our study of the "Resolution" and our correct understanding of the series of momentous historical events since the founding of the nation. We may, in the following aspects, acquire a deeper understanding of this exposition in the "Resolution:"

1. That the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a civil strife was primarily because it was launched and led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our party. He shouldered the main responsibility for this general and protracted serious leftwing mistake. Instead of "throwing the enemy into confusion," it only confused ourselves.

Comrade Mao Zedong's motive in launching the "Great Cultural Revolution" was to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and prevent a capitalist restoration. As a Marxist party in power, doubtlessly the party must constantly guard against following the road of oppressing the people at home and promoting hegemony abroad, and always adhere to the Marxist and socialist path. The issue was that the theoretical viewpoint for launching the "Great Cultural Revolution" was incompatible with Marxism and China's practical conditions, the appraisal of the domestic political situation was contrary to reality, and the assessment of the class struggle situation was excessive.

2. The erroneously launched "Great Cultural Revolution" was utilized by the counterrevolutionary cliques. It was of a fundamentally different nature from the criminal activities bringing calamity to the country and the people committed by the two counterrevolutionary cliques organized by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others who, utilizing our error and acting behind Comrade Mao Zedong's back, conspired to seize the supreme power of the state.

The difference was mainly manifested as follows: First, the purpose of the "Great Cultural Revolution" launched by Comrade Mao Zedong was completely different from that of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in utilizing it. When making grave mistakes, Comrade Mao Zedong all along considered his own theory and practice Marxist, and necessary for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship; they were mistakes with the best of intentions. The counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing utilized the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," performed conspiratorial acts behind the back of Comrade Zedong, sabotaged socialism, and devoted themselves heart and soul against the revolution. It was evildoers performing evil deeds. Second, though our party adopted erroneous methods of struggle in the "Great Cultural Revolution" and injured large groups of cadres and masses, the severe disaster to the party, the state and the people was more a result of the activities of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing who, utilizing the power in their hands, enforced a fascist dictatorship over the people of the whole country, created large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases and ruthlessly persecuted many old revolutionary cadres and masses devoted to the party. Third, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong waged a firm struggle against Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities. Comrade Mao Zedong exposed Lin Biao's conspiracy to usurp the supreme power, smashed the rebellion launched by him, revealed Jiang Qing's ambition to form a cabinet and criticized the "gang of four."

3. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was not, and could not possibly have been, a revolution or social progress in any sense; it was a civil strife which caused a severe disaster to the party, the state and the people. As proved by practice, the so-called great political revolution whereby "one class overthrew another class" under the socialist conditions had neither an economic, nor a political, foundation. It was inevitable for it to lead to serious confusion, destruction and regress. In regard to certain dark sides existing in the organisms of the party and the state, we must make correct appraisals and solve them by correct measures; we absolutely must not resort to the method of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Zhang Baoju [1728 1405 7467]

Why were Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes the mistakes of a great proletarian revolutionary?

The "Resolution" emphatically points out that, though Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes in his late years, "such mistakes were, after all, the mistakes of a great proletarian revolutionary." We can interpret this exposition in the following aspects:

1. In terms of his unsurpassed contributions to the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong was undeniably a great proletarian revolutionary. Without his rescue of the revolution from crises time and again, without the Party Central Committee led by him, possibly the party and the people of all nationalities in the country would have fumbled in the dark for an even longer period of time. After the founding of the nation, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the people of the whole country won great victories in the socialist revolution and construction. In the party's and people's collective struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, summarized and created a series of fresh experiences, and formed a scientific ideology suitable to China's conditions, viz., Mao Zedong Thought. As proved by practice, Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician.

2. When Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes in his lifetime are compared, his merits far exceeded his mistakes. His merits were primary and his mistakes secondary. It is possible for great proletarian revolutionaries to make mistakes. There is no pure gold, nor perfect man. Everyone may make mistakes, and so do great proletarian revolutionaries. After the founding of the nation, especially with the series of victories in the socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige rose ever higher. He gradually became conceited, suffering ever more seriously from the personality cult, severed from the masses and from reality, following subjectivism and the practice of making arbitrary decisions, and placing himself ever higher above the Party Central Committee. It was thus inevitable for him to make many mistakes, especially such serious ones as the "Great Cultural Revolution," in his late years. Comrade Mao Zedong must be mainly responsible for such mistakes, yet we cannot blame him completely for them. Though he made serious mistakes in his late years, in terms of his lifetime, his contributions to China's revolution far exceeded his mistakes.

3. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years were fundamentally different from the criminal acts of Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary cliques by utilizing the party's mistakes. Besides the subjective reasons of Comrade Mao Zedong himself, objectively, his mistakes occurred because the socialist movement had not been pursued for long, the socialist country had been in existence for even a shorter time and, while some of the laws of the development of socialism had become relatively clear, the greater part of them required further exploration. Meanwhile, another important reason was the influence of China's long feudal history which undermined the party's democratic centralism. Comrade Mao Zedong paid serious attention to overcoming the

defects in the party and state life. However, he failed to correctly analyze many issues in his late years; therefore, he made wrong decisions and took wrong actions. When making mistakes, he all along thought that he was being Marxist in theory and practice. While he held on to the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a whole, he did curb and rectify certain concrete mistakes, took the lead to smash Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary clique, protected and emancipated a group of cadres, and criticized and exposed those like Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao, preventing them from carrying out their conspiracy to seize the supreme leadership power.

Evidently, though Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes in his late years, they were the mistakes of a great proletarian revolutionary. He made great contributions to the liberation of China and the oppressed peoples in the world and to the progress of mankind. His great merits are immortal.

Li Yuanshu [2621 0337 2579]

Why is it extremely necessary to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought from Comrade Mao Zedong mistakes in his late years?

The "Resolution" finds that it is extremely necessary to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theory long tested by time, from Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years. Why do we make this distinction? The reasons are as follows:

1. Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous theses in his late years ran counter to Mao Zedong Thought and deviated from its track. Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific concept with a special meaning. The "Resolution" points out: "Based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as the main representative made a theoretic summary of the unique experiences of China's long revolutionary practice and formed a scientific guiding ideology compatible with its conditions. It was the product of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution--Mao Zedong Thought." From the scientific summary of Mao Zedong Thought in the "Resolution," we can see that Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China's revolution, the correct theoretical principle and experiential summary of China's revolution repeatedly verified in practice, and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists in their common struggle. Therefore, we have no reason to feel that each word and phrase uttered by Comrade Mao Zedong belong in the realm of Mao Zedong Thought. His mistakes in the theory and practice of the class struggle in a socialist society were serious. His erroneous theses were completely incorrect in terms of China's class situation and the political conditions of the party and the state at that time. They were incompatible with either Marxism-Leninism or China's reality; therefore, they obviously strayed from the track of Mao Zedong Thought which integrates Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, and must be distinguished completely from it.

2. Mao Zedong Thought is the fundamental guiding ideology of our party and our state; therefore, it absolutely should not contain any non-Marxist ingredient. Scientific things and erroneous things cannot be mixed together. If Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous theses in his late years are considered as Mao Zedong Thought, it is equivalent to saying that such theses are also part of the fundamental guiding ideology of our undertaking. Thus, people's mind will become confused, their actions will not be unanimous, the socialist cause will go astray and all the correct expositions of Mao Zedong Thought, which has become a scientific theory after the long test of history, will lose its guiding effect. It will become impossible to unify the ideology and actions of the party and the people or to rally people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, so that they will concentrate their determination and strength on the great goal of building a modern socialist power.

3. Only by distinguishing Mao Zedong Thought from Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years will we be able to matter-of-factly and correctly understand his historical position and his ideology. Currently, some erroneous understandings exist in the appraisal and handling of Mao Zedong Thought. Taking the dogmatic attitude, some people feel that every word uttered by Comrade Mao Zedong is an immutable truth, and must be copied and followed verbatim, while others, seeing his mistakes in his late years, exaggerate such mistakes and negate the guiding effect of Mao Zedong Thought on China's revolution and construction. Though expressed in different forms, there is only one reason for the emergence of such erroneous understandings and attitudes--the failure to distinguish Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years from Mao Zedong Thought. If we can truly distinguish the two, then we will realize that there are mistakes in Comrade Mao Zedong's views, and they are not part of the content of Mao Zedong Thought. We must not blindly follow them and practice dogmatism. Meanwhile, we will also realize that, though Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes, such mistakes are not Mao Zedong Thought.

Wan Quan [8001 2938]

Why must we continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought?

The "Resolution" points out that Mao Zedong Thought is our party's valuable spiritual asset and will guide our actions for a long time. This exposition fully affirms the scientific value and guiding effect of Mao Zedong Thought.

In the struggle practice of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people through the decades, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought have always been the guiding ideology of our party and our state. All our victories in the past were won under their guidance, and the successful completion of the various tasks of the socialist revolution and construction in the future and the realization of communism must also be guided by them. As proved by the practice of China's revolution, we cannot rely only on the general principles of Marxism-Leninism for the victory of the revolution. Only when the general principles of Marxism-Leninism are integrated with the concrete practice of our revolution will we discover the correct path and method of our revolution, while Mao Zedong Thought is precisely the product of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution. Only with its concrete guidance will China's revolution and construction get on the road of victory.

Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes in theory and practice in his late years. With the vigorous distortion and sabotage by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others on top thereof, people are unable to distinguish between Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years. Therefore, some people feel that we should no longer uphold Mao Zedong Thought. This view is wrong. Mao Zedong Thought must not be confused with Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. Dust and sand do not dull the radiance of pearls. Nor will Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years erode the great effect of Mao Zedong Thought.

Enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism in many ways, Mao Zedong Thought is our party's valuable spiritual asset, and it will guide our actions for a long time to come. Our revolution and construction cannot depart from it even for an instant. Some people feel that, as many important works of Comrade Mao Zedong were written during the democratic revolution and the socialist reform period, they are "obsolete" and no longer suitable. This view is also wrong. The process of the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought was the process of the concrete application and victory of the basic Marxist-Leninist theories in China and that of our party's gradual maturity and development. Studying Comrade Mao Zedong's works is studying the history of the party. Not only enabling us to understand China's past, but it will help us solve the issues of today, learn the many basic truths, principles and scientific methods of Marxism-Leninism, and master their application to the concrete revolutionary practice and the socialist modernization construction. Take "on Protracted Warfare" for instance: Though it deals with the war of resistance against Japan, such thinkings as starting from China's reality to wage a protracted war against imperialism and opposing the "theory of a quick victory" have a guiding significance in our endeavor to understand China's national conditions, act according to our capabilities, advance steadily and pursue the modernization construction in steps and stages. The exposition in the "Resolution" on the path of building a modern socialist power adjusted to China's conditions is an embodiment of the principles with direct and long-range bearings in the socialist revolution and construction hereafter as found in the Mao Zedong ideological system. The theories on the new democratic revolution, on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the building of revolutionary troops and military strategy, on ideological-political and cultural work, and on party building, and the scientific thinking, work and leadership methods with an even more universal guiding significance in our work hereafter, all found in Mao Zedong Thought, are powerful ideological weapons in the new historical period for us to build a great party, construct a glorious socialist motherland, train a generation of revolutionary successors, forever continue the proletarian revolutionary cause, and finally realize the magnificent goal of communism.

Gu Yue [0657 2588]

Why, when rectifying the slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," do we still need to continue with the revolutionary struggles in the various aspects?

The "Resolution" points out that, when we firmly rectify the erroneous slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" of the "Great Cultural Revolution" where one class overthrew another class, it absolutely does not mean that the revolutionary mission has been completed and that the revolutionary struggles in the various aspects are no longer necessary.

Is there a contradiction in rectifying the erroneous slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and stressing the necessity to continue the revolutionary struggle in the various aspects? Actually, there is no contradiction.

"Continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" had its special meaning. In the process of launching and leading the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong proposed a number of erroneous leftwing theses. Such leftwing theses were incompatible with either Marxism-Leninism or China's reality and did not belong in the realm of Mao Zedong Thought. However, they were summarized into the "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" whereby one class overthrew another class and utilized by Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary cliques. Since the slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" had its special meaning, it is completely proper for our party to clearly and firmly rectify its error today. Rectifying the error of this slogan is rectifying the error of the leftwing theses, and it absolutely does not mean that we should give up eating for fear of choking and no longer pursue the revolution.

Marxism tells us that the socialist cause is a great revolution unprecedented in human history. In the past, we launched the socialist revolution, eliminated the exploiting system and exploiting classes, and established a socialist system founded on the production means public ownership with the broad people as the masters. However, it was only the first step in the 10,000-li long march, and the journey of the revolution remains long and the tasks extremely arduous. Socialism must, on the foundation of eliminating the exploiting system and exploiting classes, vigorously develop the social productive forces, perfect and improve the socialist production relations and the superstructure, and gradually eliminate the three major distinctions until the realization of communism. Our current struggle to build a modern socialist country is precisely one stage of this great revolution.

The practice of the new historical period also tells us that the revolutionary tasks are far from being completed and that we must continue with the revolutionary struggles in the various aspects. Today, though the exploiting classes no longer exist, the class struggle has not vanished. Open and hidden enemies in society and other saboteurs are still watching for their chances to make trouble, and some of them are very rampant. Therefore, we must continuously reinforce the state machine of the people's democratic dictatorship, raise our revolutionary vigilance, firmly defend the revolutionary interests and crack down on the activities of the enemies and other saboteurs. Meanwhile, we must also realize that the remnant poison of the feudal ideology and the influence of the bourgeois ideology are still in existence, corrupting some of our people, especially the young, and blocking the progress of the socialist cause. The situation indicates that vigorously building a socialist spiritual civilization, reinforcing and improving ideological-political work, educating the people and the young with the communist ideals, ethics and beliefs, and overcoming the decadent and degenerate feudalist and capitalist ideological and cultural influences remain the important tasks of the socialist revolution. Our current socialist productive relations and superstructure require further perfection and development, which are also the important contents of the socialist revolution. In short, we must fully recognize the arduousness and complexity of the revolutionary tasks confronting us and vigorously pursue the socialist revolution to the final end.

Naturally, our revolution today and the revolution before the overthrow of the exploiting system are different in many ways in content and method. By recfifying the erroneous slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and casting off the leftwing ideological fetters, we will be able to truly assimilate the experiential lessons of history, avoid confusion, destruction and regression, make proper appraisals of the situation, and successfully pursue the socialist revolution and construction.

Jia Dong [1367 2767]

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CSO: 4005/927

SHANDONG RENAMES TEACHER'S COLLEGE TEACHER'S UNIVERSITY

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] With the approval of the provincial government, the Shandong Teacher's College has recently been renamed Shandong Teacher's University.

The former Shandong Teacher's College was established in 1950. In the past 31 years, it has produced for the nation some 18,000 graduates and has made great contributions to the work of socialist construction of the country. This institute of learning now has 12 departments, 14 specialties and relatively strong liberal arts and science faculties. It has also established 18 research groups and 2 research institutes. The qualification of its teachers and its facilities are also relatively superior. It has some 650 teachers, including some 100 professors and associate professors and some 260 lecturers. Its library has over 800,000 volumes. The value of its teaching equipment totals over 2 million yuan. The chief purpose of changing the teacher's college into the teacher's university is to develop undergraduates of a high caliber, to gradually increase the ratio of graduate students, to assume the responsibility of developing teachers for teacher's colleges, to afford teachers the opportunity to pursue further studies, and to strengthen research in the theory and practice of the science of pedagogy. This new university will further upgrade such basic requirements as its campus buildings, the qualification of its teachers, its equipment, and its library so that the quality of teaching and the standard of scientific research may continue to be raised, that the function of key universities in the province may be fully developed, that the Shandong Teacher's University may develop into a center for the education of teachers and for research in the science of pedagogy, and that it may produce a larger number of talented people for the work of building the four modernizations.

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STATE COUNCIL APPROVES MORE SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Text] The State Council recently gave its approval for the establishment of 26 additional institutions of higher learning, including 6 engineering schools, 2 medical schools, 13 normal schools, 4 schools of finance and economics and 1 school of physical education.

The 26 institutions of higher learning are:

Tianjin College of Science and Engineering (Tianjin municipality)

Wuhan College of Construction (Wuhan municipality in Hubei)

Shanghai School of Prosthetics (Shanghai municipality)

Yangzhou Industrial School (Yangzhou municipality in Jiangsu)

Jiangsu College of Chemical Engineering (Changzhou municipality in Jiangsu)

Beijing School of Electronics (Beijing municipality)

Beizhen Medical College (Beizhen in Shandong)

Taishan Medical College (Tai'an in Shandong)

Liaocheng Teacher's College (Liaocheng county in Shandong)

Yuncheng Teacher's School (Yuncheng county in Shanxi)

Chaoyang Teacher's School (Chaoyang municipality in Liaoning)

Beijie Teacher's School (Bijie county in Guizhou)

Shangqiu Teacher's School (Shangqiu municipality in Henan)

Lingling Teacher's School (Lingling county in Hunan)

Suxian Teacher's School (Suxian in Anhui)

Fuzhou Teacher's School (Fuzhou municipality in Fujian)

Baicheng Teacher's School (Baicheng municipality in Jilin)

Changchun Teacher's College (Changchun municipality in Jilin)

Hulan Teacher's School (Hulan county in Heilongjiang)

Keshan Teacher's School (Keshan county in Heilongjiang)

Lanzhou Commercial College (Lanzhou municipality in Gansu)

Nanjing College of Food Economics (Nanjing municipality in Jiangsu)

Liaoning School of Commerce (Jinzhou municipality in Liaoning)

Heilongjiang School of Finance (Harbin in Heilongjiang)

Jilin College of Physical Education (Changchun municipality in Jilin).

According to informed sources in the Ministry of Education, approval was given for the establishment of these institutions of higher learning in order to fill a gap and to strengthen certain weak links in the chain and on the strength of the fact that the basic requirements for the establishment of such institutions have been met.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW FIGURES, SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IN CURRENT LITERATURE

Beijing WENXUE PINGLUN [COMMENTS ON LITERATURE] in Chinese No 4, 15 Jul 81 pp 81-84

[Article by Lu Guishan [7120 6311 1472]: "Portraying New Figures and Reflecting Social Contradictions"]

[Text]

I.

The appearance of works portraying new figures is not accidental. In the final analysis, it is determined by a life that has changed. In Engels' words, "the greater ideological depth" of these works is refined and epitomized in the "historical content understood" by the authors, and their creative motives for portraying the new figures "stem not from trivial individual desires, but from the historical high tide in which they find themselves." The path followed by China's literary creations in recent years eloquently proves the historical necessity that a literature portraying the new man appear.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," writers first of all "understood that the historical content" was the pain and suffering caused the people by the evil political influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Facing cold reality, authors deeply experienced the desires and cries of the millions of revolutionary masses who were demanding that the poison and calamity spread by the "gang of four" be exposed and cleansed away. They were lashed and shaken by this powerful "historical tide," and uncontainable creative impulses were aroused; thereupon, a great quantity of the "literature of the scarred" emerged, as the times required.

After this, out of the "historical content which they understood," writers began trying to uncover the social origins which had caused and multiplied this ugly, deformed phenomenon. Writers began to be wise and profound. Then an "antithought literature" appeared. "Antithought literature" was the result of the writers dissecting and pondering the history of disorder and chaos of that period when the "gang of four" ran wild wreaking havoc. This literature dared to face life, pierced the abuses of the time, and at the same time announced the methods, ways, and hopes of salvation.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there was a change for the better in our lives. The party's correct line, direction, and policies had enormous power to change the old society and create a new historical situation. On all fronts there began to emerge new socialist persons with socialist consciousness and a spirit of practice. To realize the four modernizations and to promote the great goals of China, these advanced forces looked reality straight on and put their calm consideration of life into action, eradicating society's abuses and healing life's wounds. They were pathfinders who hacked through difficulties, and they were bold and resolute innovators. Innovation and transformation became the wish of the people, the ideal of society, and "the high tide of history." Writers expected and "understood" this "high tide of history" and reflected it in their works with great enthusiasm, with the result that a literature of innovation and transformation appeared. This literature, which reflected social transformation through the portrayal of the new figures, was determined by the great practice of transforming society. The appearance of this literature, which had a sense of the times and a sense of reality, was delightful and naturally "should have its own place in the realm of realism."

Gorky said that literature walks in the steps of life. From the "literature of the scarred" to "antithought literature" and then to the "literature of transformation"--this marked the track ahead and reflected the deepening of understanding by writers of the real life of this historical period. It was a development of China's literary creation in accord with the laws after the smashing of the "gang of four."

II.

In the clash of contradictions, the portrayal of new figures became a pattern of artistic creation both old and new. This is because contradictions are not immutable. The deepening of realism and the deepening of character portrayal fundamentally are derived from the breadth and depth of the social contradictions reflected in the work. The most outstanding characteristic of the literature of transformation of the new period is that it can unite very closely and self-consciously the reflection of social contradiction and the portrayal of new figures.

Dealing with the relationship between portraying new figures and reflecting social contradictions frequently gives rise to two kinds of biases: either new figures are portrayed which are divorced from the reflection of social contradictions, so that they lose their basis in life and become either lifeless strawmen or awe-inspiring, fabricated gods who are hollow eulogies; or they are reflections of social contradictions without the portrayal of new figures, which can also become pure exposure and even become lost in their sombreness and gloom and sink into pessimism and hopelessness. We should not exclude works which incline to eulogy or to exposure, but we should even more advocate those which combine the reflection of social contradictions and the portrayal of new figures even better. By contrast, the literature of transformation in the new period has provided us with beneficial experiences. These words try hard through the portrayal of new figures to intervene directly in life, to attack abuses, to bring out important social questions, to be aware of contradictions in the areas of politics, economics, law, and morality, and to emphasize showing the soul-stirring struggle which is advanced by the social transformation from the activity and disputation of the worlds of the soul and of emotion.

The works "Honest Official With Household Duties," "The Pathfinder," and "There's Internal Strife Afoot," which are about new figures, expose incisively and in a timely fashion the contradictions encountered in social transformation, including the reform of the cadre system and the economic management system, and in particular the all-out effort to resist and obstruct feudal traditional thinking and the force of custom. These works are like a mirror which reflects China's present national situation, and the social contradictions we see in them are even broader and deeper than in works which merely expose. Although these works are about the struggles and contradictions among the people, the struggles and contradictions among the people have situations as full of perils as whirlpools and rapids. From the writers' pens, the characters all join in the raging tide of struggle in the new period. They often throw themselves into the perils of the new long march as innovators, men of action, and professionals at revolution, smashing through barriers and overcoming dangers. These works pay special attention to portraying the firm faith, tenacious character, and lofty and admirable soul of the socialist generation's new man. Xin Qiming [6580 0796 2494] in "Soil" is a model of upholding the materialist ideological line. He loses his party membership to maintain his party spirit, but he is still unswerving in his loyalty and shows the lofty sentiments of a true communist. The writer shows that remolding the social soil is much more arduous and important than remolding the natural soil. If the soil of society is shrouded with the poisonous mists of sham, lies, and flattery, then not only will it be impossible to turn the desert into an oasis, but even that land which has been turned into an oasis will once again be swallowed up by the desert.

"Honest Official With Household Duties" shows incisively the test of strength between the new and old ideology concerning the reform of the cadre system. The work praises the old cadre Liang Yu [2733 5038] who yielded to Quan Fuxian's [2938 2105 6343] stirring deeds, revealing the political foresight, class character, and crystal clear inner world of the older generation of revolutionaries. And yet his acts encounter the unreasonable entanglement and obstruction of his wife Yang Qingwei [2799 7230 5588], who is superstitious and worships authority. The battle between them goes from a falling out to hatred. The feudal concept of the authority of position and hereditary thinking poisoned the soul of this "power-hungry woman," with the result that she lost her self-respect and love for herself and suddenly became ugly, second-rate, and lower class. As far as Yang Qingwei is concerned, "power" is simply a very effective weapon for her to use to pursue the things she wants, like the nuisance which Jia Baoyu wore around his neck and which attached his soul to his body, and if one day that "spiritual precious jade" was lost, then his soul would be lost or sunk in dejection or even become bewitched. This artful depiction tells us that if the feudal hereditary obstinacy is not eliminated and the persistent ailment of worship of power is not pointed out, it will not be possible to realize the reform of the cadre system.

"The Pathfinder" and "There's Internal Strife Afoot" bravely expose the struggle between innovation and conservatism in the process of readjusting the economic management system. This struggle has a powerful sense of reality. It reaches into the many areas of the economy, politics, and law; it merges and runs through the contradictions of party and government, politics and business, the central authority and the local areas, the "rules" and "local needs," the upper echelons and the lower subordinates, the general situation and the particular situation; and it reveals the intricate contradictions and struggles between the historical high tide of reforms in the new period and the force of old habits and traditions.

With their trenchant pens, the writers isolate the genes behind this contradiction and struggle: social transformation cannot but affect the political and economic interests of the local areas and sections which are readjusted, and thus it must encounter the resistance and boycott of those areas and sections. The leaders of the Jiajin District portrayed in "There's Internal Strife Afoot" are representatives of the conservative forces with which the historical high tide of social revolution must contend. Without any consideration at all for the overall interests of the nation or the long-range interests of the local area, their vested, inflated, collective political and economic interests are drawn together, and their mutual help and protection are deep-rooted and ingrained. They adopt patriarchal administrative organizational methods, consolidate at every step, erect defensive lines, conduct a power struggle with the opportunistic and cunning trickery of the exploitive class officialdom, and build a bastion against reform. This work may lack a precise and appropriate sense of propriety in describing the Jiajin District Party Committee, but in it we can see how feudalistic thinking, tradition, and force of habit can flaunt the banner of reinforced party leadership and use the central authority's slogan to develop local initiative and, with rational and lawful forms and auspices, can do their utmost to support and inflate their special local interests in order to resist and boycott the social transformation which is under way. This must come to our attention. This work has the protagonist Fu Lianshan [0265 6647 1472] in desperation unlawfully breaking down layer after layer of interference and obstacle after obstacle in the destruction of the electrical network, and breaking the law to shock and wake up those people who are blinded by special interests. The tragic conclusion, which is beyond all expectation, may harm the character of Fu Lianshan or even make the reader disappointed with social transformation. But just like this determined, innovative protagonist, we have been through a shock of the spirit and the igniting, spurting, and sublimation of emotional suffering. Why shouldn't an innovator such as Fu Lianshan, burning with impatience to revive China, earn the praise and support of the party and of society?

The new people and the social contradictions they face are many and varied. There are Che Pengkuan [6508 4659 1401] and Fu Lianshan, who master important social contradictions, and there is also Lu Wenting [7120 2429 1250], who gives out radiant splendor through a tempering in contradictions and everyday life. Lu Wenting has great forbearance, accepts the torments of life, and bears heavy burdens at work. This is a new figure who is tough, tenacious, and extraordinary. She does not engage in big empty talk, but her thought and deeds shine with the brillance of ideals. She is like a camel in the desert; she can put up with all kinds of hardships and shoulder heavy responsibilities. She is like an ox that plows the fields; what she eats is grass, and what she produces is milk. She is like a candle; she consumes herself and sheds light for others. Lu Wenting is ordinary, but she is also great. Her spirit of devotion, like "the silkworm that spins until death," makes her a special person. We firmly believe that Lu Wenting, who is loyal to the enterprise and loyal to the people in trial before Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], can certainly become Liu Hulan; in the struggle of Fu Lianshan and Che Pengkuan, she will certainly become Fu Lianshan and Che Pengkuan; in Liang Yu's situation, she will certainly become Liang Yu. There is absolutely no doubt of this. This is the great spiritual force of our revival of China.

III.

Combining the portrayal of new figures and the reflection of social contradictions is useful for accomplishing the following:

Combining praise and exposure. Exposure is necessary. Attacking old things which endanger revolution and the physical and mental health of the people is a responsibility which writers cannot push off onto others. Exposure can help people reject evil influences, while negative phenomena can, through denying ugly methods, reach the goal of affirming beauty. But recognizing ugliness is not the same as discovering beauty, just as praise cannot substitute for exposure and exposure cannot substitute for praise. But rather than preferring praise or preferring exposure, we should advocate combining praise and exposure to reflect completely the battle between light and darkness. Portraying new figures and reflecting social contradictions not only do not overlook exposing the dark and negative sides of life, but they also accomplish good things on the positive side by intervening in life and seeking truth from facts and praising advanced social forces, as well as [accomplish] the heroic achievements of facing up to and resolving social contradictions, of striving to discover the trend of historical development that light must win out over darkness. Experience in writing novellas shows that only by exposure in praise can exposure be effective, and that only by praise in exposure can praise be forceful. In "Honest Official With Household Duties," isn't praise for Liang Yu's noble deed of yielding to Quan Fuxian a last against Yang Qingwei's desire for greedy use and pursuit of personal authority? On the other hand, pointing out the persistence of Yang Qingwei's obsession with and worship of authority can more forcefully set off and throw into relief the unselfishness, purity, and nobility of Liang Yu's spiritual world.

Combining summarizing historical experience, directly facing earnest reality, and looking to the future. Portraying new figures and reflecting social contradictions require looking back at yesterday, looking today in the eye, and looking ahead to tomorrow; thus it combines traditional education and ideal education. The new figure understands best that the past is today's past and the future is today's future. By portraying and describing new figures as revolutionary professionals, men of action, and transformers of society, many works not only expose incisively the abuses of social life and discover the lessons that should be remembered from the unwise and misguided in history, but also through developing measures, proposals, and blueprints to transform society they establish new milestones and point out the goals ahead. This is beneficial in arousing the people's spirits and raising and strengthening the people's faith and courage to struggle for the realization of long-range ideals; and it is very beneficial in stopping and overcoming the perplexed hesitation and dejection of tragic disappointment which pure exposure can bring. By showing Xin Qiming's fate, "Soil" explains that only by having a correct ideological and political line and dispelling and sweeping away the filthy social practices of exaggeration and falsity can the ideal of "making every inch of the motherland become fully fertile" be realized. By showing the tragic encounter of Lo Qun and Teng Jingfeng, "Romance in Tianyun Mountains" bids farewell to years which devastated and humbled people, painfully turns over an absurd and irrational page of history with profound and sincere hope, and foretells a strong and vigorously developing tomorrow.

Socialist literature and art should use socialist and communist ideology to educate the people. Only by portraying new figures and reflecting social contradictions can positive education and negative education be better combined and thus completely realize the educational function of art. Simply exposing can only tell people what they should not do but cannot tell them positively what they should do; only through praise combined with exposure--through a comparison of the positive with the negative--can people be given a comprehensive education; i.e., tell the people what they should not do and at the same time tell them what they should do, and from a positive angle give the people a clear and direct model that they can study. "The Story of the Criminal Li Tongzhong" writes for the people the biography of Li Tongzhong, who gave his life for the cause, while at the same time it paints a portrait of the hypocritical and selfish Yang Wenxiu. People respect the pure and noble spirit of Xin Qiming in "Soil" and at the same time view with contempt Wei Daxiong, who rose to high position braving the wind and the waves. People ridicule, detest, and even curse Wu Yao in "Romance in Tianyun Mountains," while at the same time they are moved and imitate the firm character, lofty sentiments, loyal and steadfast conviction, and spirit of devotion of Luo Qun and Feng Jingfeng, who tenaciously pursue and readily bear a cross. The works uncover the spiritual beauty of the new figures, flash brilliance from the implicit, reveal strength from the depths, give people hope and encouragement, and can play a very positive role in raising the spiritual borders of the Chinese people.

Marx said that the proletariat "cannot draw its own poetry out of the past, but only from the future." Although our lives are filled with difficulties and dangers, the revolution has hope. Socialist literature and art should excel at discovering the positive factors which shine forth sharply from life and, by portraying new figures and reflecting the social contradictions of the new period, encourage and stimulate people to fight for the bright road ahead.

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CHINA, MODERNIZATION VIEWED IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 81 pp 11-19

[Article by Si Mu [1835 1970]: "The Present International Situation and Modern Socialist Construction in Our Country"]

[Text] Our undertaking of modern socialist construction has its domestic and foreign considerations. First, we must pay attention to our national conditions and understand them soberly. The general and specific policies adopted for the construction of the four modernizations must be in accord with national conditions. Secondly, we must also realize that China is a great country with an international character. We are carrying out modern construction in a definite international environment here on earth, not on the moon, and we cannot do so with the door closed and in isolation. In undertaking the four modernizations, we are affected and restricted by international conditions. Therefore, in addition to understanding national conditions, we must learn about conditions in the world. In other words, we must soberly, realistically, and comprehensively consider what is before us, the present stage of the international environment, and the characteristics of the international situation, as well as possible changes in this respect. From this we can judge the hour, size up the situation, and make correct calculations and policy decisions. In specific terms, we must be clear about what conditions exist in the international arena that are favorable to the construction of our four modernizations and what conditions or resistance are unfavorable; we must be clear how we can increase and utilize favorable conditions to remove or reduce unfavorable conditions or resistance. We should make careful considerations, combine our national conditions, deal with what is before us, the present stage of the international situation, and the kind of general and specific policies that should be adopted in our diplomacy, national defense, and even economy in order to gain the advantage and avoid harm, so as to realize more smoothly and safely the construction of the four modernizations. Centering on the construction of the four modernizations, two important international conditions must be combined with the present international situation for our consideration: First, what is the possibility of striving for a long-term, peaceful international environment? Second, what is the possibility of gaining foreign aid?

Strive for a Long-Term, Peaceful International Environment

In brief, the special conditions of our country include a vast territory, a large population, a particularly large agricultural population, a backward economy, and a low level of culture and science. Having been delayed twice since liberation, our country is behind developed countries by several decades economically, culturally, and scientifically. We must therefore make a high degree of modernization a reality. It will not be achieved in 8 or 10 years like West Germany and Japan but will be a matter of 30 or more years. Quick success is not possible, and even the goal of becoming "comfortably well off," as mentioned by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, will not be reached until the end of the century. This requires a peaceful international environment that is as long-term as possible in order to safeguard the smooth implementation of the construction of the four modernizations. Local and small-scale wars are not avoidable. In fact, during the 35 years since the end of World War II, local wars throughout the world have been taking place continuously. The question is: Will a new world war (be it nuclear for the first time or conventional) break out in the near future, or will Soviet hegemonism launch a war of aggression against China? In the former case, even if war starts in Europe or the Middle East, our country might not be able to remain uninvolved. In the latter case, it might develop into a world war and our country would itself become the first battleground. Under the conditions of a world war, not only would we be unable to continue with the four modernizations, but existing construction and achievement might be destroyed. True, since the end of the World War II a peaceful international environment has generally been maintained and some rather serious local wars did not expand into a world war. However, as we entered the decade of the 1970's, following the fall of the Soviet Union into social imperialism, changes have taken place in the relative strength of the Soviet Union and the United States in favor of the former. The Soviet Union has become a superpower (especially a military power) obsessed with ambition. In order to dominate the world it has pursued an aggressive and expansionist policy with increased vigor, launched a global offensive, and replaced American imperialism as the most dangerous source of a new war. On the other hand, following its economic and military decline, and in addition to its crushing defeat in the war of aggression against Vietnam, American imperialism has taken a defensive posture in global strategy, but it is still struggling with all its might to restore its forces and resist, even though it is on the defensive. Therefore, despite the period of so-called "detente" in the 1970's, the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States are, in short, becoming increasingly acute and the international situation is becoming increasingly tense. Particularly following the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan at the end of the year before last, war has overshadowed an unstable world. Confronted with this situation, quite a few observers in the West have cried out in alarm that the world today is very similar to that on the eve of World War II. Some have even predicted that the Soviet Union may provoke a world war in the mid-1980's. The outbreak of the incidents in Poland has further increased people's apprehension concerning the dangers of a new war.

Which predictions and views are in accord with reality? Is it possible to strive for a rather long-term, peaceful international environment? Because the world situation today is complicated and changing all the time, in order to answer these questions we must analyze all related factors realistically dialectically, and comprehensively.

First, let us examine the existing factors that may lead to or accelerate war:

1. Basically, as long as the Soviet Union remains committed to social imperialism and hegemonism, it will never abandon its ambition for world domination but everywhere will be bound to continue to promote, subvert, and scramble for strategic

points as well as new spheres of influence. Even if it encounters temporary difficulties and obstacles, it will never abandon its global strategy. In the future it will remain the main source of tension in the international situation and the most dangerous place of origin of a new world war. We should not have nay illusions about this.

2. Shielded by the smokescreen of "detente" during the past 10 years, the Soviet Union has taken advantage of the stagnation of military industry in the West to step up the expansion of military preparations. Its annual average increase in military expenditures is 4 to 5 percent, which is over 14 percent of the total national output value. Today, the Soviet Union has become one of the strongest countries in the world and is generally equal in strength to the United States. Not only does it possess an increasing number of strategic nuclear weapons, but it also has the capability of a second nuclear strike. Compared to the United States in terms of the quality of nuclear weapons and oceangoing navy, the gap is narrowing. It should be pointed out that the emphasis of Soviet economic construction in recent years is on heavy industry, particularly military industry. It has the most massive military industry and is actually the largest trader in munitions. Consequently, an interest bloc for military industry has developed within the Soviet economy which is closely linked to Soviet military circles, is influential in Soviet foreign policy, and is gradually taking an aggressive and expansionist path. Moreover, as the Soviet Union has those conventional and strategic nuclear weapons which can neither be used for food nor clothing, they will not be put aside in disuse for a long period of time. Therefore, if these weapons are not used to carry out military adventure, they will be used for military blackmail. The two go hand in hand. Hitler proceeded from military blackmail to military adventure, provoking World War II.

3. In the past 10 years, some Western countries have feared war and the Soviet Union. Obsessed by the immediate advantages, they have fallen victim to the Soviet fraud of false "detente." As a result, they cherish unrealistic illusions about the Soviet Union, appeasing it, tolerating it, and even conceding to it. The more one concedes, the greater is the appetite of Soviet aggression and the more unbridled it is in extending its actions. This policy of pacifism and appeasement cannot postpone war but will accelerate its outbreak. The facts are very clear. In recent years, the Soviet Union has put its hands in every part of the world, creating "hot spots" in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Cambodia, and Afghanistsn which can easily lead to and trigger a military confrontation. Europe is still the emphasis of Soviet global strategy, but at present the Soviet Union is avoiding direct advance by adopting the southern route to outflank and surround Europe. The occupation of Afghanistan is its more formidable move, pressing even closer to the concentrated oil-producing region of the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, through which the transportation of petroleum must pass. Moreover, it will not stop there. The next target may be an invasion of Pakistan or Iran, enabling it to control the warmwater ports of the Indian Ocean and to control the Persian Gulf. Control of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf signifies control of the Middle East and of Petroleum. Besides, in concert with this southern route, if the strengthened Soviet fleet together with the forces of little Vietnamese hegemonism invade westward, the strategic Straits of Malacca can easily be occupied. The Strait of Hormuz to the Straits of Malacca is the passageway for Middle Eastern oil. If the Soviet Union has control of Middle Eastern oil and of its transport

route, Europe and Japan will be threatened, and to a certain extent also the United States. This gradual advance, which threatens the lifeline of the United States and its Western allies and which reaches a stage of either surrender to the Soviet Union or fight, will result in a World War. Moreover, the Polish situation has come about since the Afghanistan incident, adding a new "hot spot." Poland is strategically located in Central Europe and is the gateway through which the Soviet Union can gain access to the West. The Soviet Union will absolutely not allow Poland to break away from its control and go its own way. Recently, the Soviet attitude toward Poland is stiffening and is becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the Polish Party Secretary Kania and Premier Jaruzelski. The Soviet Party Central Committee has also written to the Polish Party Central Committee, wantonly interfering in the internal affairs of Poland. The Soviet Army pressing against the border has already completed preparations for military intervention and can enter Poland at any time. However, the Polish people are rich in national pride. If the Soviet Union again plays the old trick of invading Poland, as it did in Czechoslovakia, it is bound to encounter resistance from 35 million people and over 300,000 Polish troops. At the same time, the United States and its Western allies have already assumed a posture of treating this possible Soviet military adventure seriously. Thus, direct confrontation between the Soviet anion and the Western countries in Poland cannot be totally eliminated.

However, it is not possible for the world situation to develop entirely according to the wishes of Soviet hegemonism. The vain hope of the Soviet Union to use military blackmail and military adventure to dominate the world is one thing, but whether it can succeed is another. Let us look at the other side of the question--the various factors that favor the safeguard of peace in the current international situation:

First, the consciousness of the people of the world to oppose hegemonism and safeguard peace is on the rise, and its strength is increasing.

1) The Soviet Union is hopelessly outnumbered in a "multipolar" world. For a rather long period of time after the war, the two large countries of the Soviet Union and the United States were the main force that influenced and determined world politics; war and peace were mainly decided by the relationship between them. But since the late 1960's, the trend has been increasingly clear that the "bipolar" world of the Soviet Union and the United States is being replaced by a multipolar one. The new superpower of Soviet social imperialism can be considered a "pole" and an antithesis. In the capitalist world of the West, the United States is still the most powerful country, even though it has gone downhill. Because of the role of the law of the unbalanced development of capitalism, Western Europe and Japan depended on the United States. Following rapid economic development, the economic strength of the West European community and Japan is increasingly closer to that of the United States. They are striving for an equal footing with the United States, each becoming a "pole" with an increasingly greater say in international politics. As for the Third World countries, they are individually different, more loosely organized, and cannot form their own bloc like the West European community, but because their basic interests are generally the same, through the "nonallied movement," the unity of the Islamic countries, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and others, the unique influence and role they have increasingly played in international politics in recent years also make them a "pole." Moreover, although our

China is still far, far behind the Soviet Union and the United States in economic and military strength, it has also become a nucleus socialist country and a main actor on the stage of international politics, objectively playing a decisive role. Our country is certainly a "pole." From this, one can see that the entire world situation is different from that on the eve of World War II or in the early postwar period (before the 1970's). In today's multipolar world, the "pole" of the Soviet Union is the most prominent. In expanding and in provoking war with the whole world, it is not only the foremost enemy of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, but it is also the common "antithesis" of the other five "poles," which to varying degrees demand peace and stability and are threatened by the Soviet Union. In this way, no matter how Soviet hegemonism makes threatening gestures and couples threats with promises, objectively the Soviet Union is sourrounded and hopelessly outnumbered In other words, this contradiction and struggle between one "pole" playing the tyrant and many "poles" opposing the tyrant constitute an important factor which favors the safeguarding of world peace.

2) Through the lesson of the reality of the negative teacher, the countries of the world have united to oppose hegemonism, and the consciousness of using struggle to safeguard peace is on the rise. As we have mentioned above, a chief reason why Soviet hegemonism has succeeded in recent years in its aggressive expansion throughout the world is that the United States and other Western countries appease, tolerate, and connive with the Soviet Union, as they are poisoned by the Soviet false detente and smokescreen. The fraud of false detente has been exposed by the Soviet Union's own actions. From Angola and Ethiopia to Cambodia and Afghanistan, and from Czechoslovakia to Poland, the series of real-life lessons of Soviet hegemonism's being insatiable and pressing harder with each step, and the provocation of war for world expansion, have played an extremely good role of negative teacher for the people of the whole world and the rulers of the Western countries. It is like an alarm bell which gradually awakens the countries of the west from the dream of "detente." Washington authorities, who were once intoxicated by American-Soviet detente and the honeymoon of understanding, have discovered that they have been tricked by the American-Soviet nuclear talks, delivered nuclear superiority to the Soviet Union, and helplessly watched [America's] vital interests throughout the world jeopardized by the Soviet Union and could do nothing about it. The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan in particular, an operation on the so-called "soft-belly" of the West, made the United States feel the pain even more keenly. To retrieve itself from an inferior position and to mend the fold after a sheep is lost, beginning from the late period of the Carter administration Washington made a fresh start by adopting a tougher line against the Soviet Union and a series of military and economic measures of containment and sanctions. After Reagan, who has been praised as being tough with the Soviet Union, took the stage, the United States has on one hand drastically increased its military expenditures and strength, particularly its strategic nuclear capacity, so as to offset Soviet superiority in this area with the so-called "nuclear offset policy." On the other hand, diplomatically it has adopted the so-called "new containment policy" toward the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the containment of the Soviet Union and the safeguarding of Amarican interests occupy the central place in the new global strategy formulated by Secretary of State Haig. The policy of arms expansion and of preparations for the use of force at the outbreak of a crisis has replaced the policy of relying on arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union and has become the nucleus of policy toward the Soviet Union. Before the House Foreign Relations Committee, Haig even

said: "We must understand that there are things worth fighting for." This tough policy of the United States toward the Soviet Union has already begun in its dealing with the Afghanistan incident and the crisis in Poland. To varying degrees, the policy of the West European allies toward the Soviet Union has toughened recently. They have simultaneously condemned the prolonged Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and any intervention in Poland. The NATO countries are strengthening their defenses as well as their efforts toward military cooperation. Among them, the Iron Lady of Britain, Prime Minister Thatcher, is the most positive. To deal with the increasingly serious Soviet threat, Japan is abandoning its "all-directions diplomacy," strengthening the American-Japanese alliance, enthusiastically supporting the strategic division of work proposed by the United States, increasing its military budget, and shouldering even more military responsibilities. Japan has also developed friendly and cooperative relations with China, and has coordinated the action of matching against the Soviet Union. As for the Third World countries, although their internal conditions are complicated, although conflicting interests exist among them, and although some of them are even pro-Soviet, since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the real appearance of the so-called "natural allies" has been more exposed, the interests of developing countries have been increasingly threatened, and the struggle against Soviet hegemonism has shown new heights among quite a few Third World countries. Confronted with this situation, the Soviet Union, which at one time had boasted that "detente is irreversible" cannot but bewail that "detente" is now at a "low tide" and is even "in danger of melting into thin air." Facts have proven that appeasement and concession to seek temporary ease will only bring war, and that unity and struggle to seek peace will achieve peace. Since the majority of the countries in the whole world and the absolute majority of the people take the latter path to varying degrees, this is the factor which at present is most favorable to the safeguarding of world peace.

Second, there are quite a few weaknesses in the Soviet Union and its empire. In mobilizing for a large-scale war, its ability will fall short of its wishes.

As the chief enemy of peace, the Soviet Union is militarily powerful and also is rather powerful economically. We must pay attention to this reality. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its empire have all kinds of weaknesses, difficulties, and problems. No matter how successful the Soviet Union has been in its external aggression and expansion in recent years, this has brought quite a few difficulties and problems:

1) Numerous economic difficulties. The year with the worst internal economic conditions since Brezhnev came to power was 1979-80. After over 10 years of being relatively rapid, economic growth has slowed to the lowest point in peacetime since the 1930's. The target for 4 years was barely completed in the Tenth Five-year plan. In the early 1970's, the annual rates of increase for national income, industrial output value, and productivity were 5.1, 7.4, and 6 percent, respectively. From 1975 to 1979 they decreased to 3.7, 4.5, and 3.2 percent, while in 1980 they were 3.8, 3.6, and 2.6 percent, respectively. The newly announced Eleventh Five-year Plan originally specified that the annual rate of increase for national income would be around 3.4 to 3.7 percent--lower than the implemented result of the previous five-year plan. This clearly shows that the Soviet economy is heading for stagnation. Besides, Soviet agriculture is having poor harvests yearly. The supply of agricultural products, light industrial products, and industrial products

for everyday life is tight, which has given rise to supply by quota and rationing tickets. It appears that although the Soviet economy and finance are still not afflicted with such ills as the Poles, the situation of having to mind both guns and butter is hard to sustain.

2) It is isolated in the world as never before. The specific circumstances in this connection have already been discussed previously, when we talked about the Soviet Union being surrounded by enemies on all four sides. Here we merely add two points. 1. As a leader of the nonallied movement, Yugoslavia's condemnation and opposition to Soviet hegemonism are increasingly open and sharp. Another East European country Romania, is also heading toward a parting of the ways with the Soviet Union. 2. In the international communist movement, the two major parties of European communism, the communist parties of Italy and Spain, have not only improved relations with our party but have jointly opposed the Soviet Union regarding the problems of Afghanistan and Poland, and were not bothered in denouncing the Soviet Union at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Recently the Japanese communists have issued an "outline for peace" which also openly condemned Soviet intervention regarding the problems of Afghanistan and Poland.

3) The Soviet backcourt and the internal crisis in the Soviet Union itself. Here we cannot avoid mentioning Poland again. Since the end of World War II, Poland has been in turmoil more than once. This time is the most serious; it can be said to be the central expression of the contradictions among the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is also the most severe test of the so-called economic and political "Model" of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The nationality question, religious influence, and political dissenters are all centrifugal forces that can disintegrate the Soviet empire. They are also obstacles to Brezhnev in the implementation of his external expansionist policy. Within the Soviet Union, the masses are dissatisfied and social problems intensify. In the past year, incidents of workers going on strike or slowing down their work because of poor supplies occurred in Gorkiy and several other cities. Last October in Talinn, the capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, several hundred students demonstrated on the streets because their food and drink were undesirable. They chanted the slogans "Return the freedom of Estonia to us" and "Separate from the Russians." The Polish incident has also compelled the Soviet people to ponder these problems and has deepened their doubts about the Soviet model and current policy. True, because the Soviet leadership clique has a grip on the massive party, government, and military propaganda machine and espionage network, its control is tight. The influence of pro-Western intellectuals and political dissenters is not great; religious influence and the influence of the centrifugal minority nationalities still have not been able to form a serious threat against the Kremlin. Nevertheless, an increase in these weaknesses and difficulties is bound to cause the Soviet Union to be unable to fulfill its wishes or to have trouble back at home if it launches a major military adventure. We must give this more consideration.

4) The burden is heavy, and their feet are getting stuck in mud. Problems in this aspect are serious consequences directly brought about by Soviet military intervention and adventure. Soviet hegemonism and its hatchetmen have carried out aggressive expansion in the world in recent years, and the advantages obtained are really not few. But if we take Cambodia and Afghanistan as examples, the fruit of its aggressive war has drastically diminished. The price it has paid is extremely high.

Someone has estimated that to maintain its sphere of influence from Cuba through Vietnam to Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has to spend over U.S. $10 billion annually. In Vietnam this year alone it has to give the Hanoi authorities U.S. $5 million each day, or U.S. $1.8 to U.S. $2 billion in 1 year. We believe that the amount of money it spends on Afghanistan is even greater. It can be said that the Soviet plight in Afghanistan today is really one of having its feet stuck in mud with an increasingly heavy burden, just like the United States in Vietnam during those years. Let the Soviet Union get stuck in the mire of Afghanistan and Cambodia, and let the heavy burden weigh on its back so that it will understand that aggressive expansion has more to lose than to gain in the end, and perhaps its actions in the future may be a little more cautious. In this connection, we can imagine that if the Soviet Union outrageously carries out military intervention in Poland, even if it succeeds temporarily, not only will it have to deal with the prolonged armed resistance of the Polish people fighting for independence and freedom, but it will also have to tidy up the economic shambles of Poland, repay over U.S. $20 billion of foreign debt for Poland, and carry a burden that can only reach an unbearable stage. We also think this way in connection with the possibility of a Soviet invasion of our country. No matter how the Soviet Union is bent on subjugating our country, how easy it is to talk about invading a land of over 9 million square meters (over 10 times the area of Afghanistan) and a socialist China that has a billion people (several tens of times the population of Afghanistan)! Some people have argued that if the Soviet Union goes to war with us, it will have to prepare to fight at least 20 years. Moreover, China is a large country that cannot be conquered or "digested." This also restricts the Soviet Union in launching a war against China. Such a view is not unreasonable. In terms of the struggle against the Soviet Union, we fight from where we stand and do not relax our vigilance. But in terms of the world situation, an invasion of China by Soviet hegemonism in the near future is not too great a possibility.

In summary, we can see that in the struggle between aggression and antiaggression, hegemonism and antihegemonism, the forces of war and the forces of peace in the whole world, in each case the latter is to a certain extent getting the upper hand. At this time it is favorable for our country to strive for a long-term, peaceful international environment and to carry out the construction of the four modernizations. This superiority is not absolute or decisive. To develop this superiority, to reach the goal of greatly postponing or preventing the outbreak of a new war, the key lies in the formation of a structure for joint resistance against the Soviet Union and in the consolidation of an international united front against hegemonism.

True, in the 1980's the incident of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has further exposed the miscalculation of the appeasement policy of the United States and other Western countries, as well as their inadequate strength in resisting the Soviet Union. People increasingly and clearly recognize that the United States does not have sufficient strength to resist the Soviet Union alone. It is necessary to strengthen the cooperation between the United States and its allies as well as the cooperation with all forces that resist the Soviet Union, including China and other Third World countries, in order to effectively deal with the Soviet challenge to war. In the face of continued expansion and intensified threats by the Soviet Union in the past year, the structure of joint resistance against the Soviet Union among the various forces in the world has been initially formed. However, the development of this international united front against hegemonism is still not sufficient and solidified, because there still exist problems and obstacles that cannot be overlooked.

1--The undercurrent of appeasement and forbearance toward the Soviet Union is still doing mischief. No matter to what extent toughness against the Soviet Union and the path of containment are tending to become the mainstream in the United States today and are gradually becoming predominant in certain Western allied countries, some people in the West have still not totally awakened from the dream of "detente," Soviet-phobia has not been uprooted,aand arguments for compromising with the Soviet Union still appear from time to time. For instance, some people have actually suggested placating the Soviet aggressors, saying that Soviet expansion has exceeded the bounds of the Yalta Agreement, making it even more necessary to recarve the spheres of influence and to redelineate the areas for rule. Some people feel that we should not overreact against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and heighten the tense relations between East and West, but that we should negotiate a "political solution" to the Afghanistan crisis and enable the Soviet Union to "back down with face." On the question of Cambodia, there are similar arguments for compromise in the West and in SEATO. Some people in Djakarta believe that the Cambodian question is actually a conflict between China and Vietnam, not between Vietnam and SEATO; they demand that Thialand's attitude toward Cambodia be a little flexible and believe that if only Vietnam would withdraw some of its forces, everything would be allright.

2--Resorting to economic appeasement of the Soviet Union for the knack of doing business. We all know that the United States and some Western allies (particularly West Germany and France) carry out economic cooperation with the Soviet Union for the sake of immediate economic advantages, selling large quantities of military goods and materials to the Soviet Union and continuously supplying it with advanced technology and equipment. This is an important cause of the rapid increase in Soviet economic strength, particularly military strength. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Washington undertook economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, but some major European countries did not give positive support and even took the opportunity to expand trade with the Soviet Union. Even in the United States, many people advocated the cancellation of the Soviet grain embargo and the relaxation of other economic sanctions and measures. Under the influence of this force, Reagan ultimately lifted the grain embargo. This made people feel that the tough line of the Reagan government is still vacillating and that its actions are not in keeping with its promises. Recently the Soviet Union has cast out the bait of cooperation with Western countries to install a large-scale natural gas pipeline in Siberia and to develop the engineering for the exploitation of oilfields in Siberia. This is no small temptation to the monopoly capitalists of the West. They are planning to provide the Soviet Union with capital and technology, and their starting point is no doubt easing their own economic decline and energy crisis. At the same time, they also fancy that this can reduce the danger of Soviet meddling in the Middle East oil-producing areas. To a certain extent, such shortsighted economic appeasement has obstructed the development of international unity to resist the Soviet Union.

3--The divergences and contradictions between the United States and some Western allies on the issues of resisting the Soviet Union and of defense. This is an extremely delicate and acute problem which has great effect on the development of the united front between the United States and Europe in opposing hegemonism. The divergence and controversy are briefly this: Quite a number of Americans blame Western Europe for persisting in pacifism, or for being concerned with only local and immediate advantages of Europe and with the economic advantages obtained from detente, without considering problems from the whole situation or a long-term point of view. When the Soviet Union was creating crisis situations elsewhere, Europe was still hoping to become a stable island of "detente," content to rule in just its part of the world, unwilling to fulfill its promise to increase military spending; it did not coordinate closely with the United States on questions of defense, and it still fancied resolving disputes through negotiation with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, European countries, particularly quite a number of people in West Germany, blame the United States for lacking an explicit, firm, and consistent policy toward the Soviet Union in the past and for doing nothing, all of which led to the outbreak of the Afghanistan incident. Now it is being too extreme and may move tension into Europe and destroy the achievement of "detente." They are particularly unhappy with Washington for taking hasty actions without prior discussion with them. Some time ago, some people in West Germany were critical that Americans wanted to station nuclear weapons in Europe solely to safeguard the security of the American homeland in case of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. They are worried that Europe may again become the main theater of a world war, while the United States will remain unaffected.

The three types of conditions discussed above, and particularly the third type, give the Soviet Union the opportunity to sow discord and cause division, and are unfavorable to the full development and consolidation of a united front against hegemonism. The offensive of "detente" launched by Brezhnev after the conclusion of the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and recently the old trick of coupling threats with promises, were all used to deal with such weakness in relations between the United States and its Western allies. The three types of conditions discussed above also enable us to recognize that the course of the formation and development of an international united front against hegemonism is not plain sailing nor as smooth as one would wish. The measures and steps taken by the concerned parties against the Soviet Union will not be entirely consistent. However, in terms of the entire international situation, since the ambition of Soviet social imperialiam to dominate the world will not weaken or disappear, and since its global strategy will remain basically unchanged, joint antihegemonism will still be a common necessity for all countries that demand peace and stability; this is still the mainstream of the present situation. Regardless of the divergence and contradictions that Western Europe and Japan have with the United States, however strong they demand an equal footing with the United States because of the steady increase in their economic and military strength, and despite their plight and their own vital interests which differ from those of the United States, and which cannot be easily cleared up, Western Europe and Japan still need the help of the protective military umbrella of the United States for a rather long period of time. Their mutual economic dependence on the United States is also very deep. Their common interests are greater than their contradictions. As a result, if only the United States treats them as equal partners and consults with them in case of incidents, even when they are confronted with a great enemy they can still seek common ground while reserving their differences and jointly resist the Soviet Union. Thus we believe that, following the footsteps of Soviet hegemonism in intensifying its aggressive expansion, the United States, China, Japan, Western Europe, and the Third World countries will continue to readjust their relations, coordinate their actions, and continue to advance on the tortuous path toward joint antihegemonism. This development shows clearly that it is possible to postpone and even avoid the outbreak of a new war. But this tendency does not come naturally. It is necessarily promoted by the effort of the peace-loving people of the whole world and by all farsighted politicians. In this regard, our country's initiative and efforts will also play a positive and key role.

Conditions for Gaining Foreign Aid

Having analyzed somewhat the possibility of striving for a long-term and peaceful international environment, let us now briefly examine the actual possbbility of gaining foreign aid.

Originally, construction in our country was based primarily on self-reliance, and striving for foreign aid was supplementary. This was a correct stand put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong. However, for a time in the past, we overemphasized self-reliance to the extent of closing the country to international intercourse, isolating ourselves; we did not borrow foreign loans and did not enthusiastically introduce advanced technology and equipment from foreign countries. As we see it now, this method is unfavorable to the progress of modern construction. There are three reasons for saying so: First, from the time of the Opium War the development of our country's economic and scientific culture and that of the industrially developed countries also widened. Second, developed countries have already experienced three scientific and technological revolutions. Their science and technology, production equipment, and production programs change with each passing day. If we do not learn what is advanced from foreign countries, introduce foreign capital, technology, and equipment, but work behind closed doors, our economic and cultural construction will be like an old ox pulling a cart, and it will be difficult to catch up with world levels. Third, under the basic premise of self-reliance, appropriate introduction of foreign capital, technology and equipment, and carrying out economic cooperation with foreign countries can speed up modernization. We have postwar Japan and West Germany to serve as precedents to go by. The question is how great the possibility is of using foreign aid. Particularly after our country implemented economic readjustment, we have perhaps had some fresh doubts about the possibility of acquiring foreign aid. We believe that however we look at it from the present world economic situation or international political struggle, the possibility of acquiring foreign aid still exists and is rather great.

1. Viewing from the world economic situation: the world economic situation is very complicated. Here we will only mention several characteristics:

(1) According to general estimates, although a very serious economic crisis will not occur in developed capitalist countries in the West in the 1980's and there will not be any new upsurge, the so-called "recession" (stagnation in production and inflation) is still very hard to break away from. According to various predictions, the average annual increase of the total national output value in industrially developed countries of the West in the 1980's will merely be around 3 percent (5 percent during 1961-1973). Some people even estimate that in the first 5 years of the 1980's, the increase will be slow and that in the last 5 years there will be either no increase or only a slight decrease. The consequences of

"recession" include excess production (particularly of machinery equipment), a relative surplus of capital, inflated prices (usually reaching double-digit figures), and a rise in unemployment.

According to estimates of the OECD, the total unemployment figure among its 24 member countries at the end of last year was over 22 million and will increase by 11.5 percent in 1982 to 25.5 million. The unemployment rate will reach a record high of 7.5 percent (a record except for the great crisis in the 1930's). To solve the economic problems and the social problems that follow, the industrially developed countries need to seek outlets abroad--commodity and investment markets. This will create a so-called "buyer's market" (supply greater than demand, favorable to the buyer), and as a great developing country with a population of 1 billion people, China has great potential for absorbing surplus commodities and capital funds.

(2) The present world trade is shrinking, and international revenues and expenditures have lost their balance. Together with the unbalanced development of major capitalist countries, competition in trade is further intensified. According to statistics, trade volume in 1980 increased by only 2 percent--not even a third of the growth rate in 1979. In terms of trade revenues and expenditures, the trade deficit of developed capitalist countries last year reached U.S. $130 billion (related to the rise in oil prices), creating a record high. This state of imbalance will continue to develop, and it is estimated that the adverse balance of payments in trade for developed capitalist countries of the West will be around U.S. $40 billion this year. Such circumstances will cause trade competition and trade protectionism among Western countries to intensify further. Moreover, the unbalanced growth among the United States, Western Europe, and Japan is increasingly serious. The total national production output value of the Western European Economic Community has exceeded that of the United States by a great deal. Japan has already become an economic power, and its commodities have a particularly high competitive capacity in the world market.

Starting last year, Japan's automobile production exceeded that of the United States for the first time, and large quantities poured into the American and European markets. The intensification of competition among them is favorable to our choice of trading partners and sources of foreign capital. For example, machinery equipment is particularly produced in excess in the developed Western countries. Unsold idle inventory will not earn profits but will cost more capital. Moreover, the sellers competing with one another would like to sell their commodities as soon as possible, while there are still profits to be made. Thus it is possible for us to borrow low-interest foreign loans for the purchase of machinery equipment. This is favorable to us.

(3) No doubt, the implementation of extensive economic readjustment in our country, which has postponed the construction of some major projects and halted the import of certain complete sets of equipment from Japan and West Germany, has for the moment actually shaken the view that "China is an enormous market for the West in the midst of difficulties." Last year, the exports of West Germany, Japan, Britain, France, and Italy to China all decreased. However, Chinese-American trade last year more than doubled, with a total volume of U.S. $4.8 billion, and the United States has replaced West Germany as China's second biggest trading partner. The United States is also preparing to supply us with equipment and technology for

textile and clothing trades. Trade between the two countries this year is estimated to increase to above U.S. $6 billion. In contrast, American-Soviet trade last year was cut in half because of economic sanctions, and China gained more than what the Soviet Union lost. Moreover, men of insight in industrial and commercial circles in the United States and other countries of the West still believe that even though our country is going through the period of economic readjustment, if we "look at problems from the long-term point of view," "and discover the correct programs that suit the change in emphasis in China's economic development," then there is still "plenty of business to do." A European who attended the China Trade Week of the European community even said, "In the long run, China's moderate growth, built on a relatively strong foundation, as compared to insisting on some large projects and proceeding from uncertain conditions of profit and loan repayment, may be even more advantageous to both sides. China is actually a reliable trading partner of the West."

(4) Besides, the energy crisis of the West and the last large jump in the price of oil are also favorable factors in gaining foreign aid for our country. In the past 2 years, due to excessive exploitation of oil in our country, and even though the production increase has ceased, we are not short of petroleum resources. In particular, joint exploitation of the rich offshore oil resources is highly attractive to foreign capital. Even if our oil reserves are not as rich or as geographically concentrated as those in the Middle East, the diversity of oil resources is also sought by the West and especially by Japan. According to reports, oil merchants and engineers have come to our coastal ports one after another from the United States, Japan, and France to undertake the prospecting of offshore oil. China and Japan are jointly exploiting oil in the southern Bohai Sea. Recent news said that extremely hopeful oilfields have been discovered here, with a daily production of about 1,000 metric tons of crude oil. Subsequently, in the Beibuwan Bay region of our Nanhai Sea, Chinese-French cooperation also succeeded in opening up a high-yield oil gas well. It can be said that oil is a "trump card" for our country in gaining foreign aid.

On the other hand, some people have pointed out that in the next 10 years the picture is somewhat dismal as the world economy readjusts in an even more realistic direction. This will also have some effects on China's development (construction of the four modernizations). In terms of foreign investment, capital funds and particularly low-interest loans will be harder to obtain. Import prices will also increase along with inflation in the world. China's effort to open new markets will be restricted because of the slow economic growth of the West. This observation is not unreasonable, and we must be fully aware of the effects of these negative factors.

2. The situation of international political struggle is also favorable for our acquiring foreign aid. The reasons are:

(1) China is a great country in the world. However poor economically and backward militarily, its strategic position in international politics is very important. It holds the balance, and this is particularly true today in the joint opposition against hegemonism. It cannot be underrated, and even moreso it cannot be overlooked. No matter how some people in the United States and Western Europe (such as ke-lai-yin of the "Taiwan gang" and the like) believe that China itself is quite powerless, has no economic and especially no military significance, and is strategically

dependent on the United States, while the United States has no need for our assistance, facts have refuted such nonsense which belittles our country. Just take the military aspect as an example: on the eastern front alone, our country has pinned down 1 million Soviet troops--a quarter of the entire Soviet military force used for aggressive expansion. This will put the Soviet Union at least in the position of having to fight on two fronts when it conducts a military adventure. Facts speak louder than words. Recently the West has gradually changed its view of China. As for the United States, Haig believes that the normalization of relations between the United States and China is a strategic question. They share a common strategic view. President Reagan also believes that developing relations on friendship and cooperation with China is a realistic question that is fundamental and has strategic significance. It is a strategic question that must be resolved, and it has overriding importance for safeguarding the stability of the international situation and world peace. Not long ago, Haig indicated even more clearly at the end of his visit in China: The Reagan government is resolved to develop cooperative relations between the two countries according to the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China. It is precisely because of the changes in the international situation and the change in the views about China that American foreign policy is transformed from the "triangle diplomacy" of maintaining a balance among the United States, the Soviet Union, and China to today's policy of strategic coordination and economic cooperation between the United States and China. During his China visit, Haig also announced that the United States was preparing to sell weapons to China. At the same time, Japan also changed its so-called "equal distance diplomacy" toward China and the Soviet Union to strategically act in coordination with our country, having suffered under Soviet military threats and having been rebuffed by the Soviet Union on the question of the four northern islands. Some major countries of Western Europe were at first afraid that strengthening cooperation with China might arouse the Soviet Union. Recently, they have come around to us to varying degrees.

(2) It is true that China's economy and national defense are backward, but precisely because of this we need the four modernizations. When China is modernized and becomes powerful, it will be able to play a more effective role in the struggle against hegemonism. This reasoning is gradually being recognized by men of insight in the West. It can be prejudged that following modernization, our country will be able to pin down half and not just a quarter of the Soviet military force, and what will be so bad about that? No doubt, the West and even some Third World countries have incorrect views and unnecessary worries about the emergence of a modernized China, such as fearing that our country is powerful or worrying that we might one day reconcile with Soviet hegemonism and jointly deal with the West. However, such nonsense comes from only a minority of people. It does not have a large audience and cannot withstand the test of facts. We have repeatedly declared that we will never be a superpower, will never play the tyrant, and will never benefit ourselves by injuring others, use our strength to bully the weak, or make empty talk. The stand we take against the Soviet Union is explicitly based on principles. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, we broke off our negotiations with the Soviet Union. As long as the Soviet Union does not abandon hegemonism, displays a million troops along our border, continues to occupy Afghanistan, and supports Vietnam in the occupation of Cambodia, we will proceed from global strategy and will never negotiate with the Soviet Union on improving relations between the two countries. In summary, support for our country's modernization is hastened by the international

opposition against hegemonism. Even if the governments of individual Western countries do not positively support our modernization and ignore our protests for the sake of immediate advantages, but instead support the military modernization of Taiwan like the shortsighted actions of the present Dutch Government, they will only eat their own bitter fruit. Recently, some people in the United States also have gone against the current. Under the pretext of implementing the so-called "regulations regarding relations with Taiwan," they play the game of "Balanced arms sales" to Taiwan, which is also a stupid move that will bring woe to themselves.

To summarize the above, we can make the following conclusions: 1) Looking ahead at the whole international situation, it will continue to be turbulent and tense in the future, local wars will occur one after another, the so-called "hot spots" will still exist here and there, and the possibility that Soviet hegemonism will risk the provocation of war cannot be totally removed; however, a new world war is not likely to break out in the immediate near future. It can be postponed and avoided. As a result, it is possible to strive for a rather long-term, and peaceful international environment for the four modenniaations. 2) With regard to gaining foreign aid for the construction of the four modernizations, the present world economic situation, and especially the international situation, provides some favorable factors but also has some negative ones. In the future we should strive to increase and suitably utilize favorable factors, deal with negative ones, and reduce their effects.

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CSO: 4005/894

PARTY AND STATE

NORMALIZATION OF PARTY DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE STRESSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Zhu Jien [2621 0256]: "Perfect the Party's Democratic Way of Life"]

[Text] In his 1 July 1981 speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang made clear an important point in the direction of strengthening the building of our party, that is: "We must put democratic life in the party on a sounder basis and strengthen party organization and discipline." In this article, I want to emphasize the subject of perfecting the party's democratic way of life.

At present, we must discipline the organizational life of the party and rectify its style of work as two steps in the direction of strengthening the building of the party. The reason is that whether or not the democratic life within the party can be normalized will have a direct effect on its style of work. For this reason, the task of improving the party's democratic way of life will undoubtedly have a very significant role to play in eliminating certain unhealthy practices that still exist in the party's political life, in improving and strengthening the leadership of the party and in increasing its fighting power.

When the party is striving to improve its democratic way of life, it is important that every Communist Party member consciously take part in its organizational activities, irrespective of his rank or position, and accept supervision from the party. In other words, his primary obligation to the party is his willingness to take part in its regular activities, and he should regard disciplining its organizational life as a matter of principle and of importance to our party, for our party had devoted the past several decades to upholding this principle and has used it to unify the will and actions of its members behind the common goal of preserving its fighting power and winning victory such as we enjoy today. What merits our attention nowadays is that some party organizations and party members are on the way to losing their sense of party organization. For a long time, some party organizations have failed to organize their members to take part in internal party activities, and have slackened their efforts or even abandoned their commitment to education, examine and discipline party members. Although some party organizations do have organized party members participate in internal party activities, they just do so as a matter of form and in such a way that no ideas are exchanged and no criticism or self-criticism is exercised. Some leading cadres of the party have long put themselves in a special category of party members, failing to attend the regular activities organized by their party branches or groups.

As long as this situation remains unchanged, our party will find it difficult to strengthen its fighting power or improve and strengthen its leadership. Today on the shoulders of our party rests the historic mission of leading the entire Chinese people to build a modern socialist power. To fulfill this great mission requires that our entire party membership unify its will and action behind a common goal. To achieve this unity, our party needs a well-disciplined organization. In view of this, party organizations at all levels must strive to put the system of their organizational life on a sounder basis, keep themselves abreast of current events, acquaint party members with the ideological and political work, make every party member think and act in a way consistent with the line of the Third Plenum and the basic conclusions contained in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the Sixth Plenum. Every Communist Party member must put himself under the command of the party organization, take an active part in its organizational activities, and consciously accept supervision from the party. Only in this way can we make our party more united and stronger than ever.

Another important point in the normalization of the party's democratic life is a correct handling of the relationship between those at higher levels and those at lower levels. How can we achieve success in handling this relationship? Our primary task is to rectify the relationship between the leaders and those led. Within the ranks of the party, the leaders and their followers are all comrades serving the party in different posts. As far as the followers are concerned, they must perform their work with a sense of initiative and responsibility. Gone are the days when every move depended on instructions from the leaders. The assumption that the followers will never be held responsible for whatever goes wrong is also no longer true. For this reason, they must all act in the interests of the party and the people, respect and support the leadership of the party, and cooperate with each other in doing a good job. Within the framework of the party life, they are entitled to criticize their leaders for their shortcomings and mistakes in a spirit of goodwill. If their leaders make wrong decisions, they are also urged to point them out so that the leaders can correct such decisions. The responsible comrades of party organizations at all levels should remember the following teaching from Chairman Mao: "We are all servants of the people, irrespective of our rank or position." Only in this way can the distinction between "officers and men" be eliminated. The leaders must consciously accept supervision from the party and the masses just like all other ordinary party members, abide by party discipline and the law of the state, maintain their ties with the rank-and-file and broad masses, respect the authority of their subordinates, and never feel ashamed to ask and learn from comrades at lower levels. It is especially important that they report to the regular meetings of party organizations what they have in mind from the position of an ordinary party member. On such occasions, they should examine what they have done and conscientiously listen to criticism from other comrades. Only in this way can we add liveliness and vitality to our party's political life and bolster our party's fighting power.

Another important point in the normalization of the party's democratic life is the call for upholding the collective leadership of the party. Historical experience tells us that only by upholding the collective leadership of the party and relying on the collective political experience and wisdom can our party and state pledge to provide correct leadership and guarantee a high degree of unity among the party members. At present, however, there still exist in some party committee two unhealthy tendencies. Under the influence of on tendency, some comrades are inclined to impose their opinions on others; under the influence of the other, labor is often divided without specific definition of responsibilities. We should strive to overcome these tendencies. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The leadership of a party committee is a collective leadership rahter than a form of dictatorship by its first secretary." In other words, decisions concerning important matters must be made after collective discussion by an appropriate party committee, and no one individual is allowed to have the final say. The key to the exercise of collective leadership lies in whether the secretary of a party committee can rectify his democratic style of work. If he enforces what he says as law, the enthusiasm of other party committee members will be dampened and collective leadership will become an empty slogan. The relationship between the members of a party committee and its secretary should not be viewed as one between the leader and the led, because they are on an equal footing. The secretary is not a "family head." Although he has the responsibility to preside over the daily affairs, he has no power to make dictatorial decisions. In view of this, as a secretary, he must be always soberminded, put himself in the position of an ordinary party committee member, and discuss problems from a position of equality. At the same time, in performing practical work, we must prevent the development of a situation in which a leader may tend to make decisions concerning important matters without going through collective discussion by an appropriate party committee or a situation in which every proposal, whether important or unimportant, is submitted for discussion by party committees. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "We must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the neglect of the other." Collective leadership must be backed up by the division of labor and responsibility to discharge and take charge of certain work. On the one hand, a party committee member must report promptly what he has done to the committee and seek instructions from it. On the other hand, he must actively and voluntarily carry out work in accordance with decisions by his party committee. Under no circumstances can he be allowed to disregard his responsibility in the name of collective leadership, thus leaving a power vacuum in his department. At present, some "ball-kicking" games are going on with some party committees. In this atmosphere, some comrades have long developed a bad habit of being "unwilling to assume responsibility." What they want is the power but not the work. Other comrades never get anything done but are interested only in criticizing work done by others. This unhealthy style of work has caused serious damage to the cause of the party and the people in some localities. This situation should be thoroughly changed. All party members, especially party cadres, must make positive and voluntary contributions to the cause of the party and the people in a creative way.

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TRAINING OF MIDDLE-AGED, YOUNGER CADRES EMPHASIZED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p3

[Article by the party committee of the Beijing Radio Rectifiers Plant: "Helping Train Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres Is A Matter of Our Concern"]

[Text] During the past 2 years, we have promoted a number of middle-aged and younger cadres to fill leading positions in the party and administrative units at all levels. As a result of this effort, a contingent of younger, well-educated and professionally competent cadres has emerged in our plant. At present, the average age of the upper echelon cadres in the plant is 45; three out of every six upper echelon cadres are college graduates. The average age of the middle echelon cadres is 42. Of the 43 middle echelon cadres, nearly 50 percent are higher school and college graduates. The plant has only five cadres in their fifties, accounting for only 3 percent of the total. We have taken the following three measures with the aim of speeding up the growth of middle-aged and younger cadres:

First, look after cadres politically. A cadre, especially an upper or middle echelon cadre, must have relatively high political consciousness and must be aware of the need to implement the party's principles and policies. For this reason, we have paid special attention to the political growth of middle-aged and younger cadres. We have encountered some comrades whose methods of work are very simple and whose observation of problems is unilateral. We have held heart-to-heart talks with them, and have patiently, carefully and specifically helped them overcome such shortcomings. For example, one of our plant's deputy directors drew praise for his high morale from the masses but was criticized by them for pursuing an "unimaginative" method of work. After receiving this reflection from the masses, we invited him to a series of heart-to-heart talks, teaching him how to observe and analyze problems. In this way, he has greatly improved his methods of work.

Apart from this effort, we have provided middle-aged and younger cadres with opportunities to pursue further studies on a priority basis whenever such opportunities occurred. Some comrades have been repeatedly sent to take courses in enterprise management, quality control, the system of specific responsibilities and socialist economics offered by various companies, bureaus, economic planning committees, municipal party committees, and party schools. The aim is to raise the level of their knowledge on policy and political consciousness.

In the meantime, we have helped middle-aged and younger cadres solve some ideological problems and encouraged them to take bold steps in work. The director of our plant, now 41 years old, is a college graduate. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" he was wrongly criticized for being a former landlord. The memory of this still weighed heavily in his heart. After the "Great Cultural Revolution" was over, he was still bothered by a lingering fear, hesitating to take bold steps in work. A lengthy investigation of his background which we conducted revealed that he was a staff member of a certain establishment. On this basis, he was rehabilitated in accordance with the related policy in 1978. Since he was relieved of this worrisome ideological burden, he has taken more initiatives in work and has worked harder than ever.

Second, make sure Administrative assistance is available to cadres. Following their promotion, we cannot take an aloof attitude toward them. The party committee and the experienced veteran cadres have given them sincere administrative assistance, and have demonstrated warm support for their work as their "main backup force" and intimate friends. For example, following his promotion, the director of our plant has received strong support from our party committee secretary and a deputy director of our plant, both of whom are now in their fifties. The assistance takes the form of active advice and suggestions in the drafting and formulation of the fiscal plans and semiannual and annual production plans. It covers not only matters of prime importance but also daily work. Particularly important is the fact that they have helped him solve some thorny problems. In May 1981, during the first 20 days of the month the bending machine group at the No 1 workshop completed only a little over 10,000 pieces of work, out of more than 100,000 pieces it was supposed to process for that month. The director of the plant was worried about this progress. A direct investigation of the case at the workshop by the party committee found that the trouble was due to those workers who were interested only in performing easy jobs that entailed juicy bonuses. Consequently, the plant faced difficulties in fulfilling the task for May. Noting this problem, the party committee immediately set about performing good ideological work as a guarantee for fulfilling the task. Since then, this bending machine group has overfulfilled the production plans month after month.

In addition, various functions and departments of the plant have sponsored regular professional training for their workshop cadres in response to their operational needs. To this end, they have also regularly held various study classes aimed at speedily raising the level of professional knowledge among the middle-aged and younger cadres.

Third, cadres must be trained through practice. Cadres can be discovered and trained through practice. It is our experience that practice is essential to enrich their knowledge and sharpen their professional skills. It is an effective method that can quickly lead them to success. This is why the process of deliberately and selectively testing some middle-aged and younger cadres at important posts has become our best device for promoting cadres, especially upper echelon factory cadres.

Before the promotion of one of our plant's present deputy directors, our party committee and the plant decided to let him take charge of workshop, technology and production units. It can be said that he has been promoted to his present position step by step. Our trade union chairman is also a man who has undergone repeated tests in various grassroots units. He is a former member of our political department, former workshop leader, former secretary of a party branch, former chief of our supply section and former director of a subplant. After undergoing all these tests, he was finally elected by the masses to the chairmanship of our trade union during a democratic campaign. Through practice, he has improved his professional skills and increased his ability to handle and solve problems.

Thanks to our efforts to undertake the task of selecting and training middle-aged and younger cadres, our contingent of cadres has been strengthened and has become more capable of promoting production in a positive way. During the past 2 years, the strengthening of our leading group has been responsible for increasing the output of our plant.

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PARTY AND STATE

COMBAT BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE, EDUCATE MASSES IN DISCIPLINE

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Zhi [1728 4249] and Yuan Qixiong [5913 0796 7160]: "Grasp New Opportunities To Combat the Corrosive Influence Under the New Situation"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "Socialist society must have a high-level spiritual civilization. Resisting the influence of decadent bourgeois ideologies and remnant feudal ideas and overcoming the influence of petit bourgeois ideologies" are an important part of building a socialist spiritual civilization."

The talk about resisting the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideologies is an old as well as a new issue. As early as the eve of liberation, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong issued a call to guard against bourgeois attacks by "sugar-coated bullets," so that they could lead the entire party, the entire army, and the people throughout the country to score success in this struggle. Yet today, the situation in many ways is no longer the same as it was in the past. This is why we should concentrate our attention on grasping new opportunities in the struggle against this corrosive influence.

First, the nature of this problem is no longer the same. In the past, and especially during the early days of liberation, when various exploiting classes remained alive, they could still make their influence felt after losing their political power. Not reconciled to their defeat, they still continued their desperate contest of strength with us on all fronts. At that time, however, the struggle between the corrosive influence and its opponents was clearly a form of confrontation between antagonistic classes, which is in the nature of contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Today, the exploiting classes have ceased to exist, leaving behind only vestiges of their ideologies, including bourgeois ideologies, which may still exist in the minds of some people and be reflected in their statements and other activities. Therefore, the nature of our current efforts to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideologies no longer takes the form of confrontation between antagonistic classes, although it cannot be said that it is no longer a reflection of class struggle in the ideological field. Except for some individual hidden enemies and antagonistic elements using "sugar-coated bullets" as a weapon to attain their political aims, our current struggle is largely in the nature of contradictions among the people. Only by recognizing this difference can we formulate a correct policy.

Second, the historical background has undergone changes. In the days when our country suffered from imperialist encirclement and blockade, we basically lived in a "closed-door" society. Today, we have established diplomatic relations with 124 countries and have developed economic, trade, and cultural relations with additional countries and regions. This means that our "closed-door society" has to a certain degree opened the door to foreigners. Our Fujian Province has declared itself a special zone, as an active step to expand its economic contact with foreign countries. Although this effort will benefit our economic development and other activities, it has also made the situation more complicated than ever. One of the examples is that the bourgeois laissez-faire trend and Western ways of life have sneaked into our country. If we fail to resist such decadent trash and allow "its proponents at home and abroad to work hand in glove," we may face the danger of being overwhelmend by it. It is wrong to cherish the memory of the "closed society" because of this danger. Nor is it right to assume that, since the classes have ceased to exist, this negligible "influence" can be ignored or disregarded.

Third, the mentality of the members of our society has undergone changes. In bygone days, inspired by the vigorous development of socialist undertakings, the people, sensitive to the striking contrast between the old and the new societies, often took a positive view of everything. Generally speaking, their ability to guard against and resist unhealthy tendencies and [resist] the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes was greater than it is today. Today, when the people are still suffering from the "hidden wounds" caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution," their ability to distinguish right from wrong and to resist the "harmful germs" is obviously on the wane. Although the bourgeois "fragrant" wind and foul smell from abroad originate in countries known for their advanced science and technology and their affluent material civilization they have absolutely nothing to do with advanced science and technology and affluent material civilization. Some people, however, have cherishced them as a "modern way of life" worthy of emulation. This change in mentality will certainly trigger a change in our social moral conduct.

This new situation and these new developments have brought to light new requirements for us to resist the corrosive influence of the bourgeois ideologies under the new historical conditions. An urgent task is the call to change the loosely organized, weak, and soft leadership that does exist on the ideological and cultural fronts. We must uphold the four basic principles and carry on the struggle on the two fronts. In dealing with erroneous ideas, we must stress the need for education and strengthen ideological and political work. In dealing with the problem concerning the contradictions among the people, we must adopt the methods of persuasion instead of those of coercion. Unauthorized criticism and struggle will serve only to suppress the people. Only by means of education can we convince them. But education must go hand in hand with deterrent measures. Education, persuasion, and reasoning on the one hand and deterrence, rigid law, discipline, and rules and regulations on the othe other are two categories of measures which can complement each other. Neither should be overemphasized to the neglect of the other. The struggle against corrosive influences should be conceived as a mass self-education campaign, rather than as a mass movement. Our party has consistently carried on the excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism as part of the effort to educate the masses in their own ways. But this excellent tradition has been distorted and even trampled under foot under leftist guidance. Only by restoring and carrying forward this excellent tradition and by widely launching criticism and self-criticism can we translate the efforts to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideologies into conscious action by the masses in their daily political life.

We must concentrate on instilling faith in the people and educating them in the tradition of hard struggle. Man's faith is the mainstay of his spiritual life, just as the faith of a society is the mainstay of its spiritual well-being. Many of the current changes in the eating and drinking habits of members of our society and their tastes in entertainment as well as their interests and desires actually reflect a change in their view of life which confuses the beautiful and the ugly, bitterness and happiness, honor and disgrace, and public interest and private interest. This change is closely connected to the changes in their political beliefs. For this reason, only by coming to grips with the nature of the problem through studying its appearance can we lead the people to foster the correct view of life and advance firmly in the correct political direction. The tradition of hard struggle is our heirloom. Some people contend that since we can now live better than ever, it is no longer necessary to reemphasize hard struggle. This is obviously wrong. Although our current material living conditions are truly far better than in the days before liberation, this achievement is still far from satisfactory. Even if the four modernizations are realized and further improve our material well-being, we will still have to work hard. We must promote the good virtue of the proletariat, which calls for practicing economy and diligence, and do away with the decadent lifestyle of the exploiting classes in order to transform our society, boost our national morale, and accelerate the development of the four modernizations.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OUTLINED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 8, Aug 81 pp 2-5

[Article: "On the Characteristics of the New Democratic Society--Interview with Comrade Xu Dixin [6079 3321 2450]"]

[Excerpts] After the promulgation of the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation," our reporter interviewed Comrade Xu Dixin, the renowned economist, for his understanding and views of the transformation from new democracy to socialism.

Question: How should one interpret the passage in the "Resolution" which states: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to the year 1956, our party led all nationalities in the country to realize step by step the transformation from new democracy to socialism?" Why was the founding of the new China the beginning of the socialist revolution and socialist construction?

Answer: With the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, our country, on a nationwide scale (except Taiwan), entered the new democratic society from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The new democratic society was transitional in nature; therefore, from 1949 to 1956, our country transformed from it to a socialist society. Such division is a historical necessity, because the revolutionary objectives and tasks in the new democratic period were different from those in the socialist period. In the new democratic period, mainly we combated imperialism, feudalism and the bureaucratic comprador class. Concretely speaking, there were three major tasks:

The first was to confiscate the bureaucratic capital. A task with a dual meaning, it was the result of the victory of the new democratic revolution while also bearing the nature of the socialist revolution. Turning the bureaucratic enterprises into popular ownership strengthened the socialist public economy which had been started in the revolutionary bases. However, such former bureaucratic enterprises were still under the control of the feudal gang-leaders (known as "number one" in Shanghai). Therefore, in 1950, our party introduced democratic reform among the state enterprises. This, also was a task of the democratic revolution.

The second was land reform. At that time, land reform was carried out in the old liberated areas, but in the vast new liberated areas, the exploitation of the peasants by the landowner class was not yet abolished and the feudal land ownership remained to be solved. Confiscating the land of the landowners for distribution to the peasants was an extremely important historical task of the new democratic revolution.

The third was protection of the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie. China's national bourgeoisie had a dual nature which Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed thoroughly. At the beginning of liberation, the output value of the plants and enterprises run by the national bourgeoisie constituted 63.2 percent of the national total, which was a relatively large proportion. To recover production, we had to protect the bourgeois industry and commerce, permitting them to operate and to exploit.

Here we can see that, in the first few years after liberation, the tasks of the democratic revolution were fairly heavy. If we overlook the importance of the democratic revolution, we will be making a big mistake.

Some people ask why we did not begin the socialist revolution and socialist construction from the first day of the new China. It is an impractical idea. The revolutionary tasks of the two periods were different. The main tasks of the new democratic revolution were to combat imperialism, feudalism and the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie, while the principal objective of the socialist revolution was the bourgeoisie. Before the completion of the tasks of the new democratic revolution, could we skip this historical stage? Naturally not.

Question: What were the main political and economic indications in the transformation of the new democratic society to a socialist society? What were the major distinctions between the new democratic economy and the socialist economy?

Answer: The political distinction between the new democratic society and the socialist society was not great, because the political power of our state was in the hands of the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. The landowner and bureaucratic comprador classes had already been overthrown, foreign capital was gradually solved, and what remained was the national bourgeoisie. As its members supported or were sympathetic to us to different degrees in the past, what we followed was the policy of unity and education, not the policy of knocking them down, gradually introducing the socialist reform of private industry and commerce, bringing them into the orbit of state capitalism and paying them redemption. I once discussed the issue with Mr Katayama Tetsu (once the prime minister of Japan) of the Japanese Socialist Party. He highly praised our measure and said that "the Chinese Communist Party is moral and just." The China Democratic Construction Association representing the national bourgeoisie made a fairly good manifestation in this aspect. As its members obeyed the party's leadership and supported socialism, many of them received appointments in the government as assistant provincial governors and assistant mayors or served in the standing committees of the people's congresses and political consultative conferences of the various levels. After the reform of the capitalist industry and commerce in 1956, everything remained unchanged. We let the national capitalists retain their civil and voting rights. Thus, we had the initiative.

The main distinction between the two stages was economic. In the new democratic stage, the party permitted the capitalists to operate stores and make money and to exploit. Naturally, there were restrictions. After entering the socialist society, i.e., after introducing the socialist reform of private industry and commerce, we adopted the form of joint state-private operation and fixed interest and reorganized them into basically socialist enterprises. By this time, the capitalists were no longer permitted to operate plants and exploit. The presence or absence of capitalism and exploitation was the main economic distinction between the new democratic society and the socialist society.

Question: Is consolidating the new democratic order a correct formulation?

Answer: I feel that it is incorrect. The new democratic society was a transitional one, a transitional stage from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a socialist society. Therefore, he could it be consolidated? If consolidated, it would exist indefinitely, and we would be unable to advance to the socialist society. The final goal of us communists is communism; therefore, how could we settle ourselves in the new democratic stage? Nor is the formulation of consolidating the new democratic order tenable in theory.

Today we say that the pace of the socialist reform was too fast, and that, if we took a little more time and worked more carefully, we would have done even better. It is a question of the length of time, and does not mean consolidating the new democratic order, and even less "long live the new democracy!" If we took 15 years to carry out the original plan, we would still have to progress after the 15 years, and we could not consolidate.

Question: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the economic policy introduced by us permits the existence of multiple economic components, a certain development of the individual economy, and even helpers and apprentices. Does it mean that we permit exploitation, and what is its difference from the economic policy of the beginning years after the founding of the nation?

Answer: We closed the doors too tight in the past, leaving state commerce as the only channel of circulation. Almost all the free markets in the northern provinces were shut down, while some remained in operation in some small areas in the south. Shanghai opened its free markets for several months, but they were later shut down. At that time, the free market was considered capitalism. Lenin said that small production bred capitalism in large numbers everyday and every hour. We interpreted his words mechanically. Lenin was talking about the conditions before the socialist reform, while we applied his words to the China many years after the victory of the socialist revolution. Therefore, we did not permit the existence of individual economy. A few years ago, shoe repairmen were occasionally seen, but the small peddlers worked furtively like petty thieves. The same held true with the agricultural cooperative movement. The change was too fast, aiming at uniformity and, regardless of the circumstances, no individual farming was permitted. There is no absolute uniformity in the world. It was the leftwing ideology doing mischief.

Is it feasible for state commerce plus the supply and marketing cooperatives to solve the needs of 1 billion people? The people's needs differ in myriads of ways, while we wanted to simplify them. Meanwhile, the population of our country has doubled in the past 30 years. If we make the process of circulation so rigid, where will the large number of young people find employment? They cannot all get into state plants. Does it mean that they do not have to eat and live? The party's policy of relaxation in the economic aspect since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee does not mean that we do not want socialism; on the contrary, it is to reinforce socialism. Solving the employment problem of the large number of young people through all kinds of channels will also supplement the economic inadequacies of the state and benefit the people. Will it not reduce the pressure on socialism?

A certain number of helpers and a certain number of apprentices now permitted by us are under different conditions from the early years of liberation. Hiring several hundred to several thousand employees, some of the plants of the capitalists were still fairly powerful at that time. To assure the development of the socialist economy, we had to restrict and reform them. Now it is different. The socialist economy has long gained a firm foothold and expanded. In addition, the number of helpers is limited, and there is no comparison with the past in terms of numbers. That we want a certain development of the individual economy is not for the purpose of returning to the new democratic society, but to open wider the doors which were closed too tight in the past, in order to solve the employment problem of a part of the young people and supplement the inadequacies of the socialist economy. It is a correct policy which starts from reality, and different from returning to the new democratic economy.

6080
CSO: 4005/43

SYSTEM OF REPORT, PROPAGANDA OFFICIALS REVIVED IN HENAN

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 81 p 38-39

[Article by Fan Qifeng [2868 1142 1496]: "Huaiyang County Revives System of Reporting and Propaganda Officials"]

[Text] Huaiyang County is situated on the plain in eastern Henan; it is a big county with a population of 1 million. It is said that the Divine Farmer of antiquity planted crops, tasted various medical herbs, and "taught the people about farming" precisely in this region. But a few years back, this county fared rather regularly only by consuming repurchased foodgrains. Ever since the responsibility system was instituted last year, however, the situation has changed considerably. Production of foodgrains, oil products, and cotton has increased across the county. Total agricultural output has increased by 32 percent, and per capita income distribution has increased by 40 yuan. When people elatedly talk about such results, they often add this sentence: "A meritorious contribution to this has also been made by our communicators and propagandists!"

Lincai Commune is one example. This commune used to be the "pot bottom" of the whole county; its production brigades had no reserves, and its individual households had no foodgrain surplus. Commune members often said: "Even hawkers of rat poison did not come to our place." When the production responsibility system was put into effect early last year, everybody talked about the matter. The obstacles were great. The commune party committee mobilized several hundred communicators and propagandists to diligently speak about the party's rural policies and to eliminate the influence of leftist mistakes, and thereby the people's hesitations were removed. After the commune carried out the fixing of work quotas based on individual households, total foodgrain production last year increased by 40 percent over that of the previous year, and the wheat harvest this summer increased again by 60 percent over that of last year.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Huaiyang Party Committee maintained that without a powerful contingent of propagandists, it would be impossible to have the party's principles and policies realized at the basic level and the construction of the four modernizations smoothly carried forward. They recalled the important roles played by communicators and propagandists during the period of resistance against America and aid to Korea and the period of socialist transformation, and therefore they decided to reconstruct this contingent. In March last year, Huaiyang County adopted the combined approaches of recommendation from below and selection from above, whereupon, 248 communicators and 9,920 propagandists were recommended and selected in the revival of the report and propaganda system of the 1950's. The propaganda department of the county party committee held eight training classes during different periods to train core cadres, and it issued certificates to the communicators and propagandists thus trained.

After these comrades got started in their work, they all asked the county party committee to supply them with propaganda materials. In the beginning, the propaganda department would select some articles from the newspapers and journals every so often and have them reproduced and distributed. But the effects of these little pamphlets were not so ideal. In the first place, the basic-level cadres and the masses had no time to read those long articles; in the second place, they could not be distributed in time, since by the time the materials reached the people's hands, it was often a case of "pasting the doorgods on 15 January--one-half month too late"; and in the third place, the cost was too high. After BANYUETAN was issued, everybody felt that although this journal is small, its content is very rich. What it uses is the land tiller's language, and what it discusses is the land tiller's affairs; its articles are short, and whether one is busy at work or not, one can always read it. Its price, too, is very cheap. So everybody likes it very much. Thus the propaganda department of the county party committee subscribed to a copy of BANYUETAN for every communicator; propagandists of many communes and production brigades also began to subscribe to it. In the end, the country as a whole subscribed to 1,362 copies, and the number of subscriptions by communes such as Anling, Xinzhan, etc, all ran above 100.

During the past year and more, this well-organized, well-led propagandist contingent, which was stationed all over the country and which put down roots at the basic level, proceeded to build a bridge by which the party was connected to the masses, thereby greatly enlivening the party's propaganda work. By adopting various flexible propaganda forms, they timely conveyed the party's line, principles, and policies.

In conjunction with the party's central work and in the light of actualities, they effected pertinent communications. On many occasions, the secretary and deputy secretary of the county party committee reported as communicators on situations, tasks, and education on revolutionary traditions. The county drama group once concocted all sorts of pretexts to issue "rewards" and "subsidies," but it still did not make out very well. Once when it was to stage a play, individual players wrangled about fringe benefits and salaries and refused at the last moment to make up for the performance, and the drama group accordingly had to change its repertoire. In view of these problems, the head of the cultural bureau and communicator Li Lanrong [2621 5695 2837] conscientiously prepared their lecture notes and made nine reports at various times. Through such propaganda and education, the county drama group voluntarily canceled seven kinds of unreasonable rewards and subsidies, and a good trend of strictly abiding by discipline and engaging in earnest work thus began to emerge.

In the fields, on the work grounds, and in households, they have organized the masses to read newspapers, listen to broadcasts, study, and engage in discussions. When the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee came to a close, the vast ranks of communicators and propagandists all passed on the word and timely organized the masses to listen to the communique and resolutions of the plenary meeting on the radio. At that time, it was right in the midst of a very busy season; quite a few propagandists brought their transistor radios to the work grounds, where they would hoe a section of the field and operate it for a while.

They have made use of evening schools, exhibition windows, blackboard bulletins, and broadcasts to carry out propaganda. Many communicators and propagandists have actively contributed articles and, through such forms as news, novels, prose, and poetry, they have timely reported the new achievements and new experiences in the construction of the four modernizations across the county, enthusiastically praised the party's policies, and thus played a definite role in enlivening people's spirit and stimulating the people's fighting stamina.

9255
CSO: 4005/22

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES' DISTORTION OF CENTRAL POLICIES DECRIED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 81 p 4

[Commentary by Zhong Huai [6945 2037]: "Why Are Good Sutras Recited in a Twisted Way?"]

[Text] As the saying goes: A monk with a twisted mouth cannot recite the sutras well.

In our life, the party and state have issued many correct calls and regulations, but when they reach certain units and certain persons, they somehow become seriously twisted.

Among the "five stresses and four points of beauty," one is beautiful environment. In order to have "beautiful environment," some units thereby go in for large-scale construction and take advantage of the opportunity to remodel their clubs, repaint offices that were originally painted quite well, or even refurbish the yards of leading cadres' residences in a big way--needless to say, at the expense of the state.

In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party, Comrade Hu Yaobang, in order to encourage everyone to rally his spirit and overcome difficulties, made a vivid analogy: in climbing Mount Tai, when we have reached the Halfway Gate to Heaven, we find that the three Eighteen Bends lie ahead of us; until we have negotiated these bends, we won't be able to reach the South Gate of Heaven and ultimately arrive at the Peak of the Jade Emperor. In the process of studying, some units, intent upon ascertaining the spirit of the words of the leading comrade of the Central Committee, have undertaken to organize cadres and staff members into groups to climb Mount Tai together, with the result that at the foot of Mount Tai vehicles have created a scene of hustle and bustle--once again, needless to say, at the expense of the state--while the real purpose was to joyride.

Can it be that those who have resorted to such antics really did not know what a "beautiful environment" is? Can it be that they really thought that unless they personally climbed Mount Tai, they would not be able to understand the spirit of Comrade Hu Yaobang's words? Even those as innocent as the red-scarfed [Young Pioneers] would not believe them.

No matter how good the sutras are, if we let monks with twisted mouths recite them, they cannot, of course, be done well. Similarly, no matter how good the matters from above may be, when they are enforced progressively downward and encounter cadres with a devious workstyle, they suffer either "obstacles in between" or depreciation, becoming twisted or even eventually no longer recognizable.

To return to where we have started from, the important thing is still to grasp our party's workstyle seriously. We must not only do so at the higher level but also the intermediate and lower levels. With the intermediate and basic levels following a devious workstyle, no matter how correct are the principles that are formulated and the systems and measures that are prescribed by the Central Committee, they can hardly achieve proper results. The vast ranks of the masses have a profound understanding of this and have made their complaints known. While emphasizing the rectification of our party's workstyle, we must not overlook this question.

9255
CSO: 4005/6

COMMENTATOR: TOO OFTEN THOSE WHO FOLLOW CORRECT PATH ARE SCORNED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "Support Uprighteousness and Suppress Evil"]

[Text] After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, all of our undertakings have followed the correct path of stable development and have made great accomplishments. Upright conduct has constantly been increasing, and evil has constantly been stopped and attacked. This is the dominant direction. However, it should also be noted that in some places and units there are still some bad tendencies. For example:

In ideology and culture, while a great many good and comparatively good works have appeared, a number of works with mistaken ideological trends have also appeared, and some of them are harmful. They violate the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the four basic principles. But these works have not received the criticism they should.

In the economic area, situations in which national interests are not considered, national supervision is avoided, and people engage in parochialism, use much public money for a little personal gain, violate the law and discipline, and practice fraud have not been handled as they should.

In the area of party style, although there have been great improvements, bureaucraticsm and special privilege still exist; in particular, dealing in "relationships" and wining and dining to get things done are still very prevalent practices.

It is in places and units where these improper practices have raised their ugly heads that an unusual phenomenon has appeared: comrades who have been supporting the line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, comrades who work actively and whose work is very effective, comrades who dare to uphold the principles, who are meticulous about fairness, and who dare to fight mistaken opinions and evil practices not only do not get enthusiastic support and encouragement, but actually are isolated and given the cold shoulder.

How can these situations come about? The main reason is that the ideological and political work of the party organizations in these places and units is in a lax and weak state and does not dare support uprighteousness and suppress evil. In the face of right and wrong concerning the interests of the party and the people, some comrades adopt the attitude of "peacemaker"; you're OK, I'm OK; they keep peace with everyone, knowing full well that it's wrong but also knowing that it's best to say little. Some comrades worm their way into a "relationship" circle, and share and share alike; there is a tacit understanding that whether they see something or not, they will not interfere with each other. As far as mistakes are concerned, they turn a blind eye to them, adopt a laissez-faire attitude, drift with the tide, and dodge contradictions. They cannot be aroused but drift along, just wanting to get along without any trouble, and are ambiguous in the face of right and wrong principles. This negativist, vulgar workstyle is incompatible with the proletarian nature of our party. Now we should research the correct ways and means of overcoming attitudes of laxity and weakness so that our party's leadership will become strong and aroused.

Of course, strengthening isn't something that is done recklessly with a great deal of noise, or by criticizing right and left. This can't be thought of as strengthening. The only effective method is to pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and, with boldness and assurance, launch ideological and political work. Dare to actively support uprighteousness, and dare to criticize and struggle against evil. Here there are clear boundaries between right and wrong and principles of action. The point of establishing a party for communists--the basic legislative point of our nation, and the will of all the party and all the people--requires us to support right and resist evil, because truth is on our side, and justice is on our side. The social-ideological tide which is divorced from the path of socialism, is divorced from the leadership of the party, and engages in bourgeois freedoms; evil ways of doing things that injure national interests and engage in trickery; the incorrect style of engaging in special privileges and taking advantages of "relationships"--these fundamentally violate the interests of the people. We certainly should bestir ourselves to launch criticism, support uprighteousness, and suppress evil, for in this way we can restore and develop the good traditions of the party.

If we wish to change this situation of laxity and weakness, it is a matter not only of strengthening the ideological leadership of the ideological and cultural front, but also of strengthening the leadership of the economic front and other areas. Every one of our leadership comrades should reflect: Is the leadership in my area strong or is it weak? Is it unified or is it lax? If we conscientiously absorb the experience of history and self-consciously pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, strengthen ideological leadership, work surely and steadily, and strive unremittingly, the area of evil will become smaller and smaller and that of uprighteousness will become greater, and our socialist enterprise will grow and flourish.

8226
CSO: 4005/913

PARTY MUST TAKE LEAD IN IMPROVING SOCIAL ORDER

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 81 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen Party Leadership Over Improving the Social Order; Provincial Committee Convenes Conference of Local and Municipal Secretaries Charged with Political and Legal Work; They Demand Continuation of the Policy of Punishing Serious Crime Severely and Swiftly; Strive for Fundamental Change for the Better in Social Order in Zhejiang Province"]

[Text] From 15 to 21 August, the Zhejiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held a conference of local and muncipal secretaries charged with political and legal work. The conference emphatically pointed out that under the conditions in which the urban and rural security situation has taken a turn for the better but has not yet taken a fundamental turn for the better, it is especially necessary to strengthen the party's leadership of political and legal work. They demanded that party committees at all levels stress social order work and vigorously strive to bring about a clear turn for the better in Zhejiang's social order this winter and next spring.

The conference felt that strengthening and improving the party's leadership over political and legal work would constitute a guarantee of improving social order. The party leads the people in establishing laws, and it should also lead the people in enforcing them. Organs of public security and administration of justice and the people's organs for enforcing the law have assumed the heavy burden of upholding social order and protecting people's lives and property. Thus, as long as they are under the leadership of the party and rely on themasses, they can do their work well. When we talk about exercising judicial authority and procuratorial authority according to the law and independently, we are talking about the authority granted to the courts and the procuratorate to exercise national law independently, to try cases according to the law, and not to submit to any pressure from certain persons not to follow the laws and pervert the law for the benefit of relatives or friends. But this does not mean that judicial agencies do not need the leadership of the party, of that party committees can relax their own leadership. Party committees at all levels must fully understand the importance and significance of doing a good job of social order in order to guarantee unity and stability and economic readjustment, must correctly handle the relationship between stressing economic construction and stressing social order, must self-consciously make the rectification of social order part of the agenda, and must do it carefully and well. The first secretary should personally take an interest in this, and the secretaries charged with political and legal work should be conscientious and hold conscientious discussions several times a year. They should be familiar with the law and with politics, and they should lead the political and legal sections in analyzing the public security situation at all times, mastering the trends in the enemy's situation, and researching, formulating, and implementing feasible measures. They should coordinate the interrelations of political and legal sections, and should resolve problems of ideology and understanding among political and legal cadres and police and actual difficulties that come up in work. When knotty problems, important cases, and serious questions of public order appear, leadership comrades should personally go to the scene and direct things on the spot.

The conference analyzed the situation since the implementation of the spirit of the Central Committee's Conference on Public Security in Five Major Cities. The conference pointed out that although the public security situation in Zhejiang has taken a turn for the better, the public security situation in society still has not taken a fundamental turn for the better, that criminal activity is still rampant, that problems still are rather serious, and that in many places the people lack a sense of security. We should certainly still continue to overcome situations which we are not attacking effectively, and we should seize the opportunity to advance on the crest of victory. Under the unified leadership of the party, political and legal organs should continue to resolutely carry out the policy of punishing serious crimes severely and swiftly according to the law. As for the few active criminals who are harming society, such as murders, robbers, rapists and gang rapists, arsonists, bombers and others: those who should be detained should be detained, those who should receive labor education should receive labor education, these who should be arrested should be arrested, those who should be severely punished should not be lightly punished, and the few who should be executed must be resolutely executed. If social order does not take a fundamental turn for the better, the implementation of the policy of severe and swift punishment cannot waver. In attacking criminal activity we should be firm, precise, and stern, attacking the few and striving to reform the majority through education. We should continue to propagandize vigorously the third law document of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress--the "Resolution Concerning the Reform Through Labor and the Reform Through Education of Persons Who Have Escaped or Have Committed Serious Crimes," and we should treat with lenciency all who confess or inform against and expose the crimes of others, in accordance with the policy of "leniency for those who confess" and "redeeming oneself through good service." Those criminals who resist reform and continue to be bad should certainly be punished strictly or severly according to the law, even to the point of having their urban residence registration canceled.

The conference also pointed out that the question of public order is a comprehensive reflection of the contradictions in society. Under the leadership of the party committee, we must mobilize and organize forces from various areas to implement "comprehensive governance." In order to be effective, we should adopt measures in the various areas of politics, economics, law, ideology, education, and culture.

During the conference, Tie Ying [6993 3841] first secretary of the Zhejiang Party Committee, gave a talk.

The conference was chaired by Wang Fang [3769 5364], deputy secretary of the Zhejiang Party Committee. Responsible comrades from the Zhejiang General Trade Union, the Communist Youth League, and the Women's Association gave speeches at the conference. Participating in the conference were responsible persons from the Provincial Party Committee, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and concerned departments and political and legal agencies of the Provincial People's Government.

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A LOOK AT PRE-1911 REVOLUTIONARY-REFORMIST DEBATE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Yan Ruping [0917 1172 1627]: "The Debate Between the Revolutionaries and Reformists Prior to the 1911 Revolution"]

[Text] In August 1905, after the great revolutionary pioneer Dr Sun Yat-sen took the lead to establish the Tong Meng Hui, bourgeois reformists represented by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao continued to propagate the need to implement a "constitutional monarchy" and exerted considerable influence among the bourgeois, petitbourgeois youths, overseas Chinese, ideological groups, and circles of opinion. In order to advance the revolutionary movement, the Tong Meng Hui opened up a fierce debate with the reformists.

The main forum for this debate was the organ of the Tong Meng Hui, MINBAO [PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER], and XINMIN CONGBAO [NEW PEOPLE'S JOURNAL] headed up by Liang Qichao.

The revolutionary-reformist debate centered mainly on the following four questions:

(I) Whether or not to overthrow the Qing government--the debate over the so-called "ethnic revolution."

Liang Qichao declared: Under the rule of the Qing monarchy, "the people of the whole country have already become equal under the law, and there are no more privileged persons." Hence, with respect to the Qing government, there should be no overthrow but only supervision and reform.

In articles such as "National Citizens," "On Why the Manchu Government Cannot Practice Constitutionalism Even If It Wished To," and "A Fair Appraisal of Anti-Manchu Orientation" which they published in MINBAO, the revolutionaries exposed the policies of ethnic discrimination and suppression practiced by the Qing government and pointed out that the politics of the previous 260 years had been an aristocratic politics of inequality, and that the oppression of the Han nationality by the Qing government of the Manchus could be called omnipresent.

The revolutionaries also exposed the Qing government's traitorous and capitulationist behavior in "being willing to present their sovereign possessions to friendly countries rather than grant them to their household slaves." They pointed out that since the Opium War of 1840 War of 1840, none of the major or minor treaties concluded by the Qing government with "foreigners" "was anything more than damaging to itself and beneficial to others." "Major [treaties] involved encroachment on territorial rights as those having to do with railroads, minerals, and navigation routes. These have made our citizens grieve over everything they see, and they have no place to turn for redress of such grievances." In order to save the Chinese nation from its in deep and heavy crises, it was necessary to overthrow "the alien, autocratic government which denigates and abandons our country's rights and interests."

(II) Whether or not to establish a republican regime--the debate over the so-called "political revolution."

Liang Qichao, the principal advocate of the reformists, piously propagated the "constitutional monarchy" theory of Prof Bolunhake [3134 0243 5756 0344] of the University of Berlin in Germany, and did his best to trumpet that China should also practice constitutional monarchy. He opposed the establishment of a republican regime.

The revolutionaries could not tolerate constitutional monarchy. They advocated a thorough transformation of the government of monarchical autocracy of several thousand years' standing and the establishment of a republican regime that would carry out a system of people's rights and constitutionalism. They held that under such a republican regime, there would be no differentiation of the people into various ranks and classes, with the result that everybody would be equal with everybody else, which would be "the best and the most suitable."

(III) Whether or not to practice the principle of the people's livelihood--the debate over the so-called "social revolution."

As to whether it was necessary to carry out a "social revolution" in China, the reformists were entirely negative. Liang Qichao said that the economic structure of Chinese society was different from that of the countries of Europe and America; there was no serious gap between the poor and the rich, and taxes and levies were extremely light. Hence it was only necessary to carry out the principle of social reform.

Opposing the reformists, the revolutionaries pointed out in articles such as "State Ownership of Land and Public Finances," "The Principle of People's Livelihood and the Future of China's Political Revolution," and "A Refutation of XINMIN CONGBAO's Deprecation of State Ownership of Land" that although there was no serious gap between the poor and the rich in China, as there was in countries of Europe and America, a difference between the poor and the rich did exist; if the majority of people were not to curl under the control of the minority of capitalists, it was necessary to carry out a social revolution.

(IV) Whether or not to resort to revolution--the debate over the question of the merits and demerits of revolution.

The reformists were extremely afraid of revolution and cursed it, alleging that revolution would cause "great disorder under heaven" and foreign intervention, and that it was bound to lead to national destruction. Kang Youwei said: If "the whole country had talked about revolution, then by this time internal disorder would have occurred and foreign powers would have invaded us." Liang Qichao, in turn, uttered the slander that revolution would destroy "social order" and lead to "endless disorder," thus inevitably becoming unmanageable.

The revolutionaries were of the opinion that revolution was entirely beneficial and not at all harmful; only revolution could save China. They published articles in MINBAO such as "A Refutation of the Theory That Revolution Would Result in Partition" and "A Refutation of the Theory That Revolution Would Cause Internal Disorder," in order to pointedly refute the preposterous theories of the reformists. They pointed out: "The disaster of partition is already being witnessed in China; it is out of its fear of partition that the revolutionary party resorts to revolution, and not its revolution which has incurred partition." As for the theory that revolution would cause internal disorder, the revolutionaries held that revolution in China this time was different from past peasant uprisings and wars that were in contest over the imperial throne; its goal [this time] was to establish a new state of democracy and republicanism, and therefore it would serve "the internal harmony of the people's parties" and create a revolutionary path in an orderly manner.

Over the above four questions the revolutionaries and the reformists launched a great debate that lasted 2 years. Although, owing to their bourgeois and petitbourgeois ideological limitations, the revolutionaries exhibited a murky understanding of such major questions as antifeudalism and anti-imperialism, and even avoided discussing them during the debate, their opposition to the Qing Dynasty's rule and to constitutional monarchy was very firm, and they ruthlessly exposed the reactionary nature and deceptive propaganda of the reformists, thus making good ideological and public opinion preparations for the 1911 Revolution.

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PRC WELCOMES CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH TAIWAN

HK161046 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1459 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Report: "Acting Cultural Minister Welcomes Cultural Exchanges With Taiwan"]

[Text] Acting Cultural Minister Zhou Hanzhi has said: For the sake of developing academic and cultural exchanges and promoting mutual understanding, we welcome people of the cultural and artistic circles in Taiwan to return to the motherland to give performances, discuss and exchange experiences, make films, hold exhibits, conduct academic exchanges, go sightseeing, visit relatives and friends and tour the country. We will warmly welcome them and provide them with every facility.

Zhou Hanzhi was addressing a group of people all from the cultural field, of Taiwan descent and relatives of Taiwan compatriots at a meeting held this morning.

More than 50 public figures, artists, professors, actors and Taiwan compatriots in the cultural field attended this meeting.

Celebrated Beijing opera artist Zhang Junqiu, in a written statement, said: I am very happy to hear some news about the state of Beijing opera in Taiwan over the past few years. I earnestly hope that the friends and followers of Beijing opera in Taiwan can come to Beijing, visit various parts of the motherland and exchange views with us. After the unification of the motherland, I believe that there will be a greater development in Beijing opera under the joint efforts of the Beijing opera artists on the mainland and Taiwan.

Li Tongchun, the second younger brother, Li Guochun, the fifth younger brother, and Li Fengxiang, a cousin, of Li Wanchun, a celebrated actor of the Beijing opera theater, are all Beijing opera performers in Taiwan, and Li Wanchun daily looks forward to reuniting with them. Li Wanchun said: The departments concerned in Beijing are preparing to hold a celebration next year to mark my 65th anniversary in dramatic art. I hope that my brothers and relatives and their pupils can come at that time to take part in the commemoration activities and to share my honor and happiness.

Zhang Weijun, a research fellow of the Beijing Municipal Traditional Opera Research Institute and wife of the deceased well-known Beijing opera artist Xun Huisheng, said: My late husband and I have many friends and students in Taiwan. I hope that they will make every effort to bring about major cooperation between the mainland and Taiwan in Beijing opera and raise their voices in chorus for peaceful unification.

The meeting was presided over by Vice Minister of Culture Situ Huimin. Among the speakers were Zhang Boju, celebrated Chinese calligrapher, Chang Renxia, professor at the Central Art Institute, Hu Jieguan, lecturer at the Beijing Art College, Shan Shiyuan, deputy curator of the Palace Museum, and Wang Xiaju, calligrapher at the Chinese Art Center. They expressed warm support for the policies stated by NPC chairman Ye Jianying and chairman Hu Yaobang for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the realization of peaceful unification. They hoped that both sides of the strait will actively develop academic and cultural exchanges and strive to promote the cultural undertakings of the motherland, bring about the unification of the motherland and vigorously develop China.

CSO: 4005/137

OCEANOGRAPHY BUREAU DECIDES ON TAIWAN TIES

OW181251 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1628 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 16 Oct (XINHUA)--In order to carry out the policy with regard to the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification as elaborated by Chairman Ye Jianying, the State Oceanography Bureau has adopted a six-point decision which runs as follows:

1. Make preparations to establish ties with Taiwan's oceanography departments and exchange information on maritime survey and scientific research at any time.

2. Invite Taiwan oceanographers to come to the mainland to visit, give lectures, carry out academic exchanges and make common efforts with oceanographers on the mainland to study the development of the motherland's marine resources and other maritime projects.

3. Be prepared to cooperate with Taiwan maritime survey and research units to conduct scientific investigation on hydrometeorology, biology, physics, chemistry, geology and marine resources from the China Sea to the great oceans at any time. It is also necessary to supply facilities and conveniences, including vessels and equipment.

4. Various investigation and research units on the sea coast under the State Oceanography Bureau must be prepared to invite Taiwan maritime surveys ships to visit the mainland and welcome their berthing, replenishing supply and taking shelter from the wind at any time.

5. Be prepared to consult with Taiwan oceanography departments on organizing delegations together to join international maritime organizations and attend meetings and activities sponsored by academic bodies together at any time.

6. Invite Taiwan oceanography workers to join the Chinese Oceanography Society and attend academic activities sponsored by the society.

CSO: 4005/137

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES CANCUN SUMMIT RESULTS

HK280645 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 81 p 6

[Newsletter from Cancun by correspondent Yuan Xianlu (5913 0341 4289): "An Important Conference for North-South Dialogue"]

[Text] The Cancun summit for North-South dialogue has closed. At a press conference, the co-chairmen of the summit, Mexican President Lopez Portillo and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, said that "in a constructive and positive spirit," the participants had an extensive exchange of views on questions concerning North-South relationships and unanimously agreed to hold global negotiations on these relationships. Undoubted, these negotiations will promote improvement in North-South relations.

Many participants who had come from developing countries said that the convening of the Cancun conference itself was of great significance. The reason was that after the developing countries had won political independence, they urgently demanded that that unjust and irrational international economic order be changed so that they could develop independent economies. However, for a long time, this just demand had been ignored and contradictions between the North and the South continued to develop. At the current conference, heads of 8 developed and 14 developing countries finally sat together and discussed the question of improving North-South economic relations. This showed that changing the old international economic order and adjusting the North-South structure in light of the principle of equality and mutual benefit had become the trend of our times.

In his speech at the closing session, the host of the conference President Lopez Portillo stressed that improving the North-South relationship was the common target which needed the efforts of all participants. This is entirely correct. The development of the world economy has brought the economies of different countries closer and closer together, and the economy of one country affects another. French President Francois M. Mitterrand said not long ago: "Evidently, if the economy of the poor countries is at a standstill, the rich countries will also suffer." Therefore, "assisting the Third World means extricating ourselves from crises." Some leaders of other developed countries also expressed the same view in their speeches at the conference.

In his speech, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang said: "At present, the world is confronted by two major questions: One is the maintenance of peace and the other, the promotion of development. These two issues are closely related and inseparable." Leaders of many countries shared the same view. They pointed out that the economic deterioration in some developing countries and tension in North-South relations often led to turmoil in these countries and gave hegemonists an opportunity for aggression and expansion. Therefore, improving North-South relations was not only an economic question but also an important political question affecting world peace and stability.

It is very clear that improving North-South relations is tremendously important and urgent both to developing and developed countries. It was precisely because of this that the spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding was the main thrust of the Cancun summit.

According to the agreement reached at the foreign ministers' meeting held in August, the main purpose of the North-South Cancun summit was "to create conditions for global negotiations to eliminate economic differences between the industrial countries and the developing countries." In order to improve North-South relations, global negotiations will be held to establish a new international economic order. This is not only a way to hit the fundamental target but also is a pressing task at present. This idea was put forth by the developing countries long ago, but for various reasons, it has not yet been realized. Recently, the European Economic Community and some other developed countries have explicitly expressed their support for holding global negotiations. At this summit, U.S. President Ronald Reagan also reiterated the U.S. position taken, at the Ottawa conference in July this year. He expressed the view that the United States was willing to participate in the global negotiations on the basis of "the four fundamental understandings." Unanimously affirming the necessity of holding global negotiations was an achievement of the Cancun summit.

At the Cancun summit, all participants also seriously and enthusiastically discussed a number of pressing problems facing some developing countries, such as food, energy, trade, finance and so on. This was conducive to increasing mutual understanding and to putting forth concrete solutions in the future.

During the discussion over 2 days, there were also some differences. Because the situations in the developing and the developed countries are different, it is natural to have different views, but such differences can be gradually settled in the future. However, the U.S. attitude toward some questions has made people feel uneasy. As reported, agreement could not be reached on the procedures for preparing the global negotiations, simply because the United States held different views. On the question of solving urgent problems facing the developing countries, the United States one-sidedly stressed free economy, market strength and private investment and did not agree to reform the existing international economic organizations. This of course was criticized by some developing countries. Observers here pointed out that since the installation of the Reagan Administration, it had adopted an indifferent attitude toward improving North-South relations. After it had expressed at the Ottawa conference its agreement to participate in future global negotiations, it avoided the question of global negotiations in many recent speeches concerning North-South relations and put forth views which did not conform with the desires of the developing countries. Therefore, we wonder whether the United States, as the biggest developed country, is really willing to adopt an enthusiastic attitude toward improving North-South relations, or simply tries to avoid being isolated by expressing its agreement to participate in the global negotiations and is actually trying in every way to maintain the old international economic order. We have grounds to ask this question and it is also necessary for the United States to reconsider its stand from the strategic point of view.

When the co-chairmen summed up the conference and in the speeches of leaders of many countries, they all expressed their regret over the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the Cancun summit. Many journalists who had come to cover the Cancun summit said that from this refusal alone, it was not difficult for people to see the true color of this "natural ally."

Improving North-South relations is a difficult struggle to change the old international economic order and to establish a new international economic order. We are bound to encounter obstacles. However, the entire progress of the Cancun summit showed that the trend of the times is irresistable. As long as the developing countries strengthen their unity with the enlightened developed countries and persist in making their efforts, they will certainly score more and more achievements in realizing this goal.

CSO: 4005/133

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON CANCUN CONFERENCE

HK280500 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 81 p 4

[International commentary by Di Xin [4564 2450]: "North-South Economic Relations and the Cancun Conference"]

[Text] A "conference on international cooperation and development" will be held in Cancun, Mexico, on 22 October, which will be participated in by heads of state or government leaders from 22 countries. Under the present international situation, which is turbulent and in which North-South relations are rather tense, the opening of this conference is of great significance. It will not only influence international economic cooperation and development, but also the safeguarding of world peace.

After winning political independence, the Third World countries have generally needed to win economic independence. They have made great efforts in developing their national economies. In more than 30 years since the Second World War, they have, more or less, freed themselves economically from being subordinate to the developed countries. Generally speaking, their economic development is not too slow. However, the old international economic order has not been changed or disintegrated along with the advance of our times. On the contrary, it seriously hampers economic development in the developing countries. Through transnational corporations and international financial institutions under their control, the developed countries have maintained monopolies in such spheres as production, trade, technology and finance. Thus, the developing countries can only largely depend on them and be exploited by them. Take trade, for example. The comparative prices of the developing countries dropped by 10 percent from the mid-1950's to early 1970's. In the period between 1973 and 1975, the price of rubber exported by the ASEAN countries dropped by 53 percent, and the price of tin dropped by 29 percent. For another example, the proportion of high-interest commercial loans was about 58 percent in 1980. So, in these years, annual debt servicing of the developing countries has had to be financed by over 80 percent of the total loans taken out each year. This year, alone, the interest they must repay is as huge as over $33 billion.

Therefore, in order to develop their national economies, the developing countries are eager to change the old international economic order and free themselves from the fetters of the developed countries. They began their common struggle at the Bandung conference and carried the struggle on through the nonaligned movement and various regional and professional organizations. They also established "The Group of 77." But the achievement is not obvious. The victory of the struggle of the oil-producing countries against the developed countries in 1973 encouraged the developing countries and simultaneously made the developed countries take the matter seriously. In 1974, a declaration and program of action for establishing a new international economic order was adopted by the sixth UN special session. Another two international conferences were then held in Paris in 1974 and 1977, in which 27 countries from the North and South held a dialogue. However, because some most developed countries, such as the United States and others, had tried hard to protect their vested interests, these conferences ended in failure. In order to break the deadlock, the developing countries made a concession and proposed to hold international talks. At the 34th UN General Assembly in 1979, a resolution was adopted which decided to launch global negotiations. But since the United States stubbornly clung to its wrong position, the 35th UN General Assembly and the 11th special session held last year failed to reach agreement on the procedure and agenda of the global negotiations. Again, in order to break the deadlock, Mexico, Austria and 9 countries arranged a summit conference of 22 countries from the North and South. They planned to invite the USSR to the conference, but this superpower, which time and again has called itself a "natural ally" of the Third World countries, had shown no concern about such a conference that would mean a great deal tc the Third World. The foreign ministers of the 22 countries held a preparatory meeting at Cancun in early August. They unanimously agreed that the topic for discussion at this conference would be the future of international development cooperation and the promotion of the world economy, and that the main task would be reaching an agreement on global negotiations.

Now the whole world is paying a good deal of attention to the Cancun conference. It is a common desire of the Third World countries to change the unequal and inequitable old international economic order and establish a new one on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit and the principle of equitableness. It is expected that the developed countries will conform to the historical trend and, starting from the whole of the present international situation, do better at the Cancun conference. Progressive opinions in most developed countries and the United States have more or less felt the irresistibility of the historical trend. They have realized that since the developed countries are, to a great extent, dependent on the developing countries, (especially in energy resources and stratetic materials), in helping the latter to develop their economies, they are, in the final analysis, also helping extricate themselves from difficulties and crisis. This will be good for their own economic development. The pity is that, as has been noted, the United States is still very stubborn in its attitude. Only recently, instead of talking about the global talks, Reagan and other U.S. Government leaders again played the same old tune, that is, free trade and private investment and so forth. This attitude of the United States has received widespread criticism from the media, which has pointed out that if the United States insists on such an attitude at the Cancun conference, it will become isolated and will please its main opponent who is absent from the conference.

CSO: 4005/133

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON CANCUN SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS

Venezuelan President's Remarks

OW221226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Caracas, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins said yesterday that participants in the international conference on cooperation and development should take this opportunity to discuss frankly and openly problems affecting international relations and to examine ways to solve them.

Herrera made these remarks in an address to the nation over the radio and TV network. He left here for Mexico to attend the Cancun conference today. He stressed that there exists inequality between the developed and developing countries and that the North is pitted against the South in the present international economic system. He pointed out, "This division results in situations of profound economic and social injustice", and made it an imperative need to establish a new international economic order.

The Venezuelan president said that the Cancun conference is aimed at making the international community see clearly and use the best talent of men to seek a basic solution to the worldwide economic crisis. He pointed out that the crisis has affected all countries. No country, even the most powerful one, can live in isolation. Inflation, unemployment and the monetary instability are factors that hinder the development of world countries, he added.

Venezuelan Working Paper

OW241342 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Cancun, 23 Oct (XINHUA)--The United Nations should be utilized as a forum for the global economic talks between the Third World countries and the industrialised nations.

A proposal to this effect was made by Venezuela in a working paper submitted to the North-South summit here.

The paper, entitled "Problems of the Developing Countries in a Global Perspective", says that the world economy cannot afford to be controlled by the industrialised countries alone, nor can the needs of the developing countries of the Third World be met by bilateral or regional resources alone.

The paper stresses the need for global talks in the areas of trade, raw materials, energy, development, monetary matters and finance and the use of the United Nations as a forum for economic talks.

The paper says that the effort to promote global talks should be accompanied by a broadening and deepening of economic cooperation among the developing countries in order to reduce their vulnerability to the world economic crises and to replace dependence with a genuine inter-dependence.

The conventional ways of economic management have been proved to be of limited efficiency because the imbalance between the Third World countries and the industrialised countries is fundamentally structural and not merely of periodic character. To develop production, the North-South economic structure must be reformed, the paper says.

Waldheim Statement

OW270124 Beijing XINHUA in English 0107 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim declared today he hoped that the understanding reached among the participants at Cancun summit would lead to an early consensus at the United Nations on the launching of global negotiations.

The UN secretary-general in a statement on the Cancun summit this afternoon said he was gratified at the very constructive, positive spirit in which the issues before the meeting were addressed. He also welcomed the determination expressed by the participants to face as a matter of priority the serious challenges of the North-South relationship in the coming decade.

He said he was impressed by the recognition of the growing interdependence of national economic problems and the need for concerted action to solve economic problems and to redress economic disparities among nations. He said he "very much hopes that the political will manifested at the will be translated into concrete action on the specific priority issues and challenges facing the world economy."

Lopez Portillo Stresses Cooperation

OW230322 Beijing XINHUA in English 0309 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Cancun, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, co-chairman of the 22-nation summit meeting, stressed here this morning that the developed and the developing countries must find new answers to age-old problems and construct a new system of international economic relations based on the reality of growing and genuine interdependence and on the principles of justice and equity.

In his opening speech at the international meeting on cooperation and development, Lopez Portillo said the first important achievement of this event is the very fact that the leaders of 22 countries are gathered here together. He called for "making every effort to establish a dialogue that will replace a continuing succession of monologues, or even confrontation."

Turning to the complex and plural nature of today's world economic situations, the president said: Protectionism, speculation and manipulation distort trade. Raw material prices fall while the price of money rises. Inflation and recession prevent a harmonious relationship between guided processes of industrialization and trade, and seem aimed at freezing the present structure of trade exchange and of the international division of labor.

Furthermore, he said, transnational enterprises "ignore or trample upon the sovereignty or nations which have been unable to organize their response to the logic of the interconnection and interdependence of the world economy".

He went on to say unfairness and injustice do exist, and in many parts of this world, there is hunger, poverty and squalor. "Chronic poverty is a factor that increases political and social instability within each country, and frequently feeds the rivalry between the great powers, exacerbates existing tensions, and even further impairs existing relations. To some extent, which is doubtless large, instability brought about by underdevelopment has paved the way for the reappearance of the cold war, strengthened hegemonic aspirations, and given added impetus to the arms race."

On the interconnection and the interdependence of the North and South, Lopez Portillo said "Many of the problems of the South, of course, must be imputed to the South; but other structural problems that are both restricting and deadly stem from its relationships with the North and with the East-West conflict."

He pointed out a lasting and stable reactivation of the world economy cannot come from the prosperity of just one of its segments, if the others remain in a state of stagnation and therefore "domestic economic policies and international cooperation efforts in which everyone joins must be fitted to the new realities of global interdependence."

The president noted it is now the duty of the leaders of the North and the South to change the old type of economic relationships, whose negative effects were deliberately ignored during almost thirty years of expansion, which obviously did not benefit all to the same extent.

The president said, the world must find ways to coordinate the actions of countries having technical knowledge, unused productive capacity and unemployed manpower with those of countries having demands but limited purchasing power, and with those others which do possess financial resources, so that all can join in making international cooperation for development a reality.

Summit Participants Comment

OW241852 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--Upon the conclusion of the Cancun summit on international cooperation and development, some representatives from developing countries welcomed the decision to begin preparations for global negotiations but were disappointed that no definite date was set, according to reports from Cancun.

Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos said Friday that the North-South summit meeting had broken the logjam on international negotiations toward a new world economic system. "The key thing is that the North-South dialogue is no longer stalled, that it will be resumed soon within the framework of the United Nations," he said.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Ishaya Audu said that the conference was a success, "but the road ahead is a long and arduous one."

Mohamed Bedjaoui, the Algerian chairman of the Group of 77 developing nations, called the meeting "an open window on the future." In his view, the two co-chairmen's summary of the summit meant that the United Nations had got the necessary political promotion so that global negotiations could not be delayed any more.

A high-ranking Indian official called the summit "a partial success because it decided we should engage in global negotiations." But he said he was "disappointed" there was no agreement on an agenda or procedures. "We don't know how long this will take to get started," he added.

A number of delegates from developed countries expressed satisfaction with the result of the meeting. French President Francois Mitterrand noted that he felt "no disappointment, only satisfaction." "We have moved forward," he said. But he added, "the only question is when words will become deeds."

West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the summit "created a basis of confidence" for future cooperation. "We advanced one good step ahead on the extremely important question of global negotiations, but there are many rocks to be removed," he stated.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau said, "The great thing about this conference is that we sat at the same table and got a real discussion going." But on global negotiations, he said that the final outcome reflected "inability to bring together those who wanted to bring the matter to the United Nations now and those who wanted to start afresh." "We failed to get an agreement on exactly what the next step would be," he noted.

CSO: 4000/6

TEXT OF ZHAO ZIYANG SPEECH AT CANCUN

HK271100 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 81 p 1

[Text of Zhao Ziyang 22 October speech at the international conference on cooperation and development at Cancun, Mexico--slantlines denote subhead in boldface supplied by RENMIN RIBAO editor]

[Text] Mr chairman:

I am very pleased to be invited to attend this meeting. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to our host, the Mexican Government, for making all the arrangements.

At present, the world is confronted with two major questions: One is the maintenance of peace and the other, the promotion of development. These two questions are closely related to each other and are inseparable. If our present meeting can yield positive results in strengthening international economic cooperation for development, it will be a useful contribution to the maintenance of world peace.

//The Economic Development of the Developing Countries Is Being Subjected to all Kinds of External Obstruction//

The rise of the great number of developing countries represents a fundamental change in the world situation since World War II. They have become an independent and significant force on the international political scene. However, their status in the world economic system is far from commensurate with this fact. Their economic development is still being subjected to all kinds of external obstruction. More than 30 most underdeveloped countries still remain in dire poverty. The majority of countries whose chief exports are raw materials are confronted with worsening trading conditions and an unfavorable balance of international payments. Many developing countries that chiefly export manufactured goods are heading for an economic slowdown as a result of protectionism and mounting debts. Even the petroleum exporting countries find it difficult to smoothly achieve industrialization because of the monopoly of technology, trade, finances and the like on the international market. Moreover, the foreign exchange surpluses which they have gained in exchange for their limited and nonrenewable petroleum resources are shrinking in value due to worldwide inflation. In short, the developing countries share the same plight, although their conditions may differ. They were subjected to prolonged imperialist and colonialist domination and plunder in the past, and now are still heavily fettered by the unjust and inequitable international economic structure. It is against this historical background and under the prevailing circumstances that all the developing countries have come to share the strong demand for the restructuring of the old international economic order and the establishment of a new one. Their demand conforms with the trend of development and is just and completely reasonable.

//It Is More and More Difficult To Maintain the old International Economic Relationship//

At present, the developed countries also find themselves in a double plight of economic stagnation and inflation. Their economic crisis has deep roots in society. The prosperity of the developed countries was, in the past, built on the poverty of the underdeveloped countries. As the developing countries have already achieved independence and the people are increasingly awakening, it is more and more difficult to maintain their old international economic relationship. If the developed countries should persist in their unjust and inequitable approach toward the developing countries, tension in North-South relations can hardly be avoided. If the developing countries cannot smoothly achieve economic progress, the developed countries are bound to find their supply of raw materials and their markets shrinking. Therefore, it is unwise for the developed countries to reject outright the restructuring of the old international economic order under the pretext of their economic difficulties. Many far-sighted persons in the developed countries have, out of their own national interests, come to realize the importance and urgency of restructuring the existing international economic order and improving North-South relations. This kind of news which conforms to the historical trend of our time is well received by the developing countries.

//Cooperation Should Be Guided by the Principle of Being Just and Reasonable and of Equality and Mutual Benefit//

Under such circumstances, the great number of developing countries and many developed countries have called for "cooperation instead of confrontation" in North-South relations.

Needless to say, such cooperation should be based on the continuous restructuring of the unjust and inequitable international economic relationship. Otherwise, cooperation can hardly be maintained or confrontation avoided. Therefore, international economic aid, private investment, transfer of technology, trade, money and finance should be guided by the principle of being just and reasonable and of equality and mutual benefit. It is essential to respect the sovereignty of the developing countries and not to interfere in their internal affairs or control their economic lifelines. It is essential to help the developing countries build their independent national economies and not to make them more dependent. The present state of affairs in which they are not in a position to exercise their rights in international economic affairs must be changed. Of course, the developing countries must rely on their own strength to carry out economic construction and must make necessary internal reforms in the light of their national condition. However, their efforts in this direction are seriously hampered by the existing international economic order. Only be restructuring the old international economic order will it be possible to ensure the smooth economic growth of the developing countries, thus improving the North-South relationship and revitalizing the world economy.

//The Principle of the Chinese Government for the Establishment of a new International Economic Order//

In order to establish a new international economic order, it is essential to work out a comprehensive and total solution and make unremitting efforts. At present, many developing countries, particularly the most underdeveloped countries, are indeed faced with urgent problems which call for priority solution. This kind of solution should be a step toward a comprehensive and total solution and should accord with the demands of the developing countries in their long-term development. It should contribute toward promoting the process of the establishment of a new international economic order and should not be a limited measure that departs from the fundamental objective of establishing a new international economic order.

With a view to establishing a new international economic order and solving some of the urgent problems before it is too late, the developing countries have worked hard for many years and put forth many reasonable proposals. The Chinese Government has conscientiously studied these proposals and believes it possible to promote international cooperation for development according to the following principles:

1. Give active support to the developing countries in all their efforts to develop their national economies, achieve economic independence and practice collective self-reliance.

2. Restructure the existing international economic order in keeping with the principles of being just and reasonable and of equality and mutual benefit.

3. Correctly and closely integrate the fundamental objective of establishing a new international economic order with the solution of the current urgent problems of the developing countries.

4. The developing countries are entitled to adopt development strategies suited to their own conditions. The developed countries should not make domestic reforms in the developing countries a precondition for the establishment of the new international economic order.

5. Earnestly promote the North-South negotiations aimed at improving economic status of the developing countries in the interest of the growth of world economy and the maintenance of world peace.

//Enable the Global Negotiations To Make Substantial Progress as Soon as Possible//

Mr Chairman: In order to improve the North-South economic relationship, the most urgent task we face now is to launch global negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations as soon as possible and enable them to make substantial progress. This is also one of the major objectives outlined in the letter of invitation to the present conference. Many countries have suggested that the global negotiations defined in the resolution of the 34th UN General Assembly should actually commence before the end of this year, or early next year at the latest. China resolutely supports this call.

Allow me to make this appeal to the leaders present at this meeting: Let us jointly express our desire for an early start of global negotiations and our willingness to do everything in our power to enable the global negotiations to yield positive results.

At present, the international political and economic situation is very grim indeed. The improvement of North-South relations is closely related to the struggle against hegemonist aggression and expansion and for the maintenance of world peace and stability. The questions we have discussed are not only economic issues of great importance, but also political issues of great strategic significance. The people of all countries place great hope on this meeting. We must not let them down. Our meeting must succeed; it cannot afford to fail.

China stands ready to work hard together with all the other governments and peoples for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the maintenance of world peace.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

CSO: 4005/133

'XINHUA' CITES FOREIGN LEADERS ON CANCUN SUMMIT

OW262147 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1132 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--A number of state leaders who attended the international conference on cooperation and development issued statements, expressing satisfaction with the results of the conference.

At a press conference in Cancun on the evening of 23 October French President Mitterrand said that he was gratified at the results of the 2-day summit conference. He felt that it is possible that global talks between developed and developing countries will begin early next year at the United Nations.

On October 24 British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher told reporters in Cancun that she felt that the Cancun conference was a "very great success," and that the Third World countries have realized their wish to continue to hold global talks within the framework of the United Nations. She said, however, that "global talks have different connotations for different people," and "the definite meaning of global talks should be defined by the United Nations."

Upon his return to Washington from Cancun on 24 October, U.S. President Reagan said that the leaders of the various countries had direct and candid talks at the meeting, that their talks were all-embracing and that "there were no mutual accusations." He said: "Together we have successfully created a spirit that gives people new hope. We intend to translate this spirit into a driving force to improve the world economy and accelerate the development of the developing countries." The Cancun conference was "quite a success." On many occasions Reagan had reiterated a number of preconditions put forward by the United States for holding global talks.

On 24 October U.S. Secretary of State Haig indicated to reporters in Cancun that the Cancun conference "took a very successful step toward greater international cooperation." He said that the 2-day summit conference will have a significant impact on the North-South dialogue. He reiterated the U.S. stand, that is, that future global talks should not conflict with existing international organizations.

At a press conference in Cancun on 25 October Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said that she felt that the doors "are not closed" for resumption of North-South dialogue on the question of global talks within the framework of the United Nations. She expressed the hope that after hearing the difficulties mentioned by leaders of developing countries, U.S. leaders will give them consideration from now on. She added that the progress at the Cancun conference shows that some industrialized countries have already recognized the truth that "if the developing countries are helped, so are the developed countries."

CSO: 4005/133

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON EVENTS IN POLAND

Jaruzelski on Implementing Resolutions

OW191907 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Newly elected Polish party's First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said here yesterday that he would do his utmost to realize the resolution approved at the party's latest plenary session and continue to carry out the resolutions of the ninth party congress.

He said he was assigned to an extremely difficult task by the party and he believed a change and improvement of the situation were especially needed at this critical moment.

He added that the opposition to socialism was conducting a struggle politically and extending it to other fields, thus creating a series of critical, tense situations.

He stressed that the party should bestir itself, remove its internal obstacles and believe in the correctness of the program of the ninth party's congress.

"The program has directed a way," he said. "Following this way, the crisis would be overcome, the people would benefit in many respects, the country would be strengthened and the contents of democracy and socialist revolution in our country would be deepened and broadened."

On relations with the solidarity union, Jaruzelski said, "We are willing to believe that the talks at the working level with representatives of the solidarity's national committee would achieve an expected good result. It is our earnest desire to expand the basis for the talks to all the forces serving socialist Poland."

On foreign relations with foreign countries, Jaruzelski stressed, "In this difficult situation, we particularly feel the great importance for Poland to continue its alliance with the socialist countries and be friends with the Soviet Union."

Central Committee Session Ends

OW191927 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party ended its fourth plenum here today after a three-day session. The Central

Committee accepted First Secretary Kania's resignation and elected Jaruzelski in his stead with 180 votes in favor and 4 against.

In his brief speech, the newly elected first secretary proposed that the party's Central Committee hold its fifth session in a few days and propose a government reshuffle to the parliament.

The session discussed at length the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth party congress as well as the social and political situation in Poland.

Kania and Political Bureau member Stefan Olszowski made reports at the session.

Referring to the increasingly grave situation at home, both criticized the program approved by the First National Congress of the Solidarity Union as "an anti-socialist opposition program." They called on the party organizations to carry out offensive activities in implementing the resolutions of the ninth party congress, improving the political and economic situations and strengthening the ideological work.

During the discussion of the two reports, about 40 perople expressed their views, including members and alternate members of the party's Central Committee and Political Bureau. Many of them criticized the Political Bureau and government for failing to implement the resolutions of the party congress effectively and steer the country out of the political and economic crises quickly.

Many speakers strongly accused the Solidarity Union of undermining the social agreement reached in August of last year and charged that "anti-socialist forces" were making use of the union to intensify their "open political struggle" against the authorities.

A resolution passed at the end of the session criticized the former party leadership for failing to take effective actions and displaying indecision in enforcing the resolutions of the party congress and the decisions of the party and government.

The resolution instructed the party-government organizations and security authorities to take resolute actions and use all possible judicial means to combat the opposition to socialism and law violations so as to extricate the country from the existing social and political crises and maintain social system and order.

The resolution also said, "The supreme authorities of the People's Republic of Poland should avail themselves of the powers entrusted to them by the constitution at an extremely critical moment to defend the country's most immediate interests."

The resolution demanded the Solidarity Union leadership "to respect the constitution of the Polish People's Republic and existing legal order; dissociate itself from anti-socialist activities, immediately halt strike actions; constructively approach the government's program to overcome the economic crisis; acknowledge the country's alliances with socialist countries in its practical activities; oppose the anti-Soviet campaign; and meet the requirements of state security."

The resolution said that the party was in favor of dialogue, consultation and cooperation. It also proposed that talks be reopened on the agreements signed by the government and the Solidarity Union to solve the disputes between the two sides and work out a program for united action.

Professional Trade Union Congress

OW191300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1233 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--The first congress of the Professional Trade Union of Poland was held here from October 16 to 18.

The congress was attended by Marian Wojniak, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Mieczyslaw Rakowsi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade union affairs.

The congress approved the work report for 1980 submitted by the coordination committee of the Professional Trade Union and fixed the principles of the trade union's working program in the future and the current tasks. It also elected an all-Poland cooperation committee and an auditing commission, both led by Eudeniusz Mielnicki.

The revised constitution of the trade union stipulates that it "accepts the principle of the social ownership of the means of production as the base of the socialist system in Poland and recognizes the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party as well as Poland's international alliance."

The congress expressed concern over the ever deepening domestic political and economic crises, and pledged that the Professional Trade Union will be a "partner and ally" of the authorities in its efforts to stabilize the present situation and tide over the difficulties.

The congress urged the authorities to take resolute and prompt actions against those who are trying by every conceivable means to change Poland's state system.

It warmly welcomed the election of Wojciech Jaruzelski as the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The Professional Trade Union was formed last December following the dissolution of the Central Council of Trade Unions. It is the second largest trade union in the country with an enrollment of four million members from 24 trade unions.

Armed Forces' Task Defined

OW191936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1917 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--The military commission of the Polish Ministry of Defence held a meeting today, according to PAP.

The meeting defined the task for the armed forces under the present situation in accordance with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the party's fourth plenum.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish Communist Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the meeting.

Solidarity Communique on PZPR Plenum

OW200726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--A communique of the presidium of the Solidarity National Commission issued today warned the authorities "against taking decisions which could sharpen the situation and cause social conflict."

This was solidarity's first reaction to the three-day fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The communique, signed by deputy chairman of the presidium M. Krupinski, was issued after a presidium meeting held behind closed doors without Lech Alesa who was visiting France.

The communique accused the party plenum of "ordering" solidarity to take part in a government proposed mixed commission. It said that solidarity "understands the necessity" for measures designed to fight the crisis and was ready to take part in "any enterprise able to give positive results." However, it said, "as an independent trade union" solidarity alone will decide "the form of its initiatives, while seeking society's understanding and approval." "The exerting of any pressure may cancel opportunities for cooperation and partnership," it declared.

Referring to party plenum resolution on a possible strike ban, the communique said, "We share the view that these (strikes) are economically adverse phenomena and we shall see to it that unjustified protests, or those embarked upon before other forms of reaching accommodation have been exhausted, are eliminated."

"However, we represent the view that to avoid strikes one must do away with their causes rather than resorting to embargos that run counter to international law," the communique said.

The communique also notified solidarity's local chapters to ascertain before October 20 the views of their branches in factories and their position on the party Central Committee's program resolutions for discussion by the national commission which will meet on October 22.

Wroclaw Meetings Banned

OW220820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 22 Oct (XINHAU)--Gatherings in public places were banned throughout Poland's southwest Province of Wroclaw, according to news reports quoting the Polish press agency yesterday.

The ban was the first of its kind announced since the birth of the Solidarity Union at the end of August, 1980. It followed the police detention yesterday of four solidarity activists who were broadcasting union information in a loudspeaker van. About 1,500 people gathered around the police station, demanding the release of the detainees. The police arrested 11 more for obstructing the performance of the duty.

In the southern industrial Province of Katowice on Tuesday, riot police clashed with solidarity supporters after police confiscated solidarity publications which the authorities declared were anti-socialist and anti-Soviet. But the union condemned the police action as unwarranted provocation, maintaining that it was only selling its usual newsletters.

Meanwhile, a sit-in staged by 12,000 textile workers in Zyrardow near Warsaw to protest the chronic shortage of goods has entered its second week.

In the western Province of Zielona Gora about 150,000 workers in some 700 plants went on a one-hour warning strike yesterday, demanding the reinstatement of a solidarity shop steward at a state farm and the removal of his chief and a higher official whom they held responsible for the dismissal.

Jaruzelski Meets Party, Church Leaders

OW220842 Beijing XINHUA in English 0744 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The new leader of the Polish United Workers' Party, Wojciech Jaruzelski, has convened a meeting of the secretariat of the party Central Committee and consulted various social figures on domestic situation.

The party first secretary chaired the secretariat meeting yesterday to discuss how to realize the tasks put forward at the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee. The meeting has decided on concrete tasks for the party's central departments, local organs and various party organizations.

On the same day, Jaruzelski met on separate occasions Stefan Ignar, chairman of the United Peasants' Party, and Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Democratic Party, and discussed with them political and economic matters of the country, especially ways to overcome the crisis, stabilize the domestic situation and maintain the line of socialist renewal.

Jaruzelski met Jozef Glemp, primate of the Roman CAtholic Church in Poland today. The Polish News Agency PAP said that they exchanged views on the complicated situation in the country, and "shared the view that the state and the church must continue to take common action for the interests of the nation, domestic stability, for the promotion of the course of renewal and for ensuring the security and international prestige of the People's Republic of Poland."

He received representatives of the Central Council of the Polish Socialist Youth Federation on October 19. He told them that the party and government leadership pins hopes on the patriotic enthusiasm of the younger generation and fully understands their needs and expectations.

Walesa Ends France Visit

OW211824 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Paris, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Polish Solidarity Union chairman Lech Walesa said here October 19 that the replacement of Stanislaw Kania by General Wojciech Jaruzelski as head of the Polish United Workers' Party "will not cause any unfavorable change to solidarity."

Jaruzelski is Poland's premier and was named the United Workers' Party's new leader by the Central Committee October 18.

"It will be more convenient during discussions to have all the leading functions under the authority of one person," Walesa said. "In fact, the situation is better than before. We feel fully relieved at the result of these events and the future of 'solidarity'."

Walesa just ended an October 14-21 visit to France at the invitation of French trade unions.

While there, he talked with Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac, leaders of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) and the General Confederation of Labor and Workers Force.

During his stay, Walesa accepted assistance from French trade unions in the name of the Solidarity Union.

Government Rejects Strike-Ban Proposal

OW230744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 23 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish Government headed by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski yesterday rejected the party Central Committee's proposal for a suspension of the constitutional right to strike, according to news received here.

An AFP report quoted the Polish News Agency PAP, as saying that the opposition to a strike ban came from a meeting of the government's top-level economic reform commission chaired by Jaruzelski.

On the same day, the 107-member National Commission of the Solidarity Union began a meeting in Gdansk. After the debate, dominated by concern over the police action against solidarity members in Wroclaw and Katowice, the solidarity leaders put off a decision to call a nationwide strike against police activities.

Meanwhile, local strikes and other forms of protest were reported in many regions of the country.

REUTER said that some 180,000 solidarity members began an indefinite stoppage in the western Province of Zielona Gora though the authorities had given in on their main demand for the reinstatement of a sacked unionist.

In Wroclaw Province, the governor yesterday lifted the ban on gatherings in public places throughout the province. The ban was imposed the day before following police detention of some Solidarity Union activists. The local bus and tram drivers halted work to demand the release of all those detained. They returned to work after seven hours stoppage when police released the last of the detainees, reported the PAP.

Military To Deal With 'Negative Phenomena'

OW240832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish Government has decided to send special military units around the country to deal with the local "negative phenomena" and economic decline, while the Solidarity Union announced yesterday a one-hour nationwide strike next Wednesday, according to reports received here.

"Their principal mission is directly to inform the government of any negative phenomena, to take steps to counteract them, and to render necessary assistance to the population and local government," said government spokesman Jerzy Urban.

"Tension is growing," said the spokesman in a televised statement. "The state leaning toward a fall must undertake all indispensable actions in saving the state."

The decision was announced at the end of a government presidium meeting yesterday. The spokesman said the special units, led by career army officers and composed of enlisted men whose regular military service has been extended, would help improve the supply of food to markets, facilitate the transport of goods, combat waste and mismanagement and solve local disputes.

On the same day, the 107-member National Commission of the Solidarity Union passed a resolution at a meeting in Gdansk, for a one-hour nationwide strike between 12:00 and 13:00 on October 28. The strike, the resolution said, is designed to protest against the authorities failure to work out responses to solidarity's demands. By that time, work in all the factories will stop and street traffic will be halted.

The solidarity spelled out its demands as improvement of food supplies, an end to the actions against union activists and establishment of a social council for the economy.

The resolution stressed that if these demands are not met by the end of the month, the solidarity will organize "active strikes" in the coal mines and in the agencies for the purchase, processing and distribution of food. Union officials said "active strike" could mean that workers would dispose of what they produced as the union saw fit.

The resolution said, "The actions of the authorities are chaotic and are causing the situation to worsen, and they have lost the confidence of society." It demanded that the actions of the authorities be placed under public supervision.

Government Asks Strike Cancellation

OW260744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 26 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish Government Committee for Union Relations issued a communique today, calling on the Solidarity Union to cancel the one-hour nationwide strike scheduled for next Wednesday.

It said that bilateral talks will "lose all meaning" if the union does not cease its "policy of opposition in the form of strikes," for which the solidarity must "bear responsibilities."

The communique, broadcast by the Polish News Agency PAP, referred to the deteriorating conditions of supplies saying that in a one-year period, stocks of factory-made consumer goods fell by one-third, or 92 billion zlotys (2.36 million dollars). It said that at a time when there is a danger that the population will not be able to buy clothes and shoes for winter, solidarity has put the "pistol of strikes not only to the government's temple, but to the temple of the entire society."

The communique expressed "deepest concern" over the situation and emphasized that anarchy cannot be tolerated. The "restraint and good will that the authorities have shown in their relations (with the union) have been interpreted as a sign of weakness and have been abused," it added.

Referring to recent incidents in Katowice and Wroclaw, where police arrested several union activists for selling copies of union leaflets, the committee said that solidarity and its members "were not the object of any repression" and that they had "total latitude to pursue genuine union activities." However, "the government cannot accept anything being placed above the law," especially "anti-government, anti-Soviet activities carried out against the primary interest of the people," the committee said.

"The Council of Ministers demands an end to strikes in order to save society from their disastrous effects," it said, adding, "the responsibility for continuing the oppositionist policies of strikes rests fully with the extreme elements of the leadership" of the 9.5 million-member trade union.

The committee, which had refused one of solidarity's major demands for putting to work a "council for the national economy," issued a new invitation to the union to negotiate in "mixed committee". It said that the best way was for the representatives of all the unions to sit at one table to expound their views and seek agreement on the improvement of supplies to the people.

Besides, it was reported that the government had ordered special military squads of three or four into some 2,000 small villages and towns to "help solve local conflicts."

Army To Assist Food Distribution

OW271215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--Several hundred operational groups of army officers and soldiers have been founded on the order of the government, and started their work yesterday in 2,000 Polish towns and villages, reported the Polish News Agency PAP.

Their duty would be to ensure that food supplies reach markets, to eliminate mismanagement and waste and to prepare the country for winter.

The troops would also assist with transport and ensure that essential supplies of coal get through to the foodstuff producers.

The Solidarity Union had said it would welcome any improvement in the supply situation and that this was the main purpose of the troops at face value "unless the fact prove otherwise."

PAP also said the government was scheduled to send a special commission headed by Andrzej Jedynak, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, to investigate into losses caused by a strike at the sulphur mines and steel foundry in Tarnobrzeg Province.

The commission would investigate harm done by the strike to the national economy and defence industry and would publish its findings, PAP added.

Parties Condemn Strike Plan

OW271237 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--The United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party of Poland yesterday issued a joint statement, calling the Solidarity Union's planned strike for Wednesday a threat to the political, economic and defense basis of Poland's survival, reported the Polish News Agency PAP.

The statement said this must be met with counteraction corresponding to the degree of the threat. It stressed that all necessary constitutional means would be used to defend the security of the state.

The statement came at the meeting of the joint action committee of the three parties on the increasingly grave internal situation. The meeting was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the United Workers' Party, Stefan Ignar, chairman of the United Peasants' Party, and Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Democratic Party.

The statement also accused the Solidarity Union of obstructing every measure taken by the government for overcoming the main difficulties in social and economic life.

It added that the planned strike runs counter to the line of consultation and reform followed by the party, and would only "serve the interest of those who are no longer hiding their intention of overthrowing socialism and seizing power."

CSO: 4000/6

REPORTAGE ON ASIAN CONFERENCE ON POPULATION IN BEIJING

Background Information

OW211349 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Following is background information on the Asian conference of parliamentarians on population and development.

1. Background of the Conference

Following the Bucharest conference on world population in 1974, which initially explored the issue of population and development, parliamentarians of various countries held three conferences on the subject: in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in August, 1979; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in September, 1980; and Nairobi, Kenya, in July, 1981.

After the Colombo conference, Asian countries decided through consultation to hold the first Asian conference of parliamentarians on population and development in Beijing on October 27-30, 1981. For this purpose, the steering committee for the conference, which is composed of Japan, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and China, met in Tokyo in February and again in Beijing in June this year. The committee is to meet for the third time on October 26 to decide on the details of the conference.

The conference has been supported by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities [UNFPA] in finance and other matters. Rafael M. Salas, UNFPA executive director, will attend the conference as a specially invited guest.

2. Objectives and Themes of the Conference

As is decided by the steering committee, the main themes of the conference are: to discuss the issue of population and development and the role of parliamentarians: to explore ways to expand international cooperation among parliaments of various countries in population activities.

The objectives of the conference are as follows:

A. Evaluate current population programs and policies in the Asian countries;

B. Explore ways to integrate population programs and policies with development programs;

C. Promote regional and internationalcooperation in implementing population programs;

D. Delineate the role of national, local and community organizations in implementing population programs; and

E. Define the role of parliamentarians in implementing population policies and programs.

The conference will hear some reports on special topics around the main themes, and will split into two committees to discuss in detail the integration of population with development and the program implementation at various levels.

The conference will adopt a declaration on population and development.

3. The Participants

As is decided through consultation, any Asian country is qualified to apply for attendance at the conference if it has one of the three following qualifications:

A. Member of the United Nations;

B. Member of the Asian and Pacific group of the United Nations; and

C. Following parliamentarism.

To date, the parliaments of 18 Asian countries have decided to despatch delegates to the conference. Parliamentarians from Latin American, Africa and European countries are also invited to the conference as observers.

Population Control Stressed

OW281231 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 28 OCT (XINHUA)--Parliamentarians of 12 countries exchanged experiences in population control and called for regional cooperation in solving this problem at the Asian conference of parliamentarians on population and development here this morning.

Candra Bandara of Sri Lanka said his country's population growth rate has been reduced to 17 per thousand from 26 per thousand in 1953 thanks to the efforts of the government. Population control has become an integral part of the government policies. While carrying out family planning work at various levels, the government also cooperates with non-governmental organizations in this regard. A special organ was set up in 1978 for the purpose.

He said, while controlling the growth of population, Sri Lanka also makes efforts to develop its economy. Once economy is developed, the problem of population growth will also be solved.

Datuk Abdullah Haji Ahmad, chairman of the Malaysian delegation, said Malaysia attaches great importance to the population problem. The parliament passed the family planning law and worked out population policy in 1966 aimed at reducing the population growth rate of 3 per cent in that year to 2 per cent by 1985 and making the government to increase the average income of the people.

He said the cooperation among the ASEAN countries in human resources and development are fruitful.

He said population, resources and development are closely related and poverty can only be eliminated after a long-term balance of population and resources is achieved.

He proposed that Asian countries should strengthen cooperation in international population activities and exchange information and experiences so as to deepen the understanding of the parliamentarians and people of the relations among resources, population and development.

Boontium Khamapirad, chairman of the Thai delegation, said that his country is one with high birth rate. But in the ten years from 1970, when Thailand formulated a population policy, the birth rate was brought down from 32 per thousand to 18 per thousand in 1980. In the same period, the number of people practising family planning rose five times.

Thailand's efforts to contain its population enlisted the cooperation of the government and non-governmental organizations, in the form of training mid-wives and nurses and the supply of contraceptives.

Dwelling on Singapore's successful effort to contain its population, Ow Chin Hock, chairman of the Singapore delegation, said that his country's natural growth rate has come down from 4.7 percent in 1957 to 1.2 percent in 1980. His country plans to bring it further down to zero percent by the year of 2030.

Singapore's objective is to continue to improve the living standards of the people, he said. That is why we advocate that each couple should have two children by disseminating the advantages of family planning. At the same time we abrogate the anti-abortion law and encourage women to take part in labor. On the other hand, Singapore expands its educational establishments so that the literacy in the country accounted for 84 percent of the population in 1980 as against 72 percent in 1970. All these measures, he said, helped promote economic development which [was] maintained at a rate of 9.14 percent throughout the 1970s.

When Carmencita O. Reyes, chairman of the Philippine delegation, took the floor, she briefed on the medium-term and long-range population plans her country formulated, with a view to reducing the growth rate to 2 percent by 1985. To this end, she said, we call for the close coordination among all government organs. We have to adopt non-compulsory measures.

Radhe Shyam Kamaro of the Nepalese delegation noted that manpower is one of the important resources but it also consumes all the benefits of the development. Therefore, Nepal has adopted a comprehensive population growth program to bring down the birth rate, control migration and set up necessary facilities such as hospitals and houses to attract more people to the western parts of the country.

Eisaku Sumi from Japan said that the population problem is a very complicated issue and each country should adopt its own policy in the light of its cultural, geological and economic conditions. But the Asian countries should cooperate with one another, exchange views and deepen the understanding of this problem so that the population problems in Asia can be solved step by step.

Jordanian parliament member Said Suraikat pointed out that the solution to the rapid population growth will be conducive to the defence of world peace. All countries must cooperate on this issue, he said. The Jordanian Government, he said, is ready to exchange experience and views with other countries on the ways to solve housing, education and labor force migration. He proposed that a regional parliamentary organization should be set up for this purpose.

Delegates from some countries said that although there is no serious population problems in their countries, they promise to attach more attention to it.

The chairman of the Maldives delegation, Abdul Sattar, noted, although my country is small and free from a population problem, we in the Maldives pay great attention to family planning. We also adopt positive measures to improve the health of the people and lower the infant mortality rate.

Hisham Sati from Syria said his country has no national population policy yet. But it is necessary to pay attention to the manpower problem in the course of development, to strengthen adult education and improve maternal and child care facilities. At present, Syria, he said, should speed up the development of its rural areas and work for a better distribution of the population.

Mohammad Yazdi, chairman of the Iranian delegation, presented his views on the population in the name of Islamism. He said, to solve the problem of population and development, it is first of all necessary to raise the cultural level of the people and pay attention to the health of the women and children.

This afternoon the conference broke into group discussions.

CSO: 4000/6

THAI FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS SRV THREAT TO ASIA

OW200818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Buenos Aires, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--That Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila said today that the peace, progress and stability in Southeast Asia "has been jeopardized by the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea".

Speaking at a press conference and subsequently to the Argentine Council for International Relations here Sitthi, who arrived here Monday for a three-day visit, gave his views on the situation in Southeast Asia, Thailand's position on the Kampuchean question and development of bilateral relations between Thailand and Argentina.

He said that Vietnam is pursuing military adventures in Kampuchea with the support of a major power at an estimated cost of 3.5 million U.S. dollars a day and, in return, that power obtains a foothold in the region enabling it for the first time to project its power into the strategically important region.

Sitthi referred to two encouraging developments this year on the Kampuchean problem--the UN conference in July which adopted the framework for a political solution and the meeting in September of three Kampuchean nationalist groups which issued a declaration to work together to free their country from foreign domination and restore the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination.

Sitthi reiterated that Vietnam must withdraw its troops from Kampuchea under UN supervision and self-determination should be restored through free election in Kampuchea.

In the long run, Kampuchea should be an independent and netural country free from intervention by other countries, he added

Sitthi met with Argentine President Roberto Viola and signed with his Argentine counterpart Oscar Camilion a scientific and technical agreement between the two countries.

CSO: 4000/6

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON KAMPUCHEA REPORTED

Philippines' Romulo Speaks

OW200204 Beijing XINHUA in English 0145 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Carlos P. Romulo, foreign minister of the Philippines, this morning again called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Speaking at the UN General Assembly which began consideration of the situation in Kampuchea today, Romulo observed that the international conference on Kampuchea convened last July "offers the most practicable way of achieving a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem."

He said the elements for a comprehensive settlement identified by the declaration adopted by the conference are: an agreement on a ceasefire and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest possible time under United Nations verification; holding of free elections in Kampuchea under UN supervision; and appropriate arrangements for the maintenance of law and order prior to the establishment of a new government resulting from the elections.

Romulo noted the international community had declared its readiness to negotiate an end to the intolerable situation in Kampuchea. "We hope that those who have remained unyielding will soon give us their positive response." He said, the international community had received the Laos memorandum. But nowhere in the memorandum was there any mention of the situation in Kampuchea, which was everywhere admitted to be the main destabilizing factor in the region.

"The regional conference envisaged in the Phnom Penh proposals is not acceptable," he declared, "firstly, because it is not intended to deal primarily with the conflict in Kampuchea; secondly, because such conflict, by Vietnam's own admission, involved countries within the region as well as extra-regional powers, and, therefore, would not offer an adequate framework for a comprehensive political settlement; and thirdly, because it will be outside the aegis of the United Nations."

Romulo emphasized that the armed intervention and subsequent occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces constituted a gross violation of the UN Charter and international law. The General Assembly could not reward the fruits of open aggression.

Kirkpatrick Cited on SRV Role

OW200224 Beijing XINHUA in English 0202 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, today sternly condemned the Soviet-backed Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea.

Addressing the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly this morning, Kirkpatrick declared that "in each of its two preceding sessions, the General Assembly, by overwhelming majorities, has found the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in violation of the fundamental provisions of the United Nations Charter." She said, "Vietnamese forces and administrators stand above the law. They deny all human rights to the conquered Khmer people."

She said the people of Kampuchea were not the only victims of Vietnam's aggression, the people of Vietnam itself, indeed all the people of Southeast Asia, "suffer from the oppressive tyranny of the Vietnamese Government."

Kirkpatrick observed that "the pursuit of an unpopular war has caused widespread misery within Vietnam; and imperialist adventures have necessitated escalation of the already scandalous level of oppression inside Vietnam."

The people of Southeast Asia, she continued, "face a precarious future as their governments divert resources sorely needed for development to strengthen their defenses against the possibility of further Vietnamese expansionism."

Repudiating the false arguments presented by the Vietnamese to cover up their aggression, she said, "Vietnamese efforts to justify their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea are both disingenous and incredible, and only serve to bring their nation into further disrepute."

She pointed out that "the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is strikingly, tragically analogous to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan." "Indeed," she added, "the new imperialism can be recognized everywhere by its aggressiveness, its violence, its contempt for truth."

"No arguments, however artfully constructed," she stressed, "could possibly obscure the reality that the Government of Vietnam, financed and supported by the Soviet Union, has conquered a member state of this organization."

In conclusion, she called on the Government of Vietnam and its Soviet patron to "heed this Assembly's urgent plea for justice and compassion, and to join in negotiations designed to resolve the tragic plight of the people in Kampuchea and end the threat to the peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

Thailand's UN Envoy

OW200230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0210 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Phiraphongse Kasemsi, permanent representative of Thailand to the United Nations, reitereated at the General Assembly's meeting this afternoon that "Vietnam has no right or legitimate reason to try to impose a military solution in Kampuchea on the Kampuchean people."

Kasemsi said, "The Kampuchean people should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, free from foreign occupation and without foreign intervention or coercion."

He emphasized that as long as the Vietnamese forces are not completely withdrawn from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people cannot exercise this right freely. "This is why the so-called 'elections', held in Kampuchea earlier this year, were nothing more than a sham, as they were conducted under the shadow of foreign occupying forces and without the full participation of the Kampuchean people," he added.

Kasemsi said: "The problem of Kampuchean refugees as a tragic consequence of Vietnamese military actions cannot be effectively solved without a comprehensive political settlement. As long as foreign troops continue illegally to occupy Kampuchea and thus the fighting is prolonged, there is little hope of finding a truly effective and durable solution to the Kampuchean refugee problem."

He extended support for the formation of a coalition by Samdech Sihanouk, Son Sann and Khieu Samphan against the Vietnamese invaders. "So long as Vietnam persists in its attempt to impose its military might on the Kampuchean people, there is no alternative but to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle by Kampuchean patriots to free their country from foreign occupation and illegal presence, in order to exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference or coercion," he said.

Referring to the international conference on Kampuchea, Kasemsi said, "The declaration and resolution of the conference offer a reasonable framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem." It was because, first and foremost, "the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and the right for Kampuchea to exist as truly free and independent country are recognized and constitute the most vital element of the solution," he added.

He hoped that the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea sponsored by ASEAN and other countries be adopted by the General Assembly.

SRV Withdrawal Asked

OW200336 Beijing XINHUA in English 0315 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Speakers at the 36th session of the UN General Assembly today called for urgent measures to ensure the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and allow the Kampuchean people to decide their own future without foreign interference.

The General Assembly discussed the Kampuchean situation for the third time because Vietnam defies the resolutions it adopted at its last two sessions condemning Vietnam's armed intervention and calling for its immediate withdrawal from Kampuchea.

Pakistani representative Niaz A. Naik told the General Assembly that the people of Pakistan felt special concern over the Kampuchean tragedy. "There is a close parallel between the situation in Kampuchea and that in Afghanistan, which poses a grave danger to the stability of our region and to international peace," he declared.

"The situation in Kampuchea is not a regional question; it concerns the violation of a fundamental principle of international law and its remedy is an international responsibility," he noted.

Japanese representative Masahiro Nisibori said that "the only way to restore a lasting peace to Kampuchea and to ensure the peace and security of the region is to allow the Kampuchean people to freely choose their own political future without fear of foreign intervention." He suggested that all parties and state concerned take part in negotiations for the withdrawal of foreign forces and the holding of free elections under UN supervision.

Speaking on behalf of the ten member governments of the European community, Douglas Hurd, minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of the United Kingdom, expressed the belief that a solution to the Cambodian problem must be based on an independent and neutral Cambodia, with a genuinely representative government, free from any foreign military presence and maintaining friendly relations with all countries of the region." He stressed that "complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces is an essential step in returning Cambodia to normality."

He added: "It is in the interests of all to insist on the inadmissibility of foreign interference and intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state."

Thomas Klestil of Austria said: "The international community has to assume the responsibility to restore to the Kampuchean people their basic right of self-determination, of deciding their own political future freely, without outside coercion and interference."

Manuel Trucco, representative of Chile, pointed out that the Vietnamese invasion concerned the entire world community, especially the non-aligned developing countries.

The representative of Vietnam, Ha Van Lau, in his speech tried hard to justify Vietnam's aggression of Kampuchea and talked glibly about the so-called "threat from China" in a vain attempt to divert world public attention.

Continued Struggle Vowed

OW200904 Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Thiounn Prasith, Democratic Kampuchea's permanent representative to the United Nations, said today: "The Kampuchean people, the National Army and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will have no choice but to resolutely continue their struggle in the military, political and diplomatic fields until Hanoi expansionists withdraw their forces completely from Kampuchea and respect the related UN resolutions."

Thiounn Prasith said this during the UN debate on the Kampuchean problem.

He said that the war in Kampuchea is not a civil war but a struggle for the survival of his nation. He pointed out: "The Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea, just like the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, is part of a global strategy of the Soviet expansionists for world domination."

He condemned the Vietnamese aggressors for massacring entire villages and using toxic chemical to subdue Kampuchean people.

Thiounn Prasith restated that a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem must include the following three points: total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea; free elections held under UN supervision; and guarantees for an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea by the international community and the United Nations. He stressed: "The total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces is a prerequisite for the settlement of the problem. The Kampuchean conflict is, first of all, a conflict between the aggressors and the aggressed."

Thiounn Prasith also said that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would make unremitting efforts for the realization of a firm, lasting national unity.

He called on all countries in Southeast Asia to promote peace and stability of the region.

SRV Occupation Opposed

OW210340 Beijing XINHUA in English 0206 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--Tan Sri Zainal Abidin bin Sulong, permanent representative of Malaysia to the United Nations, declared today that "any attempt to force the acceptance of Heng Samrin in Kampuchea and to perpetuate the presence of Vietnamese forces in the country, contrary to the resolutions of the UN General Assembly, can only prolong the Kampuchean conflict and the resultant instability for the entire region."

Addressing the morning session of the General Assembly, he said, "The need for an early solution could not be overemphasized as any undue delay will only exacerbate the situation in Kampuchea where the forces of the legal government of Democratic Kampuchea is waging an armed guerrilla resistance against the occupation forces of Vietnam."

Due to the presence of around 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, he warned that "the potential for further spill-over of the fighting into neighbouring states, especially Thailand, therefore remains real and serious, as it has shown to be in the last two and a half years since Vietnamese forees marched into Kampuchea and overthrew the legitimate government of that country."

He rejected Vietnamese suggestions for a solution on a regional basis through regional consultations. "Such suggestions," he remarked, "which are clearly intended to legitimize Vietnam's action in Kampuchea and to gain recognition for the Heng Samrin authorities in Phnom Penh."

Anwar Sani, permanent representative of Indonesia to the United Nations, said his government's position on the question of Kampuchea remained the same as expressed in the joint statement of the ASEAN foreign ministers issued on January 12, 1979.

The statement, he added, "strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea", "affirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future by themselves free from interference or influence from outside powers in the exercise of their right to self-determination, and called for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces from the Kampuchean territory."

Debate Enters Second Day

OW210342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--Nepal, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Mauritania continued to call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and appealed the United Nations to exert all efforts to bring about a just and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem when the debate on the situation in Kampuchea entered its second day.

Representative of Nepal Uddav Deo Bhatt declared that Nepal would reaffirm its conviction that "the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and granting to the Kampuchean people their right to self-determination are essential conditions for a just and durable settlement of the Kampuchean problem."

Expressing the grave concern of his country over the situation in Kampuchea, he pointed out the situation had given rise to tension tending to seriously endanger peace and stability of the entire region of Southeast Asia.

He said that a powerful neighbour through massive intervention had installed a pliant regime there and the Kampuchean people had been grieviously denied of their inalienable right to determine their political destiny freely as a result of external interference and coercion. "Vietnam's pleas to justify its armed intervention in Kampuchea cannot be accepted on any ground and by any standard," he noted.

Representative of Egypt Ahmad E. 'Abd al-Meguid reiterated Egypt's support for the just cause of the people of Kampuchea, and supported the principles that rejected the use of force and resisted outside aggression of a foreign military power.

Egypt called for a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and within a specified time-frame, he said.

Raouf Sa'id, representative of Tunisia, said that the installation by force of a new regime in Phnom Penh gravely affected the stability of the region. It was intolerable that one country should be able to determine the nature of a neighbouring country's government.

Ignac Golob, representative of Yugoslavia, pointed out that the situation in Kampuchea was at the core of the crisis in Southeast Asia. The principles of non-interference, non-intervention, withdrawal of foreign troops and the inviolability of the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, "are the only basis on which a lasting and just political solution of this and other crisis in the world could be sought."

He said that the crisis in Kampuchea surpassed by far the borders of the country and of Southeast Asia by its implication and impact on a broader international scale.

Sri Lanka, Zaire and Mauritania expressed their support for the draft resolution sponsored by the ASEAN and other Third World countries. They believe that the draft would be a solid base for a just and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Negotiated Settlement Asked

OW2120356 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--Representatives of five second world nations urged all parties concerned to seek a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchea problem in order to put an end to Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchean and to bring peace and stability to Southeast Asia when they spoke at the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly today.

Australian representative H. D. Anderson said that his government regarded the methods employed by Vietnam to install a puppet administration in Kampuchea "as totally unacceptable" and regarded "the Heng Samrin regime, whose authority depends entirely on the presence of the Vietnamese occupation forces, as illegal and unrepresentative of the Khmer people." He called for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces and the free exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination.

Representative of New Zealand H. H. Francis stated: "Kampuchea now, as then, is an occupied country. It is ruled by a regime which was imposed by foreign armed forces in violation of the basic principle of the UN Charter." He declared that his country supported efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement that would bring peace and relief to the people of Kampuchea.

Representative of Norway Ole Algard declared: "We urge the Government of Vietnam to withdraw their military forces, and we call upon all parties concerned to enter a negotiation process in a constructive manner, so that the troubled region of Southeast Asia could develop into a zone of peace, freedom and stability."

He stressed that "a political solution must ensure the right of all Kampucheans to determine their own future without foreign interference in accordance with the UN Charter."

Representative of Canada Gerard Pelletier noted: "Vietnam has publicly rejected the United Nations' efforts and has ignored various international appeals for it to cooperate not only with its neighbours in Southeast Asia but also with the international community as a whole. In this regard, Vietnam's position is not only unfortunate, it is tragic."

Representative of Sweden Anders Thunborg demanded a dialogue between the parties concerned for real progress toward an acceptable negotiated settlement of the Kampuchea problem. He pointed out that "the dialogue must involve not only the neighbours of Kampuchea but also others whose interests are directly concerned."

He said: "The Soviet Union and the United States should facilitate a solution by allowing their attitudes and actions to be guided by a search for lasting stability in the region rather than the pursuit of strategic advantage." He called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and the recognition of the Kampuchean people's right to determine their own destiny without coercion or interference.

UN Resolution Cited

OW212001 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The 36th UN General Assembly today adopted a resolution on "the situation in Kampuchea" by an overwhelming majority, which again emphasizes the necessity of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

The draft resolution, co-sponsored by ASEAN and 32 other nations, was endorsed by a vote of 100 to 25, 3 affirmative votes more than last year and 9 more than the year before.

Adoption of this resolution, the third one on "the situation in Kampuchea" by the General Assembly, further beefs up the momentum to press Vietnam to end its military occupation of Kampuchea.

Vietnam and the Soviet Union voted against the resolution just as they did in the previous two assembly sessions.

The present resolution reaffirms the previous two ones [as received] and calls for their full implementation.

It deplores that "foreign armed intervention continues and that foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus causing continuing hostilities in that country and seriously threatening international peace and security."

It expresses the deep concern that "the continuing deployment of foreign forces in Kampuchea near the Thai-Kampuchean border has heightened tension in the region."

It reiterates the conviction that "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all states to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem."

It decides to reconvene the international conference on Kampuchea at an appropriate time and include in the provisional agenda of the 37th General Assembly session the item entitled "The Situation in Kampuchea".

Singapore, Other Envoys Speak

OW220744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Greater opposition to the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and increased insistence on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country was the keynote of the UN General Assembly debate on the situation in Kampuchea which ended this morning.

Permanent representative of Singapore T.T. B. Koh said the ASEAN countries "would like the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea to be withdrawn from that country and to restore to its people the right to determine their own future."

Refuting Vietnam's charge that the international conference on Kampuchea was "a gross interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea," Koh said, "The very purpose of the conference is to negotiate an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of that country."

He stated, "Vietnam has committed the most serious form of violation in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It launched a large-scale military invasion of that country, overthrew its government and imposed a puppet regime on its people."

He stressed that the use of force by one state against another and acts of interference in the internal affairs of another country "are never justifiable." It would be a very dangerous doctrine if accepted it. [sentence as received]

On the so-called election held last May, he pointed out that it could not be considered as free and democratic because it was held under the onus of the invading army and because patriotic Kampucheans, opposed to the Vietnamese occupation of their country, were not allowed to vote.

He reitereated that the ASEAN countries rejected the proposal of Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime for a regional dialogue with the ASEAN countries.

The representative of Bangladesh Anwarul K. Choudhury urged an immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea to allow the Kampuchean people to choose their government freely without outside military pressure. He said that Bangladesh rejected all forms of interference in any nation's affairs and condemned the use of force against the political independence and territorial integrity of any state.

Koffi Adjoyi, representative of Togo, said that Togo condemned any situation of conflict and supported all efforts for peace. Togo opposed any attempts to achieve hegemony, and was gravely disturbed by the invasion of Kampuchea.

He declared any solution in Kampuchea must include the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the holding of free elections under United Nations' supervision. No fait accompli could be accepted in Kampuchea.

The representative of Senegal Massamba Sarre said that the problem of Kampuchea was one of law, the principles of non-intervention, sovereignty and political independence and the question of the non-use of force in settling the problems of any state. Senegal supports the Kampuchean people in their quest for a peaceful solution, he added.

CSO: 4000/6

'VODK' CITES ENCOURAGEMENT BY UN RESOLUTION

OW230746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 23 Oct (XINHUA)--The adoption of a resolution for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea by the 36th UN General Assembly with an overwhelming majority of 100 votes has greatly encouraged the Kampuchean people, the National Army and guerrillas who are fighting relentlessly against the Vietnamese aggression, Radio Democratic Kampuchea says today.

An editorial of the radio says, the UN resolution clearly demonstrates the utter isolation of Vietnam's leaders. All peace-loving and justice-upholding countries in the world have seen more clearly the danger of the precedent of aggression against Kampuchea set by the Vietnamese authorities with the backing and involvement of the Soviet international expansionists. Therefore, they are determined to unite more firmly in opposing Vietnam's acts of aggression in Kampuchea and voicing a strong demand for the withdrawal by the Hanoi authorities of all their troops from Kampuchea and letting the Kampuchean people decide their own destiny without any outside interference.

"The Kampuchean people and Democratic Kampuchea express once again deep and heartfelt gratitude to the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries," the radio declares.

The radio expresses the hope that these countries will continue to give more powerful support to the just struggle of the Kampuchean people and Democratic Kampuchea and take political, economic and diplomatic measures to force Vietnam to observe and implement the 36th UN General Assembly session's resolution until it has withdrawn all its troops from Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/6

EGYPTIAN DEFENSE MINISTER ON USSR MIDEAST ACTIONS

OW211811 Beijing XINHUA in English 1548 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Egyptian Minister of Defense Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazala said the Soviet Union has been intensifying tension between Egypt and Libya, which is aimed to cause a confrontation that would test the United States, local newspapers reported today.

In an interview with the WALL STREET JOURNAL, an American newspaper, Ghazala said there are Soviet warships anchored near Latakia, Syria, to carry two armored brigades to Libya. It is unknown whether these forces will be stationed on the borders between Sudan and Chad or on Egypt's borders with Libya.

The defense minister said the Soviets will proceed with their plan if they think the United States is not serous about helping Egypt and the other countries. Egypt feels reassured that the United States will continue helping the nation, especially after last week's delivery of two U.S. AWACS planes to Egypt.

He also urged the Americans to speed the delivery of arms to Egypt in order to confront the new Libyan threat to the Sudan.

Ghazala also affirmed that Egypt will never attack Libya unless it is in a position of justifiable self-defense. "The same," he said, "applies to Egypt's stand toward any aggression on the Sudan. Egypt will not stand with its hands tied if al-Qadhdhafi orders an attack against its neighboring countries."

CSO: 4000/6

BRZEZINSKI COMMENTS ON MIDEAST PEACE PROSPECTS

OW261305 Beijing XINHUA in English 1248 GMT 26 Oct 81

[Text] Kuwait, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--Former U.S. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski said in an interview with Kuwaiti paper AL-ANBA, published here today that he believed "the higher interests of the Middle East can best be served by gradual reconcilation between the Arabs and Israel."

He said that within this reconcilation the legitimate rights of the Palestinians can be secured and their political dignity and presence attained while the Israelis obtain full acceptance as a member of the region and real security.

Brzezinski went on to say the progress of the talks on the West Bank and Gaza will depend on the desire and the tact of the Arabs. "If the Arabs become involved in the West Bank and Gaza talks, the process will move fast. But if they refrain, nothing will change," he said.

He said he presumed that the United States would conduct a dialogue with the PLO. "The best means to surpass the existing impasse is a phase-by-phase movement, that is, from an informal level to a more official level, but that also calls for a clear signal from the PLO of its intentions on the question of peace," he added.

Brzezinski expressed his belief that the Soviet Union "is not concerned with the search for a just and peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict but is concerned with keeping the tension in the region in order to gain a foothold in some of the Arab states." "I believe Moscow is using the Palestinian case to further its own strategies" in the Middle East, he said.

CSO: 4000/6

IRAQ, SYRIA REJECT SAUDI PEACE PLAN

OW270844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0803 GMT 27 Oct 81

[XINHUA headline: "Iraq, Syria Withhold Support of Saudi Peace Plan"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--Iraq rejects the Saudi Middle-East peace plan, outlined by Crown Prince Fahd in last August, and will explain its reasons in full at the Arab League summit in Fes, Morocco, next month, said Iraqi Deputy Premier Taha Yasin Ramadan yesterday, according to Western news agency reports.

He told a press conference in Amman, Jordan, that Iraq supported the principles and resolutions of Arab League summits in Baghdad, Tunis and Amman "that condemn any isolated Arab initiative" on the Palestinian problem.

Ramadan sounded critical of the Saudi plan for an Arab-Israeli settlement. The plan calls for Israeli withdrawal from war-conquered Arab territories and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel.

Earlier, Muhammad Haydar, a member of the Inter-Arab Command of the Syrian Ba'th (Socialist) Barty and head of the party's external relations department, told the paper AL-SAFIR that the Saudi plan had been rejected by Syria's ruling Ba'th Barty.

He said that the plan "was incompatible with the strategy of the Ba'th Party" because of its "unilateral character...and the time chosen to present it".

CSO: 4000/6

EGYPT'S MUBARAK MEETS OPPOSITION LEADERS

OW231532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, 23 Oct (XINHUA)--Newspapers here today carried frontpage reports and photographs on President Husni Mubarak's meeting yesterday with Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Socialist Labor Party the present government's main opposition, and Mustafa Kamal Murad, leader of the Liberal Party another opposition party.

During the meeting, Mubarak exchanged views with them about national action and tasks at the current stage. The rallying of all the Egyptian people at the current stage has avoided many dangers, he said.

He also promised to meet them regularly in the future to exchange opinions on matters concerning Egypt.

Shukry told news reporters after the meeting that his party had confidence in President Mubarak and would cooperate with the government.

Speaking to news reporters after Mubarak's meeting with the opposition leader, First Deputy Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din said, "It is possible that the government may overlook things, and it is the opposition's duty to point these things out to the government. We expect these two parties to do so."

President Mubarak yesterday also received members of the Higher Council for Judicial Bodies. He said current circumstances necessitate the solidarity of all the people.

CSO: 4000/6

MUBARAK TO FOLLOW AL-SADAT'S PEACE GUIDELINES

OW221524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Caior, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak has stated he will follow the peace guidelines set by slain President Anwar al-Sadat.

In an interview published today in the Israeli daily YEDI'OT AHARONOT, Mubarak also declared that if an agreement was reached with Israel on the issue of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, it would not be remote that Palestinians would agree to join in the peace process. He also stressed that the realization of such an agreement requires maximum flexibility on the part of Israel, especially after the assassination of al-Sadat on October 6.

Mubarak also said that an agreement on the autonomy would enable other Arab countries to participate in the peace talks.

Mubarak also affirmed in the interview his determination to abstain from launching propaganda campaigns against Arab states which reject the peace process because he wants to improve relations with these countries. "However, we will do it under conditions," he said. "We are not going to put aside our peace treaty, the Camp David agreements or our relations with Israel for the sake of regaining relations with other Arabs."

He also pointed out that when a Palestinian state is established there should be strict measures taken to prevent a foreign presence there under any circumstances.

"Of course," he stressed, "we shall not agree to Russian presence in the area. Whenever we reach a conclusion about any kind of Palestinian state, we should give the Palestinians the opportunity to decide for themselves."

He said that there was no tension along the borders between Egypt and Libya, adding that according to the information he has received, "calm prevails along the Sudan-Chad borders." He emphasized that Egypt is not planning an attack on any Arab country, including Libya.

Mubarak also said that he was determined to visit Israeli leaders by the end of this year or early next year.

CSO: 4000/6

HAROLD BROWN VIEWS 'UNFAVORABLE' DEFENSE TRENDS

OW211252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Former U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown yesterday urged the Western countries to pay attention to military balance and reverse the present trend unfavourable to the West.

He said that in the last 15 years, the trend of military balance between the two camps of the East and the West has been developing in a direction unfavourable to the West and in military terms the Soviet Union has got an upperhand.

Brown made these remarks at a forum sponsored by NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, LTD. and the Japanese Economic Research Centre here.

He noted that in the field of strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is at a par with the West with U.S. as its centre. It is superior to the West in ground-to-ground missiles. As for the naval forces, the West is evidently superior to the Soviet Union. However, this superiority has been offset to certain degree by the West's greater dependency on sea routes for supplies as compared with the Soviet Union. Soviet ground forces are obviously superior in Europe and Asia.

Referring to growing Soviet threat, Brown said the Soviet military strength directed against Japan has exceeded that of Japan by a big margin, and the military strength in the West Pacific should therefore be strengthened in every way. The security of Northeast Asia is important to the United States, and even more to Japan. Japan should shoulder in this region a responsibility greater than that of the United States and the West European countries.

Brown said that Japan-U.S. relations cannot be called reliable in a long-term point of view if they are based only on economic competition and absolute reliance on the U.S. for unilateral security guarantee. [sentence as received] He urged the two countries to come to an agreement on how to share the responsibility for security guarantee through bilateral consultations.

CSO: 4000/6

PHILIPPINES MINISTER BANS POLICE CAMPUS PRESENCE

OW220930 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Manila, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile ordered yesterday the withdrawal of all police detachments in school campuses as the initial stage of a "full blown" dialogue with student leaders of the country, according to press reports here today.

At the same time Enrile directed that private security guards hired by universities and colleges be prohibited from detaining students and interfering with their activities.

Enrile issued these orders as an offer at a meeting between himself and student leaders yesterday. "We must begin with a clean slate to have an ideal working atmosphere between us," he said.

In the past months the students complained about "the increasing militarization of student campuses". A rally held by some 3,000 students on October 7, demanding the lift of campus militarization, led to a clash between the students and policemen with 150 injured and 9 students arrested.

Since then Enrile has met twice with student leaders while more dialogues are expected to be held.

Enrile also ordered yesterday the dropping of charges against the nine students arrested during the October 7 rally. With regard to rallies that might be held in the future, it was reported that he "ordered the superintendents of all four police districts in metro Manlia not to use force during the student rallies and to use it only, to a certain degree, in connection with their peace-keeping duties."

CSO: 4000/6

NONALIGNED MOVEMENT MARKS ANNIVERSARY IN GENEVA

OW201641 Beijing XINHIA in English 1621 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Geneva, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--A plenary meeting of the non-aligned countries has been held here to mark the 20th anniversary of the launching of the non-aligned movement.

The non-aligned movement, launched by the first conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in September 1961, now comprises 95 developing countries.

Speaking at the meeting, the representatives of non-aligned countries stressed the importance of adhering to the movement's basic principles formulated by its founders.

Yugoslav delegate Marko Vrhunec said that the non-aligned and developing countries had made the greatest contribution to the creation of the concept of a new international economic order to narrow the gap between the developed and the developing countries. The non-aligned movement has become an irreplaceable global factor and partner in international relations, he noted.

Indonesian delegate Irawan Darsa, speaking on behalf of Asian countries, said that the movement had demonstrated its positive role in accelerating the process of decolonization and strengthened its influence in world affairs. But certain issues remain to be resolved and the non-aligned movement should play an active role to promote their solution, he pointed out.

The delegate of Zaire, N'kongo Dontoni Bwanda Dinzimbu, speaking on behalf of African countries, appealed for the implementation of relevent UN resolutions to resolve the problems of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Namibia and Palestine.

CSO: 4000/6

'XINHUA' CITES FRENCH, U.S. VIEWS ON WORLD ECONOMY

OW210830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Mexico City, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--France is ready to pursue "concrete compromise" at the Cancun summit which should not confine itself to "a mere exchange of ideas without any practical consequences", said French President Francois Mitterrand in an interview with the Mexican paper EL EXCELSIOR published yesterday.

"It would be inexcusable for a conference of this kind, unprecedented in history, to result in a mere exchange of ideas," he said.

"Our position at the meeting will be that statements of good intentions will not be enough," he said, adding that France would pose a series of "concrete questions" that "will aim at concrete compromise."

The French president arrived here yesterday for a three-day official visit and to attend the Cancun summit on North-South relations.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour here yesterday, the French president declared that his country intends to "contribute to the development of the Third World, a development which is in our eyes not a threat but an opportunity to grasp."

He stressed "the gravity of the present gulf" between the rich and poor nations.

Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, who hosted the banquet, pointed out in a toast that "international economic relations must be governed by a fundamental principle: the shared responsibility of all countries for the plight of the weakest and most disadvantaged among them."

President Mitterrand arrived in Mexico after talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington. U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan told reporters at a White House briefing today that President Reagan still believed that world economic growth could be fostered better through private enterprise than government-managed economies.

CSO: 4000/6

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT URGES TREATY TALKS WITH INDIA

OW201241 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Islamabad, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq today urged India to respond to his proposal for holding talks on the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between the two countries.

Speaking at a press conference in Peshawar, the president disclosed that the proposal was put forth verbally through diplomatic channels. He added if New Delhi is reluctant to respond just because the proposal is not in a written form, he would send an official message to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

According to an announcement of the Pakistan Foreign Office last month, Pakistan has formally accepted a 3,200 million U.S. dollar package deal for economic and military sales from the United States.

On the U.S. delay in arms supply to Pakistan to strengthen its defense capability, Ziaul Haq said that Pakistan had informed the U.S. of its public opinion and the Reagan Administration was working to get Congressional approval of the package deal.

The president pointed out that Afghanistan's August 24 proposal did not reflect any particular change in its basic position. However, he added, there was some flexibility as compared with its previous rigid attitude.

Pakistan's endeavours for a political solution to the Afghan issue were as visible as daylight, he stated.

CSO: 4000/6

JAPAN LEADERS REVIEW NORTH-SOUTH, MIDEAST ISSUES

OW191432 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government met here this morning to consider the position it is going to take in the forthcoming summit of North-South dialogue. The meeting also discussed the world situation in general and the Middle East situation in particular following the assassination of Egyptian President al-Sadat, local news agencies reported.

The meeting decided that Japan's stand at the North-South summit is to promote the government's development aid to developing countries and contribute to solving the problems of food, agriculture and personnel training for the developing countries. Japan would consider to mediate between the North and the South.

About the fiscal 1982 budget, Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki said that in order to ensure Japan's integrated security, the Japanese Government has always worked for the integrity of its policy. Even if the financial budget for the next year does not increase, the government would give priority attention to budgetary funds for economic cooperation, energy, national defense and grain.

In his report on the international situation, Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda said that to guarantee pleace and security in the Middle East after the passing away of the late Egyptian President al-Sadat, the most urgent task is to ensure Egypt's stability. In order to help the new Egyptian Government, Japan will safeguard and expand its close ties with Egypt in the fields of personnel exchanges and cultural and economic cooperation.

Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki will fly to Mexico tomorrow for the summit of North-South dialogue.

CSO: 4000/6

W. EUROPEANS CONDEMN U.S., USSR ON NORTH-SOUTH

OW191412 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] Rome, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--A two-day international symposium on the North-South dialogue, held by a number of statesmen from the West European countries in Florence, Italy, ended yesterday. The participants agreed that West European countries should play a more active role in the North-South dialogue.

Speakers condemned the Soviet Union and the United States for creating obstacles in the way of negotiation. Gaston Thorn, chairman of the European Economic Community Commission, criticized the Soviet Union for its refusal to take part in the Cancun summit. He said that the Soviet Union claimed that the policy of cooperation could only mean a compensation for the losses brought about in the colonial period. Therefore, the Soviet Union has no need to make any effort in this field. Thorn pointed out, "Not all the Southern countries are colonies, nor all the Northern countries are colonial powers. Isn't the Soviet Union today the only colonial power both at home and abroad?"

Thorn was delighted that China would attend the Cancun meeting.

He also criticized American President Ronald Reagan for proposing to apply market principle in the relations with the developing countries. Thorn said that this would neither promote the harmonious development of the international economic system nor be helpful to a balanced development of the Third World.

Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo pointed out that Europeans were more willing than other countries to establish a close relationship with the developing countries because of historical links and economic character. He said that the most advanced form of cooperation at present was the one defined by the Lome agreement. Italy has proposed a comprehensive negotiation with the participation of as many countries as possible within the United Nations in order to benefit their economic development. He also said that Italy would suggest convening an international meeting in Rome within the EEC so as to formulate a program of action to tackle starvation, malnutrition and other issues.

Some speakers pointed out that the developing countries should not copy the culture and production pattern of the developed countries since the models of capitalism and the Soviet Union have both failed.

CSO: 4000/6

LUNS, BROWN ADDRESS ATLANTIC INSTITUTE CONFERENCE

OW250830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Brussels, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The 20th anniversary conference of the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs closed here this afternoon with speakers calling for vigilance against the Soviet military buildup and the danger of pacifism and unilateral disarmament.

Mr J. Luns, NATO's secretary general, took in his address the harmonization of three vital elements for the overall health of NATO: military capability, political cooperation, and public commitment. He pointed out that NATO currently finds itself in an unhappy and potentially quite dangerous situation. The Soviets have concomitantly achieved superiority in long-range theatre nuclear forces and have added inexorably to their long-standing advantages in conventional military strength while dramatically closing the qualitative gap that NATO has traditionally relied upon to offset those Soviet advantages. However, he suggested that care must be taken particularly in Europe not to frighten the citizenry into a sense of impotence or despair.

Mr H. Brown, former U.S. defense secretary, expressed in his speech concern over the occasional outbursts of anti-Americanism in Europe. He stressed that it will be a much more serious matter if the U.S. Government fails to recognize arms limitation as a major component of national security, and ignores its European allies' representations on a matter so important to them politically. It will be equally serious if European governments fail to support theater nuclear force modernization which many of them urged on the United States. Mr Brown urged the West to stop quarreling among themselves and sustain cohesion and morale. In view of the West's reliance on the raw materials of the Third World countries, he suggested that the West must respond to the South with government aid, and also with more investment and more willingness to import.

Dr Manfred Woerner, chairman of the Defence Committee of Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, dwelt mainly on the "peace movement" in West Europe. He emphasized that pacifism and unilateral disarmament are not a guarantee of peace. To Western Eruope, he stressed, neutralism means prophylactic capitulation. And without the United States a policy of preventing war by deterrence based upon the balance of forces is impossible either in or for Europe.

Other distinguished persons attending the conference included the EEC President Gaston Thorn, the OECD Secretary General Emile van Lennep, and leader of the British House of Commons Francis Pym.

Established in 1961 in Paris, the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs is a research organization but maintains close contacts with NATO, EEC as well as OECD.

CSO: 4000/6

NAMIBIA SOLIDARITY WEEK OBSERVED AT UN

OW270318 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called for more support for the Namibian people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence when he spoke at a special meeting held here today by the United Nations Council for Namibia to mark the start of the week of solidarity with the people of Namibia and their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The week of solidarity is of special significance this year, since it commences on the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the resolution (October 1966) by which the assembly terminated South Africa's mandate for Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the territory.

Kurt Waldheim said UN Security Council resolution 435 (1978) "must remain the basis for the achievement of Namibia's independence and that it should be implemented without further delay."

He said the situation in Namibia "has reached a critical and dangerous point, and its continuation will be at the peril of peace in the region."

Ismat T. Kittani (Iraq), president of the current UN General Assembly, in his speech called for the condemnation of the policy of the Government of South Africa, which continued to frustrate the Namibian people and deny their aspirations.

Chairmen of various UN committees and representatives from many countries also denounced the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist regime and reaffirmed their support for the Namibian people's struggle for early independence.

The programme for the observance of the week of solidarity includes commemorative statements, a photographic display and the screening of films on Namibia.

CSO: 4000/6

'XINHUA' ON MEXICO'S FINANCIAL, POLITICAL USE OF OIL

OW251300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA correspondent)--With the oil industry leading the way, Mexico's growing economy has enabled the country to increase cooperation with other Latin American countries and play a bigger role in international affairs.

The expansion of the oil industry has brought about a fresh "take-off" of the national economy. Before 1977, Mexico's economy was in straits under the impact of the economic crisis in the world. In 1976, the country's Gross National Product rose by only 1.6 per cent, much lower than the population growth rate of 3.7 per cent that year. After coming to power, President Jose Lopez Portillo gave first priority to the development of the oil industry as a lever to vitalize the country's economy. Now, with proved deposits of 72 billion barrels of oil, Mexico ranks first in oil production in Latin America and the fourth biggest oil producer in the world. Export earnings from oil rose sharply from 3,700 million dollars in 1979 to 10,600 million dollars in 1980.

The increase in oil production and export has imporved the financial situation of the state and given an impetus to the development of the home economy. Mexico's economic growth rate has exceeded 8 per cent for four years running, with 9.2 per cent in 1979 and 8.3 per cent in 1980, a growth rate rare in both Latin America and the world. Mexico's growing economic power has also bettered its image in the international community and strengthened its position in negotiations with the developed countries.

As a rising oil power in the multitude of the Third World countries, Mexico strives to promote the joint development of the developing countries by using its oil resources. Together with Venezuela, another oil-producing country in Latin America, Mexico provided oil on favorable terms for nine Central American and Caribbean countries suffering from economic difficulties because of oil shortages. This action was praised by the international community. Not long ago, it concluded an agreement with Venezuela and Brazil to provide aid to other countries of this region for their development of energy.

Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Jorge Castaneda y Alvarez de la Rosa said that Mexico would use oil as "a necessary means to pursue a more active foreign policy." In fact, Mexico has made a sustained effort to establish a new international economic order, and is making valuable contributions to the opening of the Cancun summit meeting on cooperation and development.
CSO: 4000/6

POLITICAL FIGURES ADDRESS LONDON ANTINUCLEAR RALLY

OW250800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0222 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] London, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--About 150,000 people took part in an anti-nuclear weapons march and rally in London today, probably the biggest of its kind ever organized by the campaign for nuclear disarmament in this country.

The marchers, mostly young people, came from all over the British Isles by chartered trains or coaches. There were also two huge contingents from Denmark and West Germany. The marchers waved banners and balloons, and chanted peace slogans while marching through central London under heavy police escort.

The march was led by the opposition Labour Party's leading anti-nuclear campaigner Tony Benn. He outlined the demands of what he called a "fearless campaign" against nuclear weapons: no Trident, Polaris, cruise missiles or neutron bombs on British soil; no domination of Britain by the generals of Russia or America; a nuclear-free zone in Europe; and policies of detente and disarmament.

In a rally at Hyde Park, the demonstrators heard a series of speeches by the Labour Party leader Michael Foot and other prominent figures in the British anti-nuclear movement. The Labour Party is formally committed to unilateral disarmament. Michael Foot told the rally that disarmament would have top priority with a future Labour government and called for "practical actions" to use "all the power and strength" of the anti-nuclear movement in Britain and elsewhere in the world to stop the "insanity" of nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile, many Conservative members of parliament and government ministers launched a vigorous counter-attack on the unilateral campaign. Winston Churchill told a meeting today that the path of appeasement and unilateral disarmament in the 1980s would lead to war as surely as it had in the 1930s. "Countries that weaken themselves in the face of an aggressive, expansionist totalitarian power do not forestall attack but positively invite it," he said. Nicholas Edwards, secretary of state for Wales, said yesterday that "everything in Russia's previous conduct suggests that the most hopeful way forward is through a policy based on a combination of deterrence and arms control."

CSO: 4000/6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW BRITISH PARTY WINS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT

OW231652 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] London, 23 Oct (XINHUA)--The one-month-old Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance won its first seat in parliament today. This victory over the Conservative and Labour parties attracted the attention of the British political arena.

Last March, a number of former Labour Party cabinet ministers and MP's broke away from the party to form the SDP because of differences in policies. The Many common or similar political propositions have led the SDP and the Liberal Party to enter into an electoral alliance with a view to making a breakthrough in the two-party system.

The parliamentary by-election in Croyden Northwest, South London, was the first test of the strength of the alliance. The seat of this constituency in parliament had been held by the Conservatives since 1948. The death earlier this year of the MP elected in the last general election brought about this by-election. Among the 12 political parties taking part in the contest were mainly the Conservative and the Labour parties as well as the Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance.

The Conservative government, finding itself in a difficult situation economically and facing great pressures both at home and abroad, tried to maintain the seat to prove that its current policies were popular. The Labour Party, baffled by internal strife and split, attempted to preserve internal unity with even a small victory so that no more party members would break away. The Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance needed to raise morale in its first battle in order to lay the foundation for a possible victory in the next general election.

By-election returns show that Alliance candidate William Pitt, who had been defeated three times in the same constituency and obtained only 10.5 per cent of the votes in the last general election, won 40 per cent of the votes to be elected MP. The number of supporters of the Conservative Party decreased 47 per cent, while that of the Labour Party dropped 44.5 per cent. One of the SDP leaders, Mrs Shirley Williams, commented: "It is a fundamental challenge to a two party system and to the merits of the old parties." A senior Conservative said, "Popular feeling against the government over Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic policies has been so great as to make victory all but impossible." Some voters openly declared that they "voted for change." The centrist Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance seems to be meeting this strong demand for change.
CSO: 4000/6

BRIEFS

MITTERRAND ON U.S. DEFENSE OF WEST--Beijing, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--According to a Western news agency report, French President Mitterrand said in his 18 October televised speech that France completely supports U.S. efforts to strengthen defense of the West as Soviet challenge is growing more serious and the USSR is deploying the SS-20 missiles directed against Western Europe. American Broadcasting Company interviewed Mitterrand on the eve of his visit to the United States and televised his speech on 18 October. Mitterrand agreed that a certain balance of force is necessary for holding genuine East-West negotiations. He said: "I think that balance of force should be the primary thing. Therefore, it is not right for the United States to remain inferior." Meanwhile, he urged the United States to take the initiative in holding disarmament talks with the Soviet Union in future. He said: Since the United States has already formulated its defense program for the next few years, it should take actions as soon as possible to resume disarmament talks with the Soviet Union. He said: If the United States doesnot take actions, the West Eunopean countries, where neutralistic trend has been developed lately, "may find themselves sinking deeper and deeper in the present serious psychological and spiritual crises." [Text] [OW212051 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1435 GMT 19 Oct 81]

MOSCOW ON AL-SADAT'S DEATH--[Report: "Moscow Sees al-Sadat's Death as a Golden Opportunity"] On 9 October, the Soviet papers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA separately published articles to strenuously create the impression that "al-Sadat's death has produced a real neuralgic shock in the United States" and that "Washington is now worrying about the fate of the Camp David accords." The commentators asserted that the Camp David accords had "died a natural death" long before al-Sadat's death and that "only the (Soviet) peaceful package solution is firm and secure." According to a REUTER dispatch from Moscow on 9 October, "The Soviet criticism clearly shows that the Kremlin hopes that al-Sadat's death will deal a telling blow to the (Camp David) peace accords." Western diplomats are of the opinion that "Moscow sees al-Sadat's death as a golden opportunity which will enable it to resume its former role in the Middle East. The Soviet Union has been unable to play its part in the Middle East since 1977." [Text] [HK141305 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 81 p 6]

S.KOREA CAMPUS STRUGGLE SUPPORTED--Pyongyang, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--NODONG SINMUN is a commentary today expressed support for the demonstration staged on October 23 by hundreds of students of the Seoul National University for democracy and freedom. In the three-hour clashes between the student demonstrators and the police, 17 policemen were wounded andover 40 students were arrested. The commentary said Chon Tu-hwan and his company had sent plain-clothes men to South Korean universities and set up the so-called "commissions of social purifiation" to suppress the student struggle for campus democracy. More than 6,000 students were dismissed. The South Korean students' struggle against Chon Tu-hwan clique's fascist rule and for campus freedom is a just struggle, said the commentary. It stressed that the Chon Tu-hwan clique should immediately stop its suppression of the South Korean students and release the arrested. [Text] [OW271259 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 27 Oct 812]

OAU REAFFIRMS NAMIBIAN SUPPORT--Beijing, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--The International Day of Solidarity With the Peoples of South Africa and Namibia is a summons to independent Africa to come to the aid of the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, the OAU said in Addis Ababa yesterday, according to an ENA report today. The OAU said in a press release that "It is the moral duty of us all" to increase assistance and support to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. The African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the South-West Africa People's Organization can be confident of certain victory, the OAU stated. [Text] [OW271307 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 27 Oct 81]

USSR FAILURE IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The recent effort of the Soviets to crush the resistance of Afghan freedom fighters in Kandahar, second largest city of Afghanistan, has failed. To avenge their failure, the Soviet bombarded Shikarpur Bazar, Herat Darwazah and some other places, illing dozens of civilians and injuring hundreds of others, reports AGENCY AFGHAN PRESS today. Soviet tanks and troops were stationed at every crossing of the city where the people were searched. With help of local citizens, Mojahedin groups conducted a number of guerrilla operations. In an operation near the airport last week, two Soviets including a deputy air commodore, six Karmal officials and four soldiers were killed while an armoured car and two tanks were destroyed. The Mojahedin launched two major attacks on the Zarghona police station and the city police headquarters in Kandahar on October 21. In another attack on the central jail on the same day, eight enemy soldiers were killed or injured while a tank was destoryed and two towers of the jail were demolished. [Text] [OW241338 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 24 Oct 81]

CSO: 4000/6

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' URGES REPLACEMENT OF OLD CADRES

OW220639 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] The Sixth Plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee emphatically pointed out that to select more middle-aged and young cadres and promote them to leading posts at all levels is our pressing strategic task. It is also necessary to eliminate the harmful system of lifelong tenure for cadres. Those cadres who are advanced in age must give way to the young ones. Efforts must be made to promote those cadres who combine ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life to leading posts.

However, this important task of reducing the average age of cadres has not been fulfilled at present due to the opposition from the highest central authority. Actually our nation has the capability to rapidly reduce the average age of cadres. It is known to everyone that middle-aged and young cadres account for more than 60 percent of the 20 million cadres in the country. There have been 4 to 5 million professional and technical cadres trained since nation-wide liberation. We have an abundant supply of competent people. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that cadres who are in their 40's and 50's are valuable assets to the state. If they were promoted to leading positions at all levels they would greatly benefit the nation and the people.

1. In the prime of life they are able to work tirelessly for 15 to 16 hours a day.

2. Most of them received their education prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Thus, they are armed with better knowledge in science and technology.

3. The middle-aged cadres have accumulated rich experience in political life. Sharing weal and woe with the people, they have gone through the most difficult stage in China's history. They have witnessed the damage and suffering caused by arbitrary decisions, wrong work styles and erroneous methods of leadership. Therefore, they will not make similar mistakes. In short, only 40- and 50-year-old cadres can guide us to come out of the blind alley and follow the correct path in building the motherland. However, due to various obstacles only a limited number of 40- and 50-year-old cadres have been promoted to leading posts. According to statistics compiled by the State Council, on the average, only one middle-aged or young cadre has been promoted to the leading post in an enterprise or undertaking directly under the administration of the State Council. Even fewer middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted to leading posts in central and state organs or provincial

or municipal-level leading groups. As for the high-level leading organs, such as the Political Bureau or the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, not one middle-aged or young cadre has been promoted to the leading post. The overwhelming majority of members of the Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee are advanced in age. For example, Ye Jianying is 83, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is 77 and Comrades Li Xiannian and Chen Yu are 76. Peng Zhen, Nie Rongzhen and Huang Kecheng are around 80 years old. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang are cadres who are in the prime of life. Actually, both of them are already over 60. Other leading cadres are close to 70.

When the Sixth Plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee suggests that the average age of cadres be lowered it should set a good example by promoting more young or middle-aged 40- and 50-year-old cadres to the central leading posts. However, instead of setting a good example in this regard it followed Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions and appointed 77-year-old Yang Shangkun secretary general of the Military Commission.

If cadres in the prime of life are not extensively promoted to leading posts it will be impossible to lower the average age of leading cadres and streamline the leading groups at the central and local levels. In short, the faster the 70- and 80-year-old cadres give way to 40- and 50-year-old cadres in front-line posts of leadership, the better will it be for the state and the people.

CSO: 4005/134

'BA YI' RADIO: DENG ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST MISTAKES

OW201055 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] The resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "Responsibility for the errors committed in the work during this period rested with the leadership of the party Central Committee. Although Comrade Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all those errors."

On the basis of this guideline laid down by the resolution, those who committed errors along with Comrade Mao Zedong should frankly admit their respective errors and be held duly responsible. This is not only for the purpose of ascertaining historical facts but also of drawing lessons from history so that such historical mistakes will not be repeated again.

In this regard, Comrade Deng Xiaoping should set a good example himself. He was the one who worked at Chairman Mao's side as secretary general of the party Central Committee and implemented Chairman Mao's important instructions for many years. Therefore, he should be held partly responsible for the past errors, particularly for the following serious errors:

1. In 1954, entrusted by Chairman Mao, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was responsible for examining the case involving the so-called Gao-Rao antiparty group. In doing this work he regarded the sinister data concocted by Kang Sheng as a sacred document. Meanwhile, in the report of the fourth plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, he mistakenly labeled Gao Gang and Rao Shushi as "careerists and conspirators who are against the party and the people." This means that comrades Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, forerunners of our party and our army, were persecuted without a good reason. For this, comrades Deng Xiaoping and Mao Zedong should be held chiefly responsible.

2. In 1957 Chairman Mao Zedong personally instructed Comrade Deng Xiaoping to step up the movement against right deviation. Taking the lead in this movement, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that telling blows be dealt at the rightists. As a result, "the struggle against right deviation became far too excessive and a number of intellectuals, patriotic people and party cadres were unjustifiably labeled 'rightists' with unfortunate consequences," as pointed out in the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. As a result, several million innocent people fell victim and thousands of party members and intellectuals were persecuted to death.

3. In 1959 former chief of general staff Peng Dehuai and other leading comrades resolutely and courageously resisted the erroneous line. However, instead of supporting their stand, Comrade Deng Xiaoping paid attention to his own interests, attacked Comrade Peng Dehuai and other leading comrades, and waged a ruthless "struggle against right deviation" and the so-called "antiparty group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou." Comrade Deng Xiaoping should, to a certain extent, be held responsible for the persecution of Comrade Peng Dehuai and other comrades as well as of a large number of cadres.

4. In 1968 the 12th plenary session of the 9th CCP Central Committee, personally presided over by Mao Zedong, adopted the erroneous decision to expel Liu Shaoqi from the party and to remove him from all his posts inside and outside the party. Although Deng Xiaopind did not attend the Standing Committee meeting at the time, he expressed, in his 10,000-word statement of self-criticism which he later wrote, his resolute support for this decision. He also vilified Comrade Liu Shaoqi as being a "renegade, traitor and scab." Therefore, it is hard to say that Comrade Deng Xiaoping should not be held responsible at all for the unfortunate sacrifice of Comrade Liu Shaoqi who was a great proletarian revolutionary and Marxist.

Among the leading comrades of the central authorities, Comrade Deng Xiaoping should be held partly reponsible for many errors committed within the party. As indicated by many facts in history, not all the leading comrades of the central authorities should share responsibility for the mistakes in the past. For example, Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Chen Yi and many other comrades laid down their lives in a valiant struggle against the erronous line. They certainly should not be included in the list of leading comrades of the central authorities who are to be held responsible for the past mistakes. As for those who committed serious errors together with Comrade Mao Zedong, they should frankly admit their respective mistakes, be held duly responsible for those mistakes, and draw their lessons so that they will not repeat those mistakes.

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RADIO CALLS ON DENG XIAOPING TO SELF-CRITICIZE

OW241259 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The criticism and self-criticism being carried out throughout the country is very necessary and timely. However, the principle of criticism and self-criticism should be followed by all, including the leader at the very top of the central level. After the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee made a preliminary assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes, it is likewise necessary to make a conscientious summing-up of the errors of the other principal central leaders according to the principle of criticism and self-criticism.

In particular, Comrade Deng Xiaoping should take the lead to examine his own mistakes during the antirightist struggle period. His self-examination on 23 October (?1966) and the wrong statements he made on several occasions after his first rehabilitation seemed to have harmful effects. In the late 1950's the three red banners [the general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's communes] threw the nation's economy into a chaos. When Comrade Peng Dehaui submitted a written statement to Comrade Mao Zedong, pointing out in detail the erroneous policy carried out at that time, the latter not only rejected the correct opinion, but instead started an antirightist movement. As the then general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping did not support the correct opinion held by other leading comrades at the central level, but took concrete steps to lead the antirightist struggle in the party. As can be seen, the enlargement of the antirightist struggle had a direct connection with Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

In his second self-examination made on 23 October (?1966), Comrade Deng Xiaoping affirmed the so-called great significance of the Great Cultural Revolution and said assuredly that there existed in the party a floating bourgeois line and a sinister antiparty, anti-chairman Mao line. To pass the screening and protect himself, he shifted all responsibilities on to Comrade Liu Shaoqi and said that he had blindly followed the wrong line.

After the downfall of the gang of four, our party has severely criticized the bad style of claiming all the credit for oneself and placing all blame on others. Yet Deng Xiaoping himself has demonstrated this kind of style to a great extent. It is said that at the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee Comrade Deng Xiaoping openly criticized Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistake in advocating personality cult, but wasn't it Comrade Deng Xiaoping who once praised Comrade Hua Guofeng as the wise leader? In addressing his letter to Comrade Hua Guofeng asking for his rehabiliation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also used the title of the wise leader. In addition, because of the issue of learning from Dazhai, as many as some 10,000 cadres at various levels in the country were punished, including Comrade Chen Yonggui. As a matter of fact, however, Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself did no less than Comrade Chen Yonggui in supporting and advocating the movement to learn from Dazhai. In his hour-long speech delivered on 2 October 1974 in the Great Hall of the People, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: [words indistinct] as long as you keep to the line of learning from Dazhai in agriculture [words indistinct], there will be enough grain for consumption. [words indistinct] if one-fourth of the communes in the country learn from Dazhai, China will become the largest granary in the world.

Now that the plenary session of the party Central Committee has adopted a resolution on certain questions in the history of the party, the comrades who held the posts of leadership at the central level during Mao Zedong's time should also make a serious summing-up of what they did according to our party's principle of criticism and self-criticism.

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG INTERNAL ORDER SYMPOSIUM--On the morning of 22 September, the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee held a symposium on tidying up internal order in provincial organs. Some 170 people attended the forum. At the symposium, Comrade Kou Qingyan summed up the achievements that the provincial organs had scored in tidying up internal order in provincial organs and pointed out existing problems. Comrade Kou Qingyan pointed out that the pressing task at present was to strengthen leadership and rapidly promote rectification of social order. [HK110335 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 22 Sep 81]

HEBEI NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION--On the evening of 30 September, some 2,000 representatives of the party, government, army and various circles in Shijiazhuang Municipality held a soiree in the hall of the municipal workers' cultural palace to mark the 32d anniverary of the founding of the PRC. Li Erzhong, provincial CCP committee secretary and governor, spoke at the soiree, demanding that all people throughout the municipality further implement the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and, in light of the actual situation, penetratingly criticize the leftist mistakes and do well in industrial and agricultural production in the last quarter of this year. A feature film was shown at the soiree. [HK260833 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 1 Oct 81]

XINJIANG PARTY MEMBERS' RALLY--On the morning of 30 September, the Xinjiang Regional Party Committee held a rally of party members and cadres of organs at regional level. The rally called on the cadres, particularly leading cadres at all levels, to take the lead in correcting the unhealthy trends of inviting people to dinner and giving them presents. Leading comrades of the regional party committee, including Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat, Song Zhihe, Tomur Dawamat, Li Jiayu and Janabil, attended. Tomur Dawamat read the decision of the regional party committee on resolutely correcting the unhealthy trends and also spoke. [HK130105 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 30 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/134

DENG BLAMED FOR MILITARY DISSATISFACTION

OW260531 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed at meetings of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee that "among the cadres of the middle and upper echelons in the military, one-third of them oppose my policy of reorganizing the army, one-third are totally indifferent and one-third support it. In the next 2 to 3 years, the number of cadres at the divisional levels and above should be streamlined by two-thirds." He also said: "Some leading cadres in the military look down upon me as chairman of the Military Commission. Some people have even said publicly that I am not as good as Comrade Hua Guofeng. It is by no means accidental that such erroneous remarks which sow discord between the party and the military and between the military and the government have appeared."

If one looks at the facts that certain comrades of the secretariat and organizational department of the CCP Central Committee have made a big fuss of the performance of comrades Chen Xilian, Xu Shiyou, Li Desheng and Zheng Shaoshan during the cultural revolution and during Comrade Hua Guofeng's leadership, it is not difficult to discover that certain people, in order to control the military power and make the military a docile tool which obeys only one person, has never ceased to eliminate from the military those they dislike and do not trust.

We should realize that the question that certain leading military comrades are dissatisfied with the central authorities and Comrade Deng Xiaoping should be examined from two sides, instead of just blaming certain military leaders, much less harboring resentment against those who are dissatisfied and trying to eliminate them. Why does Deng Xiaoping not set strict requirements for himself and examine what he has done to enhance the military's prestige among the masses, to improve the armymen's living standard and to modernize the defense since he has taken charge of the Military Commission?

During the 32 years since the founding of the nation, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee has had three different chairmen. But it has been in the last several years since Comrade Deng Xiaoping has become its actual leader that the military commanders and fighters--particularly the cadres of the middle and upper echelons--have suffered the most and have been transferred most frequently, and that the greatest number of armymen have been demobilized. It is also unprecedented in the annals of our party and army that some 10,000 armymen who performed their duties according to instructions have been found guilty in trials given by various military tribunals.

Regarding army building, although our army is numerically the largest in the world, it is at least 20 years behind the industrially advanced countries in terms of weaponry, particularly in terms of tanks, airplanes and warships. However, as chairman of the Military Commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping regards the modernization of national defense as the least important in the four modernizations and has heavily cut the military budgets and instructed many armament industrial plants to produce civilian goods. Furthermore, the living standard of the ordinary cadres in the military has apparently dropped in recent years. Under such circumstances, how can Deng Xiaoping only complain about the dissatisfaction in the military without examining the serious mistakes that he has made regarding building the army and treating the military cadres over the past several years?

CSO: 4005/135

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG CULTURAL RELICS CIRCULAR--On 16 September, the Guangdong provincial people's government issued a circular regarding conducting a general survey of cultural relics. It also decided to establish a "Guangdong provincial cultural relics general survey leadership group." The circular demanded that all prefectures, counties and municipalities establish corresponding leadership organs and offices and assign suitable personnel to take charge of the local general survey of culture relics. The circular said that this province is one of the provinces where civilization developed relatively early and cultural relics and historical data remaining on and in the group are very abundant. In the Song dynasty, this province was an important source of the democratic revolution. The historical data of revolutionary struggle is spread all over the province. Since the founding of the PRC, this province has achieved some results in investigating and collecting cultural relics and revolutionary historical data. However, during the 10-year catastrophe, the investigation of cultural relics in this province was forced to discontinue. Many valuable cultural relics and much historical data were lost. To develop the socialist cultural cause, protect cultural relics and collect valuable historical data, it has been decided to conduct a general survey of cultural relics throughout the province over about 3 years and to complete the general survey before October 1983. [HK110335 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 18 Oct 81]

HUBEI DEMOGRAPHY MEETING--On the morning of 25 September, the Hubei provincial and Wuhan municipal planned parenthood offices jointly held an academic meeting on demography. Since the CCP Central Committee concurrently issued an open letter to all party members and CYL members last year, Hubei Province has responded to the party's call and grasped planned parenthood. Up until now, 465,000 couples which accounts for 48.3 percent of households in the province, have obtained certificates for having only 1 child. In 1980, the population growth rate in the province decreased to 8.58 per 1,000 from a rate of over 20 per 1,000 in the early 1970's. However, it is still necessary to do a good job of planned parenthood work since a great number of young couples in Hubei Province are expected to get married in the coming few years. At the meeting, Professor (Tan Chengcai), deputy director of the provincial demographic association and chairman of the economics department of Wuhan University, gave a report on the situation of world population and on birth control work in our country. [HK110339 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Sep 81]

CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY SYMPOSIUM--A national symposium on Confucian philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties opened on 15 October in Hangzhou, Zhejiang. More than 250 experts and scholars from various parts of the country attend this symposium, which is cosponsored by the Society of the History of Chinese Philosophy and the Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Social Sciences. Also attending the symposium are experts and scholars from the United States, Japan, West Germany, Canada, Switzerland, Sri Lanka and Hong Kong. Yu Guangyuan, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, addressed the session on 15 October. Xui Ju, deputy secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee, extended greetings to the symposium on behalf of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial people's government. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1040 GMT 15 Oct 81 OW]

NANKAI UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--Beijing, 17 Oct (XINHUA)--The State Council recently appointed Prof Teng Weizao [3326 4850 5679] as the president of Nankai University in Tianjin for a 4-year tenure of office. Teng, 64, was appointed to replace Prof Yang Shixian who resigned from the presidency because of old age. Before the new appointment, Teng was a vice president of Nankai University. At the same time, the State Council appointed Prof Yang Shixian as honorary president of Nankai University and Prof Zheng Tianting as an advisor to Nankai University. Zheng, a former vice president of the university, also resigned from the post because of old age. Both Yang and Zheng are over 80. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0720 GMT 17 Oct 81 OW]

FAMILY PLANNING PERIODICAL--The first issue of a new periodical RENSHENG [LIFE 0086 3932], jointly sponsored by the Chinese Family Planning Association and the Workers' Publishing House, was recently published and put on sale throughout China. The content of this new magazine includes questions on birth control, marriage, love and raising a family. Wang Shoudao, vice chairman of the National CPPCC Committee, and Zhou Yang, chairman of the National Federation of Literary and Art Circles, wrote congratulatory messages for the periodical. Some 160,000 copies were printed. [OW231127 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 21 Oct 81]

CSO: 4005/136

LECTURER CITES PRC DECISION ON HONG KONG FUTURE

HK260207 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 26 Oct 81 pp 1, 13

[Article by Julie Auyeung and Timothy Jim]

[Excerpt] China has already reached a comprehensive solution over the future of Hong Kong, according to a Hong Kong University lecturer.

He told a seminar yesterday that he believed the announcement of this might be made when the next Hong Kong governor assumes his post.

Later, Dr Victor Sit of the university's geography and geology department said he had been told this by contacts in China.

However, at another forum yesterday, a leading political commentator, Mr Hu Chu-jen, publisher of the Chinese-language peasant magazine, said he believed that there was little chance that Hong Kong's status quo could be maintained after the 1997 lease expired.

Mr Hu also expected a collapse of Hong Kong's way of life as we know it if it continued to shy away away from pronouncing on the colony's future in the next two or three years.

But to back up his statement at a seminar organised by the Hong Kong Jaycees at the Regent Hotel, Dr Sit cited examples of two huge urban planning projects, involving Hong Kong businessmen, as an indication that there should be no need to worry about the future of Hong Kong.

If these projects are finalised, they would "go well beyond 1997."

He said the belief of many local people that China is looking for ways to take back Hong Kong by setting up special economic zones "is wrong."

These incorrect views had also appeared in some well-known local magazines, he said.

The topic for discussion at the seminar was Shenzen--the impact of its development on Hong Kong.

Other speakers were the managing director of Millie's group, Mr Alan Lau, and the manager of Sun Hung Kai (China) Ltd's research and business development department, Mr Stephen Chan.

Dr Sit said "Shenzhen is one of China's special economic zones and Taiwan has been named by China as a 'special administration zone.'

"What is the position of Hong Kong? Might it be fitted in between these two terms?"

The two projects mentioned by Dr Sit as indication of Hong Kong's future are on the Chinese drawing board: One in Shumchun, across the Hong Kong border, and the other in Zhuhai, across the Macau border.

"These projects are closely associated with China's overall economic plan.

"From Hong Kong's point of view, if they are finalized we won't have to worry about the future because these projects go far beyond 1997," he said.

The Shenzhen project involves plans to change the present small town into a big city, with the population jumping from the present 30,000 to around 500,000.

Hopewell Holding Ltd, a major real estate developer in Hong Kong, is discussing details of this project, which entails investment of HK$1.1 billion.

Hopewell, moreover, will become the "master leaser" of a 33 sq km parcel of land its rights for so doing extending over 30 years.

The other project, in Zhuhai, involves investment of about HK$7.5 billion, said Dr Sit.

However, the speaker at the other forum, Mr Hu, took the opposite view. He said there was little chance of Hong Kong's status remaining as it is. He also predicted a collapse of the way of life that at present prevails in the colony...if Beijing fails, within the next two or three years, to pronounce on Hong Kong's future.

Mr Hu said that it was the wish of the governments in Beijing and London, as well as the majority of peoplehere, to see the present political status unchanged after the lease expired. But, he said, reality won't let this happen.

According to Mr Hu, the United Kingdom would eventually abandon Hong Kong if Beijing refused to officially, and openly, extend Hong Kong's lease.

Mr Hu said it was a British golden rule to administer according to the law.

If Beijing refused to extend the lease, any ruling party would be forced to retreat from Hong Kong when the time came, he said.

This was because it would be extremely difficult, then, for Whitehall to face attacks by opposition parties, anti-colonists and textile merchants in Britain, as well as international pressure groups.

Mr Hu said it was equally impossible for Beijing to sign a new treaty to extend Hong Kong's lease because, by so doing, it would be honoring other treaties previously signed by the Qing dynasty most of them extremely unfavorable to China.

However, it would be a politically wise move for China to keep Hong Kong's status unchanged in order to ease future reunification with Taiwan.

China had always placed reunification of the country as its number one objective, Mr Hu said. He said that the time had come for all Hong Kong residents to speak up about their own future.

CSO: 4005/138

GUANGDONG: LIANG LINGGUANG FETES 1911 ANNIVERSARY GUESTS

HK220854 Hong Kong TA-KUNG PAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 3

[Special dispatch: "Guangdong and Guangzhou Officials Hold Banquet To Entertain Guests to Activities in Commemoration of the 1911 Revolution"]

[Text] Guangzhou, 21 Oct--On the evening of 21 October, Liang Lingugang, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and first secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee; Wu Kehua, commander of the Guangzhou PLA units; Li Jianzhen, secretary of the provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; Yin Linping, secretary of the provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC, and other leaders met with a group of overseas Chinese, compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao and foreign friends who arrived in Guangdong for a visit on 19 October after being invited to attend the activities in Beijing in commemoration of the 1911 revolution. They also held a banquet to warmly entertain the guests.

More than 40 Chinese and foreign guests attended the banquet. They were: Zheng Naiyan and Gao Yuanzheng, veterans of the 1911 revolution; Lin Dawen, Sun Suifang and Sun Suifen, surviving relatives of Dr Sun Yat-sen; Huang Yizhong, Cai Boling, Cai Luolai, Quan Ruzhen, Ning Bali and his wife Noriko Suzuki, Ning Tiecheng and his wife Ning Feng, Wu Zhongying, Wu Chengxian, Li Xingxiao and his wife Tan Xichi, Ye Nan and his wife Yuan Xiaoyuan, surviving relatives of Huang Xing, Cai Yuanpei, Qin Zhen and others who made their name in the 1911 revolution; Seimin Miyazaki and his wife Chiyo Miyazaki, Sakuku Yasuda, Toshio Miyazaki and his wife Rota Miyazaki, Haruo Kunikata and his wife Chise Kunikata, and Wang Bolin, kinsfolks of foreign friends who took part in the 1911 revolution; and Wang Heng, Chen Shumu and his daughter Chen Yanling, former KMT general and surviving relatives of former KMT and senior statesmen.

CSO: 4005/138

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG'S ZHONGYI TO HONG KONG--Guangdong provincial CCP committee first secretary Ren Zhongyi and his party of six arrived Hong Kong by express train at noon on 21 October for a visit at the invitation of the Hong Kong branch of the XINHUA news agency. Accompanying Ren Zhongyi are: Zeng Dingyi, vice governor of Guangdong; Liang Xiang, vice governor of Guangdong and first secretary of the Zhenzhen Municipal CCP Committee; Feng Xueyan, director of the Guangdong Provincial Bureau of Foreign Trade; Zhang Yueqi, deputy director of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee's General Office; Cai Changjin, vice chairman of the Quangdong Provincial Committee for Economic Work With Foreign Countries; and Li Huawei, a functionary of the Guangdong provincial people's government. On their arriveal at the Kowloon station, Ren Zhongyi and party were warmly greeted by first director Wang Kuang, second director Li Jusheng and deputy director Qi Feng of the XINHUA Hong Kong branch, general manager Yan Shangmin and assistant general manager Yuan Keming of the Guangdong Enterprises Limited and others. R. Margolis, assistant political adviser to the Hong Kong Government, was among the welcoming party. [Text] [HK220850 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 1]

CSO: 4005/138

PROFESSOR REBUTS U.S. PAPER ON PRC, TAIWAN ECONOMY

OW200816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 19 October (XINHUA)--An American professor of economics, Francis Shieh, has written to the WALL STREET JOURNAL refuting point by point its editorial of 15 October entitled "Chinese illusions." Anticipating that the journal might not publish his letter under the headline "Delusion to the Illusions," he sent a copy of his letter to XINHUA.

The letter says "the invitation to ask the Taiwan leaders to rejoin the motherland on the occasion of the 1911 revolution is a timely call for the reunification of China. This is in line with the Shanghai communique of 1972, the position of the U.S. toward one China."

As an economist, Professor Shieh analyzed the journal's fallacy in comparing the economic situation in China's mainland and Taiwan. He wrote: "Taiwan's per capita income of 3,000 U.S. dollars should not be compared with the mainland's 260 with naivety. Such a concept is misleading when used to compare the standard of living, because lifestyles are different. GNP per capita has no bearing on the basic needs of the people. Chinese mainland's remarkable achievement is officially recognized by the world development report of 1981. The physical quality of life of the Chinese people is strikingly better than in most other low-income countries. Efforts in human development are outstanding."

The letter says, "The purchasing power of the Chinese currency goes a long way for obtaining the basic necessities, i.e. lodging, utility, food, transportation, health care. Try to compare these cost of necessities in the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan and you can get a true picture of the daily expenses of the people. Moreover, perhaps crime rates should be compared in terms of order of society and the well-being of the people."

Referring to the conclusion of the editorial that the leaders in China have not shown signs that they really understand the economic problem they face, the letter says, "Do the Americans understand the economic problems we face? Perhaps they should have equal opportunity to question our own situations. What about our total debts?"

Turning to address the Taiwan authorities, the letter says "Sun Yat-sen is the Father of China. His famous dictum is public sector for China--food for thought for leaders in Taiwan if Sun is still honored in Taiwan."

CSO: 4000/8

PRC SOURCES REPORT TAIWAN INDUSTRIALISTS VISIT

OW200251 Tokyo Kyodo in English 0233 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Fuzhou, China, 20 Oct Kyodo--Two leading Taiwanese industrialists recently visited Fuzhou in China's Fujian Province to meet with provincial political leaders, Chinese political sources revealed Monday.

The sources claimed the industrialists, described only as "topclass management" from among Taiwan's 10 largest companies, expressed support for economic cooperation to hasten the peaceful reunification of the two Chinas.

Liao Chengzhi, vice chairman of the standing committee of the national people's congress (parliament), indicated to a visiting delegation from Kyodo News Service on 9 October that there had been contact between the two countries prior to China's 30 September call for reunification. Taiwanese offocials strongly denied that claim.

Analysts say that if the new reports are true, they could signal the possibility of real progress toward reunification.

According to the Chinese sources, one industrialist visited Fuzhou in early October. He reportedly expressed a positive attitude toward the new call for reunification made by Marshal Ye Jianying, China's de facto head of state.

The industrialist reportedly said China and Taiwan should deepen mutual understanding through trade, and that Chinese rather than foreigners should reap the profits from Chinese made goods.

He was reported to have urged the exchange of information and the introduction of advanced facilities to China, indicating he could invest in China if conditions were right.

The industrialist also said it would be better to have direct trade between China and Taiwan than for current black market transactions and smuggling to continue, the sources said.

Wen Fushan, Fujian Province vice governor, Monday told Kyodo reporters he had "no comment" on the report.

Fujian Province has designated Chongwo and three other harbors as ports open to Taiwanese ships after Marshal Ye's 30 September speech.

Provincial sources said 400 Taiwanese ships and smaller craft carrying more than 1,000 crewmen have visited Chongwu Port so far this year.

Reasons for the port calls include trade talks as well as repairs and emergency treatment for sick crewmen, the sources said.

CSO: 4000/8

COLLEAGUES URGE TAIWAN'S SUN YUN-SUAN TO VISIT

OW161358 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 16 October (XINHUA)--Experts of the ministry of power industry who are former classmates or colleagues of Mr Sun Yun-suan, Premier of Executive Yuan in Taiwan, hope Mr Sun will visit some big hydroelectric projects on the mainland.

At a meeting, Sha Yintian, a high-ranking engineer of the ministry, said: "Mr Sun Yun-suan is my former classmate and colleague. He is an expert in electric power engineering and dreamed of making use of the water resources on the Longyang Gorge on the Yellow River and the Yangtze Gorges. Big hydroelectric stations are now under construction at Longyang Gorge and Gezhouba. We would like him to come to the mainland to keep abreast of the development of the country's power industry."

Wang Pingyang, permanent member of board of directors of the electrical engineering society and chief engineer of a scientific research institute, said: "Mr Sun Yun-suan and I had worked together for many years. His idea of saving the country through science and technology remains fresh in my memory. Both of us now are in our seventies. I hope he will be back to the mainland soon."

Among the participants was Chen Zhongxi, now an adviser of electrical engineering society.

All the experts at the meeting expressed the hope that their Taiwan colleagues will get into contact with them as soon as possible, exchange visits and conduct academic exchanges with them. They hoped they would visit mainland and said they would like to visit Taiwan and hoped Mr Sun Yun-suan would facilitate such contacts between the mainland and Taiwan.

CSO: 4000/8

TAIWAN SNUBS TOKYO MEETING ON 1911 REVOLUTION

OW161255 Tokyo Kyodo in English 1224 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Tolyo 16 Oct Kyodo--The Tokyo Office of the Association of East Asia Relations, a Taiwanese office in Japan, announced Friday that no Taiwanese scholars would take part in an international symposium to be held in Tokyo in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Chinese revolution.

It said the symposium was aimed at supporting Beijing's moves to unify Taiwan with the mainland.

The symposium is scheduled to be held from 21 October, with the participation of 14 experts from Japan, China, the United States, France, South Korea and other countries to discuss the historic significance of the Chinese revolution of 1911 from the scientific point of view.

The preparatory committee of the symposium had applied to Taiwan to participate.

On 15 September, Taiwan decided to send five scholars to the symposium on condition that the symposium be purely academic and politically neutral in character.

This gave rise to the expectation that the symposium would gain historic significance as the first conference at which scholars from both China and Taiwan would meet face to face.

Taiwan made it clear that it would hold an international symposium at a Yokohama hotel, separately from that in Tokyo, from 21 October.

CSO: 4000/8 END

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 233

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SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE OVER PAMIRS DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 8-9

[Article by Tan Shi [6223 1395]: "What Is the Sino-Soviet Dispute Over the Pamirs?"7

[Text] On 16 June 1981, in Kabul the Soviet Union and Afghanistan signed a treaty defining their borders between the west bank of Zuoerkuer Lake and Bower-Shveikovsky Peak (called Kekelajikaole Peak in China). This treaty affected the area of the Pamirs in dispute between the Soviet Union and China. In connection with this circumstance, on 22 July 1981 a spokesman for our Foreign Affairs Ministry's information department made a verbal statement solemnly declaring that so long as the border talks between the Chinese and Soviet Governments are not concluded and the problem of the Pamirs disputed area remains unresolved, the unilateral signing by the Soviet Union of a treaty with a third country affecting the border of the Pamirs area in dispute between China and the Soviet Union is illegal and void.

How Did the Dispute Over the Pamirs Area Between China and the Soviet Union Originate?

The Pamirs, called the Congling Mountains in ancient times, are in the southwest section of this country's Uighur Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Province, and in the northeastern part of Afghanistan. They are a mountain junction (with an average altitude of about 5,000 meters) formed by the intersection of the Tian Shan, the Karakoram, the Kunlun Mountains and the Hindu Kush and thus are also called the "ridgepole of the world." The area is divided geographically into eight regions, which are called the "eight Pamirs": They are the Heshikuzhuke (or He'erguoshi) Pamir, the Langkuli Pamir, the Alichur Pamir, the Taghdumbash Pamir, the Wakhan Pamir, the Great Pamir, the Little Pamir, and the Sarez Pamir. The word "pamir" is Kirghiz and means "high, cold level area."

Our country was the first to discover and have jurisdiction over the Pamirs. In 60 BC our country was exercising effective jurisdiction over the Pamir area. The Western Han court set up the administrative seat of the duwei for the Western Region in Wulei (present-day Luntai area) and designated Zheng Ji as administrator, to administer the extensive western regions north and south of the Tian Shan, including the area east and south of Lake Balkhash and the Pamirs.

The Eastern Han court followed the Western Han's system of administering the Western Region and also exercised effective jurisdiction over the Pamir region.

By 661 AD, the Tang court set up several administrative centers and prefectures and counties in the Western Region, which were under the jurisdiction of the Anxi administrative capital. Of these, the Zhiba and Niaofei administrative seats were set up in the state of Jumi (Da'erwasi) and in Weimi (Wakhan) at the southern extremity of the Pamirs. At the beginning of the 8th century, the Tang Dynasty also established the Congling Zhouzhuo in Zonglingzhen (present-day Tash Kurgan) and garrisoned it to protect the Pamirs and neighboring area.

During the Yuan and Ming Dynasties the Pamirs continued in a close relationship with China proper. After the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty, the Pamir district was included in the territory of Beshbalik, and the Yuan Dynasty assigned a xuanweisi to administer it. During the Ming Dynasty, Beshbalik continued to send envoys and pay tribute to the Ming court, many envoys and officials were confirmed in office by the Uing court, and the khan of Beshbalik's rule extended even south of the Pamirs. The Ming Dynasty work "Yitongzhi" includes Congling among the mountains and streams of Beshbalik.

During the Qing Dynasty the leaders of the nomadic Bulute (Kirghiz) and Tajik tribes all were invested with office by the Qing government, including the awarding of annual salaries and official titles of grades 2 through 7. During the Qing Dynasty the Pamirs region was administered by the Kashgar canzan and the Qing government repressed rebellious elements, frequently sending troops to the Pamirs.

In 1759, when the Qing government was pacifying the rebellions of the two Hezhuo, it fought and was victorious three times in Heshikuzhuke, Alichur and Yeshilekule Yixierkuernaoer). The two Hezhuo fled to Badakhshan, and the Qing army sent an emissary to bring them back, but the Badakhshan chief captured and killed the Hezhuo and sent their bodies back to the Qing army. In order to commemorate the victory in the expedition against the two Hezhuo, the Qianlong emperor wrote an inscription entitled "Inscription on Imperial Court's Pacification of the Huibule at Yixierkuernao'er" and set up an engraved stela in three languages at Yeshilekule in the Pamirs. Later, the local residents called this place Sumantashi (meaning "inscribed stone"). This inscription said "At Yixierkuernaoer, our Lieutenant general, Fu Deqiong, pursued the two Hezhuo chieftains as far as the boundary of Badakhshan," and "the reason why our forces did not penetrate into Badakhshan was that the forces punishing rebellion would not tread on blameless soil, and therefore they sent envoys." This makes clear that the Qing army was pacifying an internal rebellion, and did not enter a neighboring country, instead, it sent envoys to get back the fleeing rebels. This makes it obvious that the Pamirs were the Qing Dynasty's territory, and that the border between the Qing and Badakhshan was clearly demarcated. At that time, tsarist Russia was still far from the Pamirs. The inscription is historical testimony that the Qing Dynasty ruled the Pamirs.

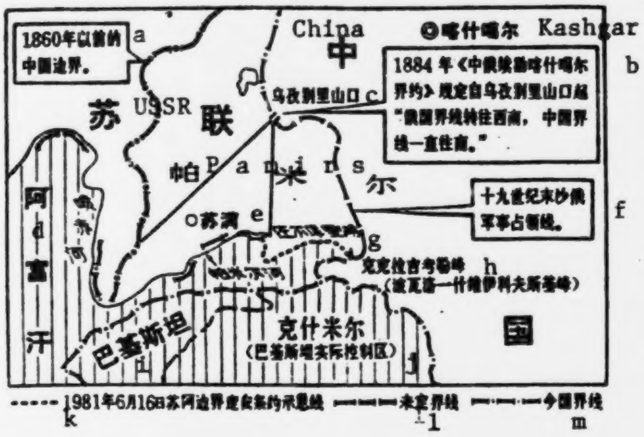
In order to consolidate and strengthen its control over the Pamirs, after 1878 the Qing government set up watchtowers at Heizijiyake, Liu'erawu, Akesumuerwa, Tushiku'er, Bashigongbaizi, Yeertegongbai and Takedunbashi, and sent officials, soldiers and the Bulute of the Pamir region to patrol them.

In the second half of the 19th century, tsarist Russia subdued the Bukhara, Khiva and Haohan and compelled China to sign a northwest border survey treaty, then extended its aggressive claws toward Alailing, next to China's Pamir district. But at that time the tsars were preoccupied with wars on Russian soil, and their preparations to invade our Pamir region were not complete. Accordingly, Russia continuously sent "expeditionary forces" and "exploratory parties" to make preparations for armed incursions into our Pamirs, and in addition engaged in diplomatic blackmail and forced the Qing Dynasty to sign a new unequal treaty by which China's Pamir area was annexed.

In 1881 tsarist Russia forced the Qing government to sign the Ili Treaty (also called the Revised Treaty), after which it made use of this treaty's provisions to force the Qing Dynasty to settle the border issue with it. In 1884 China and Russia signed the Sino-Russian Supplementary Border Treaty of Kashgar. The third article of this treaty specified that starting from Uzbel Pass, "the Russian border turns southwest and the Chinese border runs directly southward." Because of this treaty, our country's Pamirs were divided into three parts: one part, the area east of the line "running directly south," still belonged to our country according to the treaty; one part, the part west of the line which "turned southwest," was annexed to Russia; and one part, that between the two lines, was to be subject to negotiations between China and Russia. Thereafter the Pamir situation became even more complex: tsarist Russia was not content with its existing interests in the Pamirs, and accordingly quickened the pace of its armed seizure of the entire Pamirs area. England too coveted the Pamirs, and when it saw that Russia had annexed the western Pamirs, it incited the Afghans to send troops and occupy the southern and southwestern portions of the Pamirs, so that they came in conflict with the Chinese Army. The Chinese forces were compelled to retreat eastward to the Suman zone. In 1889 the Qing government also set up the Suman watchtower. In 1890 the English Government proposed to the Qing government that they divide the Pamirs between them, but this proposal was rejected. In the same year, England sent troops to invade Kanjuti, after which it advanced into the southern Pamirs. Tsarist Russia was even more unwilling to be left behind, and in 1891 it illegally sent its forces across the Russian border defined by the treaty and invaded our area of the Pamirs, peremptorily proposing that China should not station troops in the Pamirs before the boundary was fixed. Even though the Qing government was compelled to give way to some extent, it firmly maintained its troops in Suman.

In 1892, imperial Russia again demanded that China completely withdraw its watchtower garrisons from the Pamir region and threatened that if the Chinese did not withdraw their forces, the Russians would advance. The Qing government did not acquiesce in this unreasonable demand by tsarist Russia. While this dispute remained unresolved, Russia brazenly sent its soldiers into the Pamirs on the pretext of blocking an English encroachment. It not only occupied the area disputed between Russia and China but also crossed over the Chinese borders as defined in the treaty, secretly demolished China's watchtowers, took the Chinese garrisons prisoner, forcibly occupied a large zone

Pamirs Region in Dispute Between China and USSR


1860年以前的中国边界。
a
China
中
喀什噶尔
Kashgar
1884年《中俄续勘喀什噶尔界约》规定自乌孜别里山口起"俄国界线转往西南，中国界线一直往南。"
b
乌孜别里山口
c
苏
USSR
联
帕
Pamirs
米
尔
十九世纪末沙俄军事占领线。
f
阿
d
富
汗
苏满
e
g
克克拉吉考勒峰
h
（波瓦洛—什维伊科夫斯基峰）
巴基斯坦
i
克什米尔
（巴基斯坦实际控制区）
j
国
1981年6月16日苏阿边界定界条约示意线
k
未定界线
l
今国界线
m

Key:
a. Chinese border before 1860
b. 1884 Kashgar Treaty specified that a Uzbel Pass "the Russian border turns southwest and the Chinese border runs directly south."
c. Uzbel Pass
d. Afghanistan
e. Suman
f. Territory seized by tsarist Russia at the end of the 19th century
g. Zuoerkuli Lake
h. Kekelajikaole Peak (Bower-Shveikovsky Peak)
i. Pakistan
j. Kashmir (de facto Pakistani zone of control)
k. Border specified in 16 June 1981 Soviet-Afghan border treaty
l. Border not settled
m. Present national boundaries

of Chinese territory west of Sarikol Peak and forced the Chinese forces to withdraw to the Sarikol Peak line.

The Qing government resisted this piece of naked aggression on the part of tsarist Russia, and sent the ambassador in Russia, Xu Jingdeng, and the counsellor resident in France, Qing Chang, to hold repeated negotiations with the Soviet Union regarding a specific border in the Pamirs based on the 1884 border treaty. The Russians adopted such measures as trickery, blackmail and delay, and refused to draw the boundary according to the treaty. In 1894, imperial Russia took advantage of the imminent Sino-Japanese war to compel the Qing government to exchange notes with it regarding the Pamir question and to agree that prior to an ultimate resolution of the Pamir question the two countries' cognizant organizations would be ordered to maintain their respective positions and not advance beyond them. The Chinese side made an important reservation, solemnly declaring that: "The above measures do not mean that we give up China's original rights to the territory in the Pamirs other than that which the Chinese Armed Forces currently occupy. China believes that it should maintain the rights of the 1884 protocol until a satisfactory resolution is arrived at." But after the 1894 exchange of notes between China and Russia, discussion on the Pamirs borders were delayed indefinitely.

In 1895 Russia arrived at a secret agreement with England to divide the Pamirs, planning to use this to give its forcible occupation of the Pamirs a legal basis. All previous Chinese governments have refused to recognize the Anglo-Russian agreement to divide the Pamirs and accordingly the agreement is not binding on China.

In 1926 China and the Soviet Union held border talks. On 25 March of that year, China's Beiyang government clearly stated in a memorandum to the Soviet Government: "The Pamirs were originally Chinese territory, which were militarily occupied by the former imperial Russian government on pretext, and the problem remains unresolved." On 4 April the Soviet Government stated in a memorandum to China, "In the locations where a border has never been established, a new border should be established." But this important matter still remains unresolved, and today it is one of the greatest disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet border.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEVILLE MAXWELL BOOK, 'INDIA'S CHINA WAR', REVIEWED

Biejing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 30-31

[Article by Ming Zhi [2494 5347]: "The Sino-Indian Border Question as Described by a Foreign Journalist"]

[Text] The Australian reporter and author, Neville Maxwell, wrote a book in 1979 on the Sino-Indian border war, entitled "India's China War." A Chinese translation of this book was published this March by Shijie Zhishi Publishers. The writer describes vividly the origins and development of the Sino-Indian border question. The book presents a wealth of materials and clearly-defined views. Currently, when many western publications are blindly influenced by the Indian viewpoint, this book has succeeded in respecting the facts and has presented relatively objective views.

Origins of the Book

Maxwell first became interested in the Sino-Indian border question in 1959 when he was stationed in New Delhi as South Asian correspondent for THE TIMES. Reporting on the Sino-Indian border question was one of his tasks. He recalls that at that time the problem was "widely misunderstood, and when it occurred I myself also misunderstood it," but after the height of the border dispute had passed, when he "read through again the voluminous Indian white paper (which contained the arguments adduced in the diplomatic exchanges between the two governments), I realized that it was necessary to make a more comprehensive, more fundamental, deeper evaluation of the situation.

It was this sense of responsibility toward the historical facts that impelled the writer to overcome various difficulties and undertake the great effort of writing this book. He read large quantities of historical documents and files and made an extensive collection of various types of reports and literature, including the memoirs and diaries of high-ranking Indian commanders who took part in the war with China, and painstakingly studied and analyzed the published statements of China and India. Even more important, the writer made many visits to "Indian politicians and officials" who were responsille for dealing with the Sino-Indian border dispute and "military men who tried to implement the government's policy in military terms and held lengthy discussions with them," in addition to which he read "documents from the Indian Government's and Indian Army's unpublished files and reports." He believes that "the reporter who has been an eyewitness to events is at an advantage over the reporter who pursues his investigation after the fact."

After he returned to London, Maxwell entered the London University School of Oriental and African Studies and studied the Sino-Indian border question, finally writing his book in 1970. He modestly calls his effort "merely an account and a clarification of a historical event," and considers his book to be "the product of a reevaluation" of the problem.

The Dispute on the Eastern and Western Sections of the Border

In order to give the reader a comprehensive understanding of the rather extensive western and eastern sections of the Sino-Indian border dispute, the writer gives a rather exhaustive introduction and survey.

The western Section. The author cites historical documents to prove that although no formal border was defined between China's Xinjiang and Xizang Provinces and India's Ladakh, there was a clear "ancient, long-standing border" along the Karakoram Range, which was the traditional and customary line referred to by China. The areas east and north of this line, including the Aksai Chin region, had always been under Chinese jurisdiction. Although in the late 19th and early 20th centuries English imperialism coveted Aksai Chin, because of its concern that tsarist Russia's power might extend to this region it concluded that its "preponderant interest in Aksai Chin was to prevent Russian entry, and it appeared that the simplest method of achieving this goal was to acknowledge that this area belonged to Tibet/China." The writer states that England had different ideas at different times, and had considered various borders, but the only one proposed to China was the line of 1899 (also called the Majiye-Dounale [phonetic] Line). This line made a certain territorial demand on China, but "almost all of the Aksai China heartland was assigned to China." The writer points out that because at the time the Chinese Government rejected this proposal, "this border was never officially drawn" and England "never actually extended its administration and jurisdiction to the area." In 1954, however, India took it upon itself to redraw the map and include Aksai Chin as a part of India. After the border dispute was made public, India made the counterclaim that China had "invaded" the Aksai Chin area, an area about 33,000 square kilometers. India even failed to make a thorough investigation of the historical facts, and claimed that the 1899 boundary "showed beyond any doubt that all of Aksai Chin was within India's borders." The writer concludes that this was "a very strange attitude" on India's part.

The Eastern Section. The author records that the boundary in this section, too, was never formally defined, but that there was also a historically-constituted traditional, customary boundary. In 1826, when England occupied Assam, the mountainous areas on the north and south sides of the Brahmaputra Valley "remained for a long time outside the English administrative and jurisdictional limits," and "all of the Dawang area, with a depth of 60mmiles, belonged to Tibet." But beginning in 1911, England took advantage of the turmoil caused by the Chinese revolution to make an active northward advance, "intending to make its own, a salient piece of the area, which has a ways been recognized as Chinese territory since the English had come to Assam about 90 years before." With this as background, England used the intermittent Himalaya Conference, held in October 1913 and April 1914, in which representatives of England, China and China's Tibet area took part, to "try to make China agree to divide Tibet into two regions, inner and outer Tibet," but this was rejected by the Chinese Government. Thereupon the English representative, McMahon, got together with the Tibetan representatives behind China's back and secretly drew the illegal "McMahon Line" which detached 90,000 square kilometers of Chinese territory.

The author also relates that in order to provide a "basis" for this illegal boundary line, the English government went so far as to falsify documents. Volume 14 of the "Collected Aiqixun [phonetic] Treaties," collected by the Foreign Minister of the Anglo-Indian Government and published in 1929, initially recorded that the Himalaya Conference had only discussed matters connected with the so-called "China-Tibet border," making clear that this conference had not discussed the question of the border between Tibet and India. But when the Anglo-Indian Government reprinted this volume,in 1938, the record of the Himalaya Conference was changed to state that the conference had discussed matters related to the Sino-Indian border, and "passed it off as the 1929 edition and ordered that all of the initial edition be recalled and destroyed." Accordingly, the illegal "McMahon Line" appears on maps published in England. Before England shed its Indian empire in 1947, it had begun to implement the "McMahon Line" on the actual territory," and in 1951 India sent troops to occupy Dawang.

Regarding the Himalaya Conference and the illegal "McMahon Line," the writer points out that "in reality China had not accepted the proposal to partition Tibet, and had not signed the treaty, but vigorously opposed this treaty and the annexed map," and "in reality Tibet had paid no attention to it." After the Sino-Indian border dispute developed, India maintained that the "McMahon Line" was "the formal embodiment of the natural, traditional, ethnic and administrative boundary of this region," and that "this line was the result of an exchange of notes between India add Tibet, which...were binding on both China and Tibet." The author concludes that in order to support this position, India "ignored the fact that in 1914 and subsequently, China had always rejected any and all such cases of agreement between Tibet and England" (p 134). The writer points out that in 1939 even the acting governor of Assam, Tehuainan [phonetic] (an Englishman), took a negative attitude toward the legality of the "McMahon Line." Tehuainan stated that "if one of the parties to a trilateral treaty does not ratify the treaty, can one of the other parties say that the treaty is binding upon himself and the third party?" (p 55).

Merits and Origins of the Border Dispute

The Indian and Chinese positions regarding the border dispute, as Maxwell summarizes them from a large number of notes, letters and discussions with leaders, were as follows: China believed that "the Sino-Indian border has never been defined, and there is a dispute between China and India," that "the problem can be resolved through friendly negotiations," and that "pending a resolution the parties should maintain the present status of the border"; on the basis of the "current actual situation and the historical background, a resolution which is reasonable and fair to both parties can be found." India believed that "the Sino-Indian border has already been decided," and "almost the entire line is confirmed by treaties and agreements in force," and "India does not agree to holding comprehensive talks to resolve the border question, but agrees only to make minor adjustments of a mile or two at a certain number of points along the border as claimed by India, and that even talks of this kind must have as a precondition Chinese withdrawal from the Aksai Chin region." After meticulous analysis the author concludes that "objectively, China's attitude sounds fair and reasonable," and "appears correct in both de facto and de jure terms."

With regard to the ultimate development of the Sino-Indian border dispute into a large-scale military conflict, the author states that the main reason was India's adoption of a so-called "forward policy" and "the result of a forward push by the Indian Army." He concludes that at that time India was determined to "have a collision" with China. He also believes that international factors in India's adoption of a "forward policy" included not only energetic U.S. and British support, but also Soviet encouragement and support which "was very important to India." In February 1960, Khrushchev visited India. After the Indian prime minister met with him, "he went directly to the Parliament, and in a speech there he again swept away all possibility of holding talks with China." "In the fall of 1960...the Soviet Union began with small-scale aid, and gradually furnished India with immense military assistance"; Soviet pilots in Ladakh piloted transports and helicopters, serving as "an inportant tool for India's implementation of the forward policy" (p 16). Because of these factors, the Indian leadership ignored frontline military commanders' opposition and decided to "chase the Chinese forces from the special northeast border area,... and to keep fighting in Ladakh to the last man and the last gun."

The author arrives at the emotional conclusion that "if before the middle of October 1962 India had changed its policy toward China and agreed to cmmprehensive talks on the border problem, or had only suspended implenentation of its forward policy, there is no reason to believe that China would have failed to respond, resulting in a relaxation of tension in Sino-Indian relations" (p 305).

"India's China War" provides full coverage, gives an enthralling account, and also presents a clear discussion; it is an excellent book, well worth reading.

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PARTY RECRUITMENT OF MORE OUTSTANDING INTELLECTUALS EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 81 p 3

[Commentary by RENMIN RIBAO reporter: "'Prolonged Tests' Like That Should be Avoided"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party organizations at all levels have made conscientious efforts to elminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology and have adopted positive and prudent measures to recruit party members from amoung the intellectuals. According to the incomplete statistics, in 1978, the party members recruited from among the intellectuals accounted for 8.3 percent of the total of newly recruited party members; in 1979, this figure was 12.7 percent and in 1980, 19.1 percent. The increase in the number of party members recruited from among the secondary education-level intellectuals has been greater than ever. By the end of 1980, the party members recruited from these intellectuals accounted for 32.6 percent of the total as against 24 percent in 1976. Many old experts, old professors, old engineers and middle aged and younger intellectuals have been allowed to join the ranks of the party in recognition of their long service to the party and in response to their repeated attempts to apply for party membership. This is what marks the growth and development of our party's cause thus opening up the prospect of its revitalization. This is something which elates the people.

The development of this work, however, is not well balanced. Intellectuals in some localities and units still face serious difficulties in winning the approval of "their admission into the party." Although some outstanding intellectuals already qualify for party membership, some comrades including comrades dedicated to the organization of the party have just been dragging their feet year after year under the pretext that they need to undergo "further tests." Some intellectuals who were selected by their respective party organizations as targets of training in the 1950's remained under training in the 1960's. In the 1980's, their status as the targets of training remains unchanged. Thus far, such unfortunate things have occurred: Some of them have been told to expect no more than "nonparty Bolsheviks" for the rest of their lives; some have been named Communist Party members posthumously for they were not allowed to join the party before their death. Comrade Luan Fu [2940 5397] has been praised by the people as an outstanding intellectual, boundlessly loyal to the party and the socialist cause. During the 30 years of his devotion to the party, he applied for party membership 6 times but was turned down under the pretext of the need for "further tests." When he was dying, he still cherished his lofty ideals and told his party organization tearfully: "I am running out of time. Whatever further tests I should take, I have only 2 months left." Only then, did the party branch call a meeting to discuss and approve his application for party membership. Nevertheless, it was already too late for him to stand personally before the flag of the party and be sworn in as a member. Both in a political or moral sense, we should feel deeply sorry and blame ourselves for what happened to him and learn a lesson from it.

Why do some comrades including comrades devoted to the organization of the party consistently want to emphasize the need for "further tests" and refuse to admit to the party those intellectuals qualified for party membership? The key reason stems from the fact that under the influence of the "leftist" ideology, these comrades still want to see the intellectuals with colored glass; they can see neither the historical role played by the intellectuals in the devlopment of the four modernizations nor their special characteristics and strengths. They have even gone so far as to mistake the strengths of intellectuals as weaknesses and their merits as demerits. For example, they have called knowledgeable and thoughtful intellectuals people with "sophisticated ideas disloyal to the party"; they have accused intellectuals who have upheld the scientific truth and expressed views different from others of being "arrogant, aloof from the masses and too cocky." Some localities, especially units and grassroots units where the intellectuals are a minority, have kept nagging them with the "general historical issues," settled long ago, alleging that "their historical backgrounds are complicated." In short, "they view intellectuals as eyesores, whose admission to the party will spell problems." This is why they have advocated "a longer probation period for intellectuals than for workers and peasants." In essence, they refuse to recognize the intellectuals as "people of their own." Nor do they regard most of the intellectuals as part of the working class.

As our party is embarking on a difficult mission to lead the people throughout the country on a march toward socialist modernization, we must actively and discreetly urge a large number of outstanding intellectuals to join the party in order to meet the urgent needs of the four modernizations program. In his 1956 "Report on the Problem of Intellectuals," Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "During the past several years, we have done very little to recruit them as party members. This is a tendency of the closed-door doctrine. This tendency should be reversed. Of course, our party must focus attention on recruiting its members in accordance with the strict requirements set for this purpose. Nevertheless, we can trust that the percentage of the applicants for party membership able to measure up to the standards set for this purpose is impressive." With the passage of 25 years has come great changes in the composition and mental outlook of the contingent of intellectuals in our country. Since then, a contingent of politially conscious and professionally competent intellectuals of the working class has been established. Of these intellectuals, many are staunch followers of the party. Our comrades, especially comrades dedicated to the work of organizing the party, must recognize this objective fact, conscientiously eliminate the pernicious influence of the "leftist" ideology, and boldly and discreetly absorb truly qualified intellectuals into the party.

Of course, every intellectual applying for party membership should make efforts to raise their levels of Marxist ideology and political consciousness, constantly remold their world outlook, and rectify their motives for joining the party until they turn themselves into Communist Party members truly capable of meeting the standards set for this purpose.

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SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY EXPLAINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Jing Shun [2529 4163]: "Socialist Democracy in Practice"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Gradually building a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy is one of the basic tasks of a socialist revolution." In accordance with the spirit of the 6th, the socialist democracy of our nation is going to undergo further development in practice.

During 10 years of unrest, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out feudal fascism and wantonly trampled upon socialist democracy. After the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, one of the basic tasks in quelling chaos and restoring order which the party led the masses in undertaking was the elimination of the damage done by the Lin Biao, "gang of four" side, and the reestablishment of the practice of socialist democracy. But some persons whose vision has been confused by historical events fail to perceive the essence and superior nature of socialist democracy. Some of those reputed to be "democratic warriors" admire and attribute great beauty to capitalist democracy. They consider the so-called democracy of capitalist societies to be the ultimate in today's world, even going so far as to peddle capitalist democracy as "an excellent way to save the nation," and they view our nation's practice of democracy under the leadership of the party as mere "democratic form." Actually, the practice of socialist democracy carried out by the masses in our country is "a million times more democratic than any capitalist democracy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 3, p 634).

How then are we to view Lenin's phrase, "a million times more democratic"?

Capitalist democracy appeared as the flipside to feudal tyranny and was a great advance, but it is democracy for the few. The real nature of democracy lies in managing enterprises and managing the state. In capitalist society the means of production are held by a small number of capitalist oligarchs, and to say that the authority in enterprise management is in the hands of the workers is a myth along the lines of the Arabian Nights. In regard to managing the state, that is even more the special privilege of a small number of capitalist groups, while the broad laboring masses have no right to get involved. Bourgeois constitutions and laws do indeed have a number of high sounding regulations concerning democratic rights of the people, but the promise of widespread and real enjoyment of democracy is but a check drawn on insufficient funds. Do you want to use radio or television to make use of your freedom of speech? Can you afford the tens of thousands of dollars per minute pricetag? Do you wish to enjoy the freedom to publish a work offensive to capitalist control of will? Then who will print and market it for you? And could you withstand the capitalist revenge which would include the sanction of loss of employment? The well-known American authoress Maike'er Palundi [phonetic] was at first a staunch supporter of capitalist democracy, but after realizing the true nature of this kind of democracy she wrote: "The law in its noble sounding way stipulates that the rich and poor alike can express their political opinions, have the same to hire outside groups and Washington lawyers to lobby and pressure public officials, have the same freedom to use periodicals and television stations to manufacture public opinion, and have the right to spend upwards of a million dollars in political campaigns to select the person of their choice or to have themselves elected to public office. But this appearance of political freedom is actually nothing more than an illusion." This analysis by a bourgeois scholar should be considered honest and straightforward.

Democracy as a high-rise edifice is a product of the economic base. The scope and content of democracy are mainly determined by the nature of the means of production. After the founding of the nation, the party led the masses in the socialist reform of the private ownership of the means of production, making the laboring masses the masters of the state and its enterprises. Unlike the bourgeois parliamentary systems, the organ of authority in our nation - the People's Congress, is comprised entirely of the people and their cadres who are directly or indirectly elected to office and who represent the will of the people and are subject to supervision and recall by the people. It is the People's organ of authority and this is something that even foreign bourgeois figures must admit. The people's democratic rights which our constitution guarantees are being put into practice step by step. Today, management of enterprises and of the state by the people is no longer empty phraseology, but is living reality. In our nation there are various forms of worker management of enterprises and the Worker's Congress is gradually becoming the supreme organ of authority for enterprises. Lenin said: "In short, the difference between bourgeois democracy and parliamentary systems and Soviet or proletarian democracy lies in the fact that: the former is focused on the high sounding pronouncements of freedoms and rights, but in reality does not allow the majority of people, namely the workers and peasants, to fully enjoy to any extent these freedoms and rights, while proletarian or Soviet democracy focuses on pronouncements of the freedoms and rights of the entire pupulation and actually guarantees that the laboring masses who once suffered the oppression and exploitation of the capitalists can actually play a part in the management of the state." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 3, p 745) Are we, in fact, to believe this is not so?

What sort of democracy do we mean by socialist democracy? Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism, and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united." "Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline." We hope to develop just this sort of socialist democracy. Any so-called democracy which intends to shake off the guidance of Marxism or the leadership of the party is certainly not socialist democracy and can only lead to bourgeois liberalization and anarchism. It is nothing but an extremely wrong and harmful prejudice that can keep one from failing to clearly see the essential nature of bourgois democracy, and lead one to blindly worship such a democracy or to want to use it to "replenish" or "supplement" or even supplant our socialist democracy. We can only do as Lenin wrote in "State and Revolution": "Thoroughly develop democracy, seek out forms of this development and test them in practice," in order to construct a highly democratic socialist political system.

Socialist democracy possesses a greatly superior nature. Of course, this superior nature must continue to develop in the practice of socialist revolution and construction. For example, in accordance with the original demands of socialist democracy, the state and its enterprises should both be directly managed by the laboring masses. But this requires somewhat higher material and cultural conditions which at present are not fully met, and therefore, for the present, we can only "allow the proletarian vanguard to carry out management for the laboring masses." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol. 29, p 156) We can only continually create conditions and gradually reduce the scope of indirect management and expand that of direct management. Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has led us in making great strides in the area of democratization reform. The scope of the direct election of representatives to the People's Congress has been expanded to include the county level; methods have been popularized for having the masses elect leaders in enterprise units at the lowest levels; work has begun on reforming the cadre system, eliminating the system of lifetime tenure for cadres with leadership responsibilities, etc.; all of these have been effective steps taken by the party in leading us in developing democracy. Of course, on this foundation we must continue to progress toward even higher goals.

Ultimately, we can only let practice decide the sort of content and form of democracy that can best guarantee the rights of the people to be masters, and then institutionalize it by means of the law. Any democratic form and measures theoretically can be of benefit in expanding democracy, but in practice because of unmet material and cultural conditions or because the majority of the masses lack spiritual preparation it is very possible that things would not turn out as we wished. This makes it clear that developing democracy is a process requiring orderly and gradual progress; it also makes it clear that before extending any form of democracy we should carry out careful experimental programs, and allow practice to prove its superiority. This is beneficial to the development of democracy and to political stability.

The Central Committee of the Party is unwavering in regard to its policy of carrying out political democratization in our country and is solidly moving forward in practice. We can confirm that under the leadership of the party and along with the development of practice, socialist democracy must and can find the various forms to further its expansion, development and perfection which will allow its essential nature which is "a million times more democratic" than bourgeois democracy to be fully realized.

9705
CSO: 4005/27

IMPROVEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP CALLED FOR

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Resolutely Overcome the Weak State of Leadership on the Ideological Front"]

[Text] At the national symposium on problems on the ideological front, leading comrades on the Party Central Committee confirmed that the party had made clear strides in leadership on the ideological and literary fronts. But we cannot deny or overlook the fact that there remain certain crude and simplistic tendencies in our work. Still, the problem which most requires our attention is the existence of a situation of disorganization and weakness, in which mistaken tendencies are not criticized and any criticism is labeled a harsh attack.

The spirit of what was said by the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee corresponds completely with the actual situation in Tianjin. Since the smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have passed through a period of quelling chaos and restoring order, and party leadership has been improved and sterngthened in every item of work in our city. The leadership of the party on the ideological front at every organizational level has made evident strides. However, in numerous departments, especially on the ideological front, there is no criticism and no education with regard to certain mistaken tendencies which violate the four basic principles, but rather everyone keeps hands off and the party leadership wallows in a state of weakness and disorganization. This situation must be resolutely overcome. Only when this problem is properly solved can we do a better job of upholding the four basic principles, continue to complete the task of quelling chaos and restoring order in our actual work, rouse our spirits, unite as one, and wholeheartedly build a new Tianjin.

Judging from the actual situation in some units, one of the manifestations of the weakness and disorganization of leadership on the ideological front is a pervasive timidity, an inability to develop some backbone. Some comrades are not bold and forthright; they do not hold their banners high in carrying out criticism and education regarding the mistaken ideas, speech, and activities which violate the four basic principles and the evil tendencies toward disorganization, lax discipline, and extreme individualism, but rather they are unfazed by what they see, tolerate what they hear, and try to work around contradictions. In the face of mistaken tendencies, they themselves fail to struggle. Just the contrary, they tend to slight in a myriad of ways those comrades who do uphold struggle. In this sort of unit there are three kinds of people who become isolated: those who support the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee; those who dare to work and who work effectively; and those who uphold fairness and struggle against mistaken speech and evil tendencies. That mistaken things are not criticized and correct comrades are isolated are evident manifestations of the weakness of ideological and political work. At present, our party and our society still have problems, still face a large number of contradictions, and still contain negative phenomena and elements. To solve these problems and overcome these negative elements we must pull together, straighten our backs, be righteously bold in offering criticism, and carry out appropriate ideological struggle. If we are very weak in our leadership, do not dare to deal with matters, and peacefully coexist with mistaken ideologies, then the correct will not be able to defeat the mistaken, and proper trends will not be able to suppress evil trends.

Another manifestation of the weakness and disorganization of leadership on the ideological front is that thinking is confused and lines are not clear. Some comrades cannot clearly distinguish right from wrong and cannot correctly handle certain new situations which have arisen in the course of quelling chaos and restoring order and [correctly deal with] certain trends and problems which have appeared in society. For example, some people engage in capitalist liberalization and put out harmful literary works without allowing others to criticize them. Any criticism is called a harsh attack. And still some of our comrades fail to distinguish what is right from what is wrong and reproach comrades who have offered correct criticism; some people obviously want only democracy and don't want centralism, want only freedom and don't want discipline. They stir up individualism and anarchism, and certain of our comrades cannot determine what is what. Some people peddle the literary and artistic theories of the capitalist classes, excusing themselves with the "double hundred" policy. They advocate absolute freedom, resist party leadership, and oppose the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. And still others of our comrades mistakenly believe this to be merely "heated debate," "literary freedom," etc. When thinking is confused and lines are not clear, leadership is inevitably weak. I hope these comrades will seriously try to comprehend the series of lines, principles, and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenum, to unite reality and ideology, to deepen their understanding, and to raise their consciousness so that they can distinguish between that which upholds socialism and that which intends to depart from the socialist path; between that which upholds proletarian dictatorship and that which weakens proletarian dictatorship; between that which upholds the leadership of the party and that which intends to shake off party leadership; between that which upholds Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and that which departs from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; and between that which correctly upholds the "double hundred" principle and that which is an expression of liberalization. Only by clearly distinguishing between these rights and wrongs can we keep clear heads and better lead the masses forward.

Still another manifestation of the weakness of leadership on the ideological front is the disorderliness of organizations which lack fighting strength. Leadership circles in some units are at odds and are not unified, with contradictions existing among themselves. They are out of touch with one another, do not exchange opinions, and do not debate ideology; each spouts his own slogans and sings his own tunes, even to the point of competing for influence and breaking into factions. Some units lack strict systems of organizational life, and political and ideological management is completely powerless. The party organization cannot fully carry out its function as a bulwark of struggle, and party members cannot do well in fulfilling their functions as models and initiators. Let me ask: How can this kind of group, this kind of party organization, and these kinds of core troops have any fighting strength?! In order to improve the fighting strength of the party, the first thing is that the party must manage the party, do well in adjusting leadership circles, do well in adjusting party organizations, and do well in grasping the education of party members. The second thing is to adhere to party discipline and to the four fundamental principles, which are the most basic discipline. The third thing is that leadership must take the lead and carry out serious criticism and self-criticism. There will be an evident turn for the better if these items are handled well.

At present, the people of the entire city are well into studying and implementing the spirit of the Third Plenum and are concentrating their energies on doing two things well: furthering the economy and constructing a socialist material civilization; and grasping ideology, culture, and education and constructing a socialist spiritual civilization. All places and units with weak and disorganized leadership on the ideological front should make a careful analysis of the reasons for it and suggest methods to overcome the problem, so as to correct the various mistaken tendencies in a timely fashion and increase unity on the foundation of the four fundamental principles. In particular, there must be serious and correct criticism of and struggle against those ideological tides in society that want to depart from the path of socialism, that want to be free of party leadership, and that want to carry out capitalist liberalization. Carrying through on this aspect of work is extremely important to the continued elimination of the leftist influence on our guiding ideology and to the further development of the excellent situation that has existed since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee.

9705
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BUILD MATERIAL, SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION SIMULTANEOUSLY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zheng Qingzheng [6774 1987 2398]: "Material Civilization and Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "Socialism must have a high-level spiritual civilization." Building a socialist spiritual civilization is a matter of prime importance to the development of the four modernizations and to the realization of the prosperity of the Chinese nation, and is a task we must face.

Marxism holds that it is man's social being that determines his thinking, and that matter is primary and consciousness secondary. The spiritual civilization of a society is usually to be built on the basis of its material civilization, a task which must take into account its material conditions. "Improvements in mental productive activities are contingent on improvements in material production." This being the case, can a high-level spiritual civilization be built in our country when productive forces remain relatively backward and material wealth is not overly abundant? Isn't it true that a high-level spiritual civilization will emerge spontaneously through efforts to develop productive forces and improve material living conditions?

Marxism also tells us that social consciousness is something that is relatively independent of, but reacts sensitively to, the economic base. "As everyone knows, as far as art is concerned, its growth for a specific period of time is absolutely not in proportion to general social development. Nor is it in keeping with the general development of the material base, which bears a striking resemblance to the backbone of social organizations. It is not true that only economic development is a positive factor, and that everything else results from negative developments." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 112-113; Vol 4, p 506) Facts prove that under specific conditions, man's advanced ideas and thinking can exist in a relatively backward social reality. For example, during the early days of the Chinese revolution, the revolutionaries represented by Chinese Communist Party members struggled heroically for the realization of communist ideals and displayed a revolutionary spirit without fear of sacrifice. During the Yen'an period, regardless of the extremely difficult material living conditions, our party and the army had people in the revolutionary base areas were able to foster a healthy social climate that was praised by people at home and abroad. This is proof of the above point. Regardless of the weak base of the social productive forces at that time, our revolutionaries of the older generation were able to foster a lofty ideal symbolizing the bright future of communism. In the service of the interests of the party and the people, they advanced wave upon wave and waged heroic struggles without fear of sacrificing everything they had, until in the end they created a brandnew proletarian spiritual civilization at the cost of their lives. Today, the level of our productive forces is more advanced and our material living conditions are far better than they were then. It can be said that our endeavor to build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization on the basis of our present-day material civilization is neither empty talk nor an undertaking to build spiritual civilization without taking into account our material conditions. Of course, a high-level socialist spiritual civilization cannot be built by taking just a single step, as we have done today. But the material conditions that we have today can in every sense be a starting point in the direction of building a high-level spiritual civilization.

Facts also prove that comparatively advanced productive forces and more abundant provisions of the means of livelihood will not necessarily lead to the realization of a high-level spiritual civilization. For example, unethical practices, mental depression, and a social climate characteristic of cruelty and barbarism still exist in some developed capitalist countries, with the blessing of the higher levels of material production and better material living conditions. For this reason, it is unrealistic simply to attribute the unhealthy phenomena, unhealthy tendencies, and uncivilized behavior that have surfaced in our present society to economic difficulties and material shortages. As a matter of fact, although our economy at present is less developed, the main aspects of our social climate remain good and healthy. Violent, savage, selfish, and greedy behavior is only a breakaway trend from the mainstream. This shows that spiritual civilization may vary even under the same material conditions. In this connection, any simple attempt to put spiritual civilization on a par with material civilization won't work. The fact is that man's thinking and consciousness may come under the influence of material conditions, but at the same time they still can assert their relative independence and carry on the tradition. Those examples of savage and uncivilized behavior that exist in our society today, which symbolize the vestiges of obsolescent ideologies of a bygone era, should be attributed mainly to the ideological influence of the exploiting classes. This proves groundless the assumption that a high-level spiritual civilization will appear automatically as a result of the development of production. In the meantime, it also proves that conscientious efforts on our part to build a socialist spiritual civilization are not only necessary but also possible.

Spiritual civilization is a multifaceted entity whose various aspects owe their existence in varying degrees to the economic base. Science, culture, and education, which are closely tied to the development of productive forces, reflect human wisdom, or the essential facets of spiritual civilization. They directly reflect the degree to which material civilization has developed; they will come under the direct influence of material conditions; and they will have a direct impact on the building of material civilization. On the other hand, morality, tradition, customs, ideals, ethics, and habits make up the ideological facets of spiritual civilization, and they also will come under the direct influence of material conditions. More important, they will forge ties with the department of material production through the introduction of production relations as the medium. In view of this, the nature of production relations and of the economic base will have a decisive effect on social lifestyle and will eventually affect material production. The socialist system of public ownership that we have established will certainly prove instrumental in influencing, shaping, and transforming the moral outlook of our society. As a result of the establishment of the system of public ownership, all old and selfish ideas, ethics, beliefs, customs, and habits will become obsolescent and will gradually give way to the new communist beliefs and ideals which symbolize the progress of human society. In the end, a new epochal and splendid moral outlook will take shape. During a discussion of the possible outcome of the abolition of the system of private ownership more than a century ago, Engels pointed out: "A new generation of people is required to mobilize the entire social force to organize a joint venture in production and to expand production. Efforts will have to be made to create such a new generation of people." We have established the socialist system. Certainly we can also build a high-level socialist material civilization and a high-level socialist spiritual civilization simultaneously.

9574
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CRITICISM VITAL TO DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, THEORY

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Sima Jun [0674 7456 3182]: "Theoreticians Must Pick Up the Weapon of Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism constitute one of our party's three excellent styles of work, a mighty driving force for the development of socialist society, and an important method of developing science and theory. In his work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Marxism can develop only through struggle. Not only is this true of the past and the present, but it is necessarily true of the future as well. Marxists need to temper and develop themselves and win new positions in the teeth of criticism and in the storm and stress of struggle. Only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning can we really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and can we really settle issues." Science and theory will wilt, become ossified, and lose their vitality as a guide to every experiment if no effort is made to develop them through criticism and self-criticism.

As a result of the 10 years of sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and under the influence of the leftist guiding ideology, people on all fronts seem to be losing interest in carrying forward this excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism. In this connection, people on the theoretical front are no exception. On the other hand, there is a tendency to deviate from, and even reject, the four basic principles. In the face of this tendency, instead of boldly and plausibly criticizing it and struggling against it, some theoreticians often feel that "this activity is none of their business and therefore should be suspended; although we are well aware that something is going wrong, we still prefer to say as little as possible." Some individuals have even gone so far as to express sympathy and support for this tendency. On the other hand, some individuals have tried by all means to prevent others from criticizing their incorrect ideas and have regarded criticism as an attempt to "wield the stick" and a violation of the "double-hundred" policy. Obviously, this state of mind will have an adverse impact on our thorough efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order on the theoretical front, to achieve true unity among theoreticians, and to develop theoretical research work. In the final analysis, it is not in the people's interests. For this reason, an important task now facing every theoretician is a swift effort to overcome this unhealthy state of mind, to revive and carry forward the party's excellent tradition and style of work, and to develop correct methods of criticism and self-criticism.

The recently held national forum on problems on the ideological front emphasized the need for the conscientious development of criticism and self-criticism as a timely measure for overcoming a variety of erroneous tendencies. The forum also called for stern and correct criticism and appropriate struggle against tendencies to deviate from the socialist orbit and to quit the leadership of the party as well as against the laissez-faire style of work. Comrade Hu Yaobang took advantage of this forum to convey the fervent hope and specific demand to the theoretical, literary and artistic, and journalistic and publication fronts in this respect. Every theoretician must consciously play a positive role in "applying correctly the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to eliminate various erroneous ideas which represent a departure from the party's correct principles" as called for in the "Resolution on Certain Questions of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." In the course of daringly, sternly, and correctly criticizing wrong statements and tendencies which reflect a departure from the four basic principles, we must dare to seek truth from facts and struggle against our own views and ideas that prove to be wrong, and take a correct attitude toward their critics. We must resolutely reject those inarticulate, ambiguous, and opportunistic statements which reflect an attempt to cover up a malady for fear of taking medicine. We must denounce the stubborn attitude of refusing to acknowledge mistakes and resisting criticism.

Apart from building up his own knowledge and consistently and regularly developing criticism and self-criticism, every theoretician will have another important role to play in conveying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to the cadres and the masses. At present, as an in-depth study of the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum is well underway by the entire party membership and the people throughout the country, a series of theoretical questions have emerged--questions that demand accurate and clear-cut answers from theoreticians. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism is needed in answering these questions. Also useful in this regard are the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods and the guidelines of the "Resolution." Only in this way can we interpret everything in a thoroughgoing way, clarify some muddleheaded ideas, correctly criticize some wrong points of view, and achieve the objective of disseminating and popularizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and thus help the cadres and masses think in a way consistent with the basic conclusions contained in the "Resolution."

Criticism and self-criticism constitute a powerful weapon for overcoming a variety of wrong ideas. We Marxist theoreticians should not hesitate to pick up this weapon and apply it correctly in defense of the four basic principles as a contribution to the socialist modernization program.

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IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CADRES, MASSES URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Zeng Li [2582 6849]: "Do Away With Barrier Between Cadres and Masses"]

[Text] Comrade Wang Chonglun [3769 1504 0243] suggested recently that instead of addressing each other by their official titles, a leader and his subordinates call each other comrade in order to improve relations between cadres and the masses. He added: In this way, a "barrier" of feudal vestige between cadres and the masses can be removed.

This suggestion from Comrade Wang Chonglun is really very good. Our ancients said: "The sharing of a common ideal and a meeting of minds will lead people to become comrades." In the past, Comrade Liu Shaoqi always wanted others to call him "Comrade Shaoqi" instead of "Chairman Liu." When Comrade Soong Ching Ling was seriously ill, she too wanted her visitors to call her "Comrade Ching Ling" instead of "Vice Chairman Soong." Before his death, Lu Xun said: "True, there are fellows who are faithfully dedicated to the struggle for the survival of the modern Chinese people. It is my honor to call them my comrades." This means that comrade is really a very honorable title within our revolutionary ranks.

But what surprises me is that a few comrades still cherish their official titles after they become leading cadres. If the people do not address them by their official title, they feel that "their leadership position" has been dishonored. What they do not understand is that this behavior is virtually a step toward building a "barrier" of feudal vestige between themselves and the masses. Once this is done, they will find it difficult to establish direct communication with the masses.

As a matter of fact, persuading the masses to call a leading cadre comrade, or "Mr Zhang," or "Mr Li" is a job that should be earned. If in daily life he still insists on wearing bureaucratic pretensions without keeping in touch with the masses and without communicating with them, the masses will find it extremely difficult to call him comrade. For this reason, a leading comrade should feel honored if one day he finds that the masses have stopped addressing him by his official title. My advice to those who still want to enjoy having others address them by their official title is that if you are truly interested in uniting the masses to work for the four modernizations program with one heart and one mind, you should voluntarily try to establish direct communication with the masses, as this will clear the way to the tearing down of the feudal ideological "barrier" between the cadres and the masses.

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PARTY AND STATE

RETIRED CADRE PRAISED FOR TRAINING YOUNGER CADRES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by ZHEJIANG RIBAO correspondent Zhang Lingkai [1726 0109 0418]: "Retirement Does Not Mean Quiting the Government"]

[Text] Lu Alin [7120 7093 2651], former leader of the Haishan Brigade and a former member of its party branch in the Keyan Commune of Shaoxing Municipality, has been praised by the people as a good cadre devoted to the training of his successors without caring for his own happiness in his later years.

Comrade Lu Alin became the leader of the Haishan Brigade and a member of its party branch in the 1950's. He has spent exactly 30 years braving wind and rain and working hard to improve his brigade's outlook of poverty and backwardness. In October 1980, this nearly 60-year-old and ailing cadre retired so as to open up his leadership positions to other robust comrades at an early date and to provide them with good opportunities for training. After attending an evening farewell party for retired brigade cadres, Lu Alin was in a mood of excitement, with his mind dominated by this thought: "Without the Communist Party, there would have been no such persons as Lu Alin. Can I still do something useful for the party at this old retired age, regardless of my poor health? Certainly I can! I must do at least one thing." The thing he had in mind was the training of successors to the cause of the party. The party branch of the Haishan Brigade consists of five members who range in age from 33 to 40 or more. They are young and energetic. But the newly appointed party branch secretary and the brigade leader lack leadership experience. They will certainly encounter difficulties in their work. Lu Alin felt that although he is retired and no longer in a position of leadership, he should stop thinking that he is really retired, so that he can impart his experiences to his successors and concern himself with their training.

Jin Xinglong [6855 5281 7893] was appointed secretary of the party branch of the Haishan Brigade in 1978. During the first 2 years following that appointment, young Jin had a "tall tree" behind his back. With Lu Alin advising him, young Jin scored some success in his work. Lu Alin's retirement put an additional burden on the shoulders of young Jin, who often felt helpless in the face of "challenges." On the eve of this year's spring farming season, Jin Xinglong had originally planned to hold a mobilization meeting for commune members. This plan conceived by Jin Xinglong was scuttled as soon as it was submitted for discussion at a party branch meeting. At the meeting, some argued against this "mobilization as being worthless, because everybody knows his or her job well during the spring farming season," while others urged that instead of having a mobilization meeting, Jin Xinglong should deliver a speech at a movie theater. The party branch meeting adjourned without any agreement on this matter, a fact which upset Jin Xinglong. Realizing this, Lu Alin asked young Jin this question: "In your opinion, what preparations should be made for that proposed meeting of commune members if it does take place?" Seeing young Jin stammering for an answer, old Comrade Lu said: "As number-one man, you have to think over every problem thoroughly. In doing everything, you should clearly explain the objectives and specify your methods for achieving such objectives. Moreover, you should listen to opinions from various sources so that you can make up for your own shortcomings. The failure of your party branch meeting stems from your inability to offer any appreciable specific plan for spring farming from your position as squad leader." This advice by old Comrade Lu opened a fresh window in the mind of young Jin. After that, young Jin grasped the problem of how to put into effect the systems of awarding contracts to specialized groups and calculating payments for joint ventures in production as subjects for discussion when the second meeting was held by the party branch. In the course of the discussion, everyone asked questions and suggested solutions, thus bringing the meeting to a successful conclusion. This meeting was followed by another meeting attended by chief contractors and other cadres at higher levels to discuss matters concerning the enforcement of the system of responsibilities for the spring farming project. Realistic discussions that have a purpose in mind are what make meetings successful. This year's spring farming was completed, and the desired qualitative and quantitative standards met, on 23 May. In the past it could not be completed until the end of May. Another success is the fact that spring- and sumer-ripening crops this year outproduced those in 1979. Jin Xinglong said with appreciation: "As he did in the past, my former brigade leader now still devotes his time to training me and giving me advice at every crucial moment."

Whenever brigade caders are at odds with each other, Lu Alin still looks for opportunities to hold separate heart-to-heart talks with them, reminding them of the need to promote unity in favor of the overall interests. When comrades fail to pay attention to the method of work and are unable to get along with the masses very well, he is willing to acquaint them with the party's excellent tradition, which calls for paying attention to the well-being of the masses as well as to the method of work. If someone asks Lu Alin: "Old brigade leader, why should you be so concerned with younger cadres after your retirement," he is very happy to answer as follows: "Although I am no longer a leader of the birgade or a member of its party branch, I am still a Communist Party member who has obligations to transmit his experiences to his successors and guide them through trial periods."

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PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM APPLIED TO PARTY ISSUES

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zue Muduo [5641 2606 6995], Zheng Zhongxiang [6774 1813 4382]: "Questions in the History of the Pàrty As Analyzed with Historical Materialism--Reading Engels' letter to Joseph Bloch"]

[Text] Engels' letter to Joseph Bloch is an important document brilliantly expounding the basic principles of historical materialism. When we study the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China," it is of great significance to read this important writing conscientiously and to comprehend Engels' brilliant treatise and penetratingly grasp the principle of historical materialism in deepening our understanding of the spirit and substance of the "resolution," particularly in correctly analyzing and summing up the cause and lesson of the "great cultural revolution."

I

Joseph Bloch was a Berlin University student at that time. He wrote a letter to Engels 3 September 1890, asking advice from Engels on how to understand some questions of historical materialsim. In his September 21-22 reply, Engels made a brief and allround summary of the theory of historical materialism from the angle of historical events.

Engels wrote:

> "We make our history ourselves, but, first of all, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc, "and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one....
>
> "In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a variety of particular conditions of life. Thus, there are innumerable criss-crossing forces, an

> infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant--the historical event. This may again in turn be regarded as the product of a power which works as a whole unconsciously and without volition...."

The two points put forward by Engels are the salient points of historical materialism.

The first point illustrates that each historical event takes place under the premises and conditions caused and determined by historical development. These objective premises and conditions exercise their influence over historical events. Among these historical conditions are not only economic premises and conditions but also political, legal, and philosophical elements and traditional ideas. People can make their history themselves only under such premises and conditions. Discussion of history apart from these objective premises and conditions is bound to degenerate into idealism.

The second point illustrates that when examining the part played by individual wills in historical events, we should, first of all, note that the will of each individual is one of the innumerable individual wills that make themselves felt, that these innumerable individual wills that make history are full of contradictions and conflicts, and that the ending of history is the product of conflict of these wills and the combined product of the parts played by innumerable individuals and may not simply be summed up as the product of the will of a certain individual. Secondly, each individual will is not a subjective, spontaneous thing but has been made what it is by a variety of particular conditions of life. It is necessary to examine the role of individual wills in light of these conditions.

In short, each historical accident and each historical event is the result of the combined effect of particular conditions. As Engels pointed out in this letter: "There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amidst the endless number of accidents, the economic movement is finally bound to assert itself." When we study any specific historical accident and historical event, we must know how to grasp the factors playing their part in the accident and event, grasp their interactions, thereby correctly summing up due lessons and experiences. All this demands efforts and under no circumstances may it be regarded as "easier than resolving a simplest equation."

II

For a time in the past, some comrades attributed the cause of the "great cultural revolution" which took place and went on for 10 years to the mistakes by comrade Mao Zedong himself, and even to his personal character.

This view magnified the historical role played by individuals. It is untenable to attribute the occurrence and development of such a momentous historical event as the "great cultural revolution" merely to the role played by an individual. Nor is the view valid enough to explain the root of mistakes made by comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. To say the least of it, this view over-simplifies the complicated historical questions. Even if this is not so, it is a continuation, in another form, of the personality cult under new historical conditions.

Historical idealists hold that history is made by emperors, kings, generals, ministers and individual heroes. In examining the cause of historical accidents, they proceed from the motivation, will and inspiration of individual characters. Chinese bourgeois thinker Liang Qichao said, "a slight deviation in the motivation of historical figures will change history." Pragmatist Hu Shi held that individual characters "may cause the rise and fall of a country with one word" and that one idea on their mind may touch off a 10-year bloody war. In the eyes of historical idealists, the development of history is not governed by any law and history may be made by individuals at will. For this reason, when examining history they turn their eyes to the motivation, character and role of individuals and see nothing that is governed by law.

If we examine the "great cultural revolution" from the viewpoint of historical idealism, we shall find no social and historical causes and only individual roles, and we shall then be unable to sum up the lessons of the "great cultural revolution." Obviously, such a viewpoint is not desirable.

The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China" adheres to the Marxist viewpoint of historical materialism, rejects the viewpoint of historical idealism, and examines the social and historical causes of the "great cultural revolution" from two important angles:

First, the "resolution" examines the social and historical premises and conditions confronting our Party before the "great cultural revolution" took place, including:

We did not have much experience in building socialism which had only a short history. There was no ready-made pattern to follow and a number of problems remained to be explored. Mistakes were unavoidable.

The majority of our comrades, particularly leading cadres of our Party were brought up in an environment of protracted class struggle. They were accustomed to the idea of class struggle, the experience of class struggle and the methods of class struggle. Not fully prepared in the ideological sense for the forthcoming socialist cause, they often looked upon as problems of class struggle problems no longer falling into the category of class struggle, and carried on the old methods and experience in handling new problems. Such circumstances were likely to lead to the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle.

Viewed from the angle of guiding thought, certain ideas and viewpoints found in Marxist-Leninist works were misinterpreted or were turned into dogmas. This circumstance provided those advocating enlarging the scope of class struggle a theoretical basis, making it easier for them to enlarge the scope of class struggle. struggle.

The Soviet leaders provoked the polemics between China and the Soviet Union and brought strong pressure to bear on us, compelling us to wage a righteous struggle against the great-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union. That was imperative.

But under such circumstances, we proceeded with a movement to oppose and prevent revisionism within our Party, and infatuation with enlarging the scope of class struggle was intensified in our Party. The result was that differing views within the Party were taken as "revisionist line" and the seamy side of our Party was magnified to such a degree that it was believed that a group of bourgeois representatives existed from top to bottom within our Party and that there were "capitalist roaders" within the Party.

These leftist viewpoints led to the outbreak and continuation of the "great cultural revolution."

Second, the "Resolution" comprehensively examined, from the angle of social and historical reasons, the mistakes made by comrade Mao Zedong and their effects.

Comrade Mao Zedong got gradually conceited in his later years. He divorced himself from reality, from the masses, and from the collective leadership of the party and over-concentrated the power of the party in the hand of an individual, thus breeding personal absolute control and personality cult. Such circumstances made it difficult for the Party to prevent and stop the "great cultural revolution." For this comrade Mao Zedong was of course held mainly responsible, but he himself was not able to bring about such a situation. As pointed out in the "Resolution," the Party Central Committee was also held responsible for this. Moreover, this was not the only problem. It must be realized that the serious mistakes made by comrade Mao Zedong were the product of definite historical conditions. Some serious deviations, that appeared in the history of the international communist movement and that were not resolved because of failure to solve the problem of relations between the leader and the party, exercised some negative influence over our Party. The feudal society lasted more than 2,000 years in our country, and the pernicious influence of autocracy exercised influence over the ideology and politics of our Party. We failed to place our inner-party democracy and the political and social life of our state quickly on a democratic and legal basis, thus providing the soil for breeding personal absolute control and personality cult.

The particular historical conditions and causes mentioned above interacted and affected each other, and the "combination" of these factors led to the "great cultural revolution."

By correctly interpreting the past is it possible to point out the future correctly. Once the cause is found, the correct approach is found and past mistakes may become motive force for moving forward. On the basis of summing up the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the Republic and, in particular, the lessons of the "great cultural revolution," the "Resolution" indicated the correct road to socialist modernization that is suited to the conditions of our country, and indicated the direction in which we move forward. This will certainly exercise great, far-reaching influence over our efforts to unify the thinking and understanding of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities and, with one heart and mind, strive for the new historical tasks.

9780
CSO: 4005/25

JIANGSU PUBLICIZES 'RESOLUTION'

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Publicize the "Resolution" Thoroughly"]

[Text] At present, party organizations at every level in our province are actively urging cadres and party members to study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the PRC." At the same time, well prepared propaganda work is methodically being carried out among workers, peasants, students, shopkeepers and the local populace. Attaching great importance to this task, many leading comrades took the initiative in going to the grass roots, acquired experience, and achieved good result in step-by-step propagation. The broad masses expressed whole-hearted support of the "Resolution" and regarded the "Resolution" as "appealing to the ear in hearing and appealing to the heart in learning." Confidence in the future prevailed. Judging from the present, as long as the propaganda work is well done, the result will be noteworthy. Therefore, we ask party organizations in the city and in the countryside to do a good job in grasping the propaganda work of the "Resolution" so that it will be further spread among the masses in the city and in the countryside.

The "Resolution" passed in the 6th plenary session is an important Marxist document summing up the historical experience of our party. It is a guiding document in building a strong socialist modern nation. It is valuable material for vividly and concretely teaching Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Its content is broad and profound, strong both in ideology and in theory. In simple and concise language, deep meaning is found in each chapter and each section. To make the broad masses correctly understand and deeply appreciate, it is not enough'just reading and explaining [the "Resolution."] One must be prepared to exert himself and work hard at propaganda. That is to say, only through proper explanation and counseling work, providing some historical knowledge for certain questions, supplementing with factual basis, making some theoretical interpretation and engaging in education in the face of ideological reality of the masses, can the broad masses be helped to imbibe the spirit of the "Resolution." Judging the propaganda work carried out in our province in the previous time, although the units which has engaged in propaganda already had preliminary result, there is still considerable distance from this requirement. Some questions raised by the masses in the learning were solved while some were not completely solved. In the meantime, some localities and units have not yet engaged in the task. The masses are still ignorant of the content and the spirit of the "Resolution." Therefore, party organizations at every level must further strengthen their leadership in this task, further propagating the "Resolution," uniting the thinking of people in the city and in the countryside to the basic conclusion of the "Resolution" so that with consciousness raised, unity strengthened and spirit galvanized, success will be scored in production and in various tasks.

What effect the propaganda of the "Resolution" will have depends on whether the guiding spirit of the Central Committee can reach the heart of the masses and solve the problems which the masses demand to be solved. Therefore, to succeed in the propaganda, it is necessary to connect with reality, especially the thought reality of the local people. The propaganda should also be made to the point, based on the "Resolution." In the process of propaganda, different requirements are made of different people. Communist party members should be required to learn a little in advance and a little better, so that they can assume active leadership among the masses. Different opinions on the "Resolution" can be gradually channeled during the discussion to arrive at a consistent understanding.

To succeed in propaganda, we must seriously train a team of propaganda workers. This time the scope and the volume of propaganda are large. Leading cadres, in addition to going to the grass roots in person, must organize a sizeable team of propaganda workers to assist party organizations to engage in propaganda and to answer questions. To organize a good team, first of all, they must select proper propaganda workers who must think correctly, study well, are capable of propaganda work and ready to take up responsibility to assume this task. Second, to do a good job in training, they must help propaganda workers to clearly explain the great significance of the "Resolution," to instill a sense of honor and responsibility and to let them grasp the spirit, the content and the key points of the "Resolution." It is also necessary to connect with one's own thought reality and to untie the knot in one's own mind in order to educate and convince the masses in the process of propaganda. The method of training depends on the locality and the time. It can be trained in one group or in smaller units. No matter what method is employed, the leaders concerned must make careful planning and rational arrangement as well as paying close attention to inspection and supervision.

To do a good job in propaganda, it is essential to connect it with the realities of production and work and to direct the enthusiasm of the broad masses to the goal of building a strong and modernized socialist country which enjoys a high-level democracy and a high-level civilization. To succeed in this point, at present, not only is it necessary to make rational arrangement of propaganda and study time so that production is not affected, but the content of propaganda must tally with realities so as to facilitate production and work. Propaganda and study time can be found an hour before or after work in factories. In rural areas, depending on the various responsibility systems, different methods can be devised. Localities where collective production is carried out at group level, group can serve as the unit for propaganda before or after work, in the field or at the workshop. Localities where collective production is carried out at household level or individual labor, propaganda can be based on one or several households where propaganda cadres may come during break or in the evening. Depending on local experiences, propaganda should be coupled with practical actions, that is to grasp economic construction and the construction of spiritual civilization. At the same time, party members should be mobilized to rectify party discipline. Without a continuously improving party discipline, the result of propaganda of the "Resolution" will be adversely affected.

At present, comprehensive propaganda work has just been launched; many problems still await to be solved. Party committees at every level must strengthen leadership, truly take propaganda and the study of the "Resolution" as the cardinal task for the second half of the year. Thus it is essential to pay attention to the experience gained from propaganda, especially the experience of unifying thinking on the "Resolution," the spirit of the Central Committee conference on ideological front and the working conference of provincial party committee will be materialized, listlessness of leadership will be overcome, party leadership in enterprises and ideological work will be strengthened, and continuous new success in the work of every front in the city and in the countryside will be ensured.

9507
CSO: 4005/41

COURAGEOUS, ADEPT CRITICISM PROMOTED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Xiao Dong [5135 2639]: "On the Courage and the Know-How of Criticism"]

[Text] In order to strengthen Party leadership on the ideological front, improve the phenomenon of laxness and weakness and overcome the tendency of bourgeois liberalization, conscientious and proper criticism and self-criticism must be carried out. What we mean by conscientious and proper criticism is integrating the courage and the know-how of criticism for the purpose of reaching desired results. In other words, we should criticize with righteous assurance the theories and works which violate the four basic principles, wage serious struggles against liberalizing tendencies which deviate from the socialist path and leadership of the Party. At the same time, we must learn to adopt the correct approaches to such criticism and struggle without ganging up on people or carrying out campaigns.

Perhaps some people would say that the existing problem lies in whether one dares to criticize and not whether one knows how to criticize properly. It is true that the problem of daring to criticize is still not resolved among some comrades: they may be blurry in their understanding, or emotionally unfit, or passively reconciled to historical lessons, or influenced by certain theories that sound right but are in fact wrong, so that they are unwilling to carry out criticism positively, nor do they dare to criticize with righteous assurance. It is beyond doubt that the ideological problems of these comrades need to be resolved, yet, at the same time, we should notice that problems of inappropriate criticism do exist. Inadequate rationalization, improper approaches and inaccurate suggestions have, to various extents, influenced the effect of criticism. We should not overlook the problem of improper criticism. Some comrades are using this as a pretext to reject criticism, and there are some who dare not criticize for fear of it, and there are a few with ulterior motives, seizing this weakness and spreading rumors, bringing tremendous harm to criticism. Not daring to criticize goes hand in glove with not knowing how to criticize properly. In resolving the former problem one must not overlook the latter.

From the standpoint of the overall situation, we are now better equipped than ever for appropriate criticism and self criticism. History has turned over a new leaf. We have summed up correctly the history in the past 32 years since the founding of our nation. We have cleared up the mistakes misled by "left" ideologies, and we will not dog the old steps and commit stupid acts which mix up friends and enemies, confuse right and wrong, deeds which pain our dear ones and please our enemies. We have already vowed that the "principle of the three nos" be practiced without engaging in political campaigns. All these have been proved in various implementations since the Third Plenary Session. In resolving the problem of ideological front, the Central has once more reaffirmed that there will be no cross fires and no political campaigns. In criticizing erroneous ideologies, we can completely adopt the correct attitude and measures. Starting from the original form of unity, through a series of criticisms and struggles, contradictions can then be resolved, and a new unity can be built on a new foundation; this is what we call seeking truth from facts, adopting correct measures and winning support through rationalization, carrying out refined measures of reasoning instead of high-handed arbitrary measures. We have already carried out this task and will continue doing it. As for improper measures which are already in existence and will exist in the future, we should not liken them to the "Mass Criticism and Repudiation" and "bludgeoning" of the past years. It is because the tense political atmosphere has already ended; strengthening of education can rectify in time those irrational and out-of-proportion criticisms. Any rejection of criticism on the grounds that the measures adopted are inappropriate is unjustifiable.

In carrying out criticism, good results will be reaped if the courage and the know-how of criticism are integrated.

9784
CSO: 4005/71

BAODING PREFECTURE DEALS WITH CRITICISM CAMPAIGNS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 81 p 1

[News Report by Zhang Huifeng [1728 1920 1496] and Xin Yanle [6580 1750 2867]: "The CCP Baoding Prefectural Committee and Standing Committee Study the "Resolutions" in Connection with the Actual Situation. Solve the Lingering Question of the ferreting-out [campaigns] and the One Criticism and Three Attacks As Soon As Possible"]

[Text] Following the 6th plenary session of the Party's 11th central committee, the Baoding prefectural committee and standing committee, in connection with the actual situation, seriously studied the "Resolution" and had special discussions on the ferreting-out [campaigns] and on the criticism and three attacks. They summed up experiences and lessons, clarified their understanding and decided quickly and resolutely to solve the lingering question of the ferreting out and the one criticism and three attacks.

Following the smashing of the "gang of four," Baoding prefecture carried out the struggle of ferreting out, and one criticism and three attacks. In recent years there has been much discussion among the cadres and the masses, and opinions differ. Just how should they view them? How are they to be evaluated? And what questions remain, and how can they be solved? After the 6th plenary session, through studying the "Resolution" and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech delivered on July 1, the prefectural committee and the standing committee improved their understanding, distinguished right from wrong, so that their thinking was unified in the basic conclusions of the "Resolution." The resolution of the 6th plenary session pointed out that "a great achievement has been scored in exposing and criticing the evil deeds of the Jiang-Lin counterrevolutionary groups and investigating the system of counterrevolutionary cliques. The prefectural committee believed that during the internal turmoil of a decade which was aggravated by the destruction inflicted by the counterrevolutionary groups of Lin Biao and Jaing Qing, Baoding indeed suffered grave calamities. Exposing and criticizing the evil deeds of the "gang of four" and investigating their antirevolutionary system were imperative and great results were achieved. Through exposition, criticism and investigation, the political situation of the area became more stable and social order was enhanced; industrial and agricultural production and other tasks were recovering and developing. We must affirm that the broad masses of cadres and people showed great enthusiasm, acted positively, and contributed to this struggle. However, reviewing the practice of ferreting out, and one criticism and three attacks, we also discovered many problems, some of which are very serious. Generally speaking, the major problem was over-extension, to including in our investigations those who should not have been, and treating common factionalism as if it were the same as the scheme of the "gang of four" to usurp party leadership. In rural areas, widespread campaigns of one criticism and three attacks brought even more problems. Before the problems of some comrades were clarified, they were called names or criticized in the newspaper. Thus some comrades were discriminated against in political affairs and their organizations lost confidence in them. Not only those people suffered psychological damage and economic loss which dampened their enthusiasm, but also to a certain degree stability and solidarity were affected by the antagonistic feeling among the broad comrades.

Applying the basic conclusion of the "Resolution" to look at the situation in retrospect, pooling their thoughts and summing up the ferreting-out and one criticism and three attacks, the CCP Baoding prefectural committee found four major reasons for over-extension. First is the serious leftist trend in the guiding thought of the prefectural committee. Applying the great political revolutionary thought of "one class overthrows another" to direct the ferreting out and the one criticism and three attacks was at that time quite "leftist" with respect to the actual situation. The prefectural committee even criticized some counties as "rightist and engaged in one criticism and three attacks by raising the leftist slogan of "deeply undermine the social base of the 'gang of four;'" "fight the landlord," "fight Huang Shiren [7806 0012 0088]." Second, the line was unclear and even contradictory. People's internal contradictions were confused with the external contradiction between the enemies and ourselves. Problems which did not belong to the class struggle were treated as class struggle. In the investigation, an unclear concept of the gang system led to groups of the masses to be treated as gangs. In one criticism and three attacks which continued applying the leftist content and standard of "great criticism of capitalism," the right was criticized as the wrong and the right was fought as the wrong. Third, factionalism interferred. Due to the internal turmoil over a decade and the erroneous influence of former responsible cadres in the provincial committee who insisted on "drawing the line according to the person," and "invariable correctness" as the standard for carrying out investigation, one criticism and three attacks. As a result, what should have been investigated was not, and what should have been clarified was not, whereas certain cadres who had committed serious mistakes even got promoted. Fourth, wrong methods used in former political movements, especially those used in the Great Cultural Revolution, were perpetuated. Wrong charges were made, when the problem remained unclear. Segregated investigations under the name of group study, suspension and investigation, public demonstrations and criticism took place. Especially during one criticism and three attacks, there were even forced confessions and other illegal phenomena in some localities.

In order to solve these problems, the Baoding prefectural committee, after discussion, proclaimed the following regulations.

1. Committees under the direct jurisdiction of the prefectural committee and party committees at every level must use the guiding thought of the "Resolution" to sum up past lessons and experience in the investigation, one criticism and three attacks, resolutely seek truth from fact, insist on truth and correct mistakes.

2. Clearing the influence of the "leftist" thought must be continued and negative influences must be eliminated through hard work. Solving the lingering problems must be eliminated through hard work. Solving the lingering problems demands efficient, resolute, firm and clearcut actions. A renewed investigation must be made of the cases which have been decided upon. In the spirit of the "Resolution" and in due consideration of the highly fluid situation against the background of the Great Cultural Revolution, leniency should be accorded whenever possible. Cases requiring a definite settlement must be processed with great care. As long as one does not fall into the category of external contradictions, he should be helped to find a job. Careful rehabilitation is called for those people whose case has no definite conclusion. Materials concerning individuals used in the investigation should be returned to the individuals concerned. Materials emanating from organizations should be recorded and then destroyed; individuals concerned should be notified. What needs to be clarified should be clarified under proper circumstances. People placed in the wrong position should be reassigned. Implicated family members and relatives should be cleared of charges. A list should be made of those who received punishment in one criticism and three attacks; individual cases should be investigated and a speedy resolution made.

3. Leaders at every level should personally engage in various ideological work. They must be organized to study the "Resolution." By unifying their thinking, summing up their experience, eliminating barriers, and promoting mutual understanding, they will be united to go forward.

9507
CSO: 4005/41

PARTY AND STATE

APPROPRIATE APPROACH TO CRITICISM STRESSED

Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 3

[Article in "Words of a Hundred SChools" section by Fei Yi [6316 6654]: "Face and Heart"]

[Text] People often use the phrase "heart of iron and rock" to describe how a person is unmoved by feelings. The characteristics of iron and rock are hard and cold. People with such a heart give others a stern outlook that inspires awe and deters intimacy.

There is another phrase, called "face of a Bodhisattva." Bodhisattva is of many kinds and forms: Tathagata, Avalakitesvara, arhat.... What we are speaking of here is Maitreya Buddha. In temples of olden times, the appearance of Maitreya Buddha used to be a style all its own: His face is round, his smile charming, his feet bare and his bead hatless; he reveals his chest and stomach, and he never sits erect in a cultivated manner. When people enter the gate of his temple and see him they feel his affable and accessible presence.

I remember that soon after I joined the revolution, when a leading comrade discussed how to launch criticism and self-criticism, he "reversed the ordinary suggestions" by proposing these two principles: one was "face of iron and rock" and the other was "heart of a Bodhisattva." Although this happened several decades ago, because the analogy is so vivid and the argument so succinct, I still retain a profound impression of them to this day.

The so-called "face of iron and rock" means: No matter how close a comrade may have been, once he made mistakes, whatever should be criticized should be criticized. Of course, "face of iron and rock" is an analogy; an analogy may not always be all that pertinent. The real meaning of "face of iron and rock" is that one does not practice favoritism, nor emphasize "the art of personal relationship"; it does not mean that when one criticizes others, one's face should become stiff and the color of iron (people can easily invoke the image of Bao Longtu in classic opera in this connection).

The so-called "heart of a Bodhisattva" means what we often say: "Criticize others for the sake of helping them," "proceed from a desire for unity." When we criticize a comrade, we definitely do not mean to cause his downfall, to make him stink, to "make it forever impossible for him to reform," or to "persecute" him to death, but to cure his illness and save him as a patient, help him correct his mistakes.

The foregoing is ordinarily a commonplace platitude; the reason why I still insist on repeating it here is because during the 10 years of internal turmoil the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques had fairly thoroughly destroyed our party's fine tradition and work style, including criticism and self-criticism. In order to revive and give scope to such fine traditions, we must mention the old says again.

Most recently, the party Central Committee has time and again stressed the need for us to launch criticism and self-criticism. At present, there still exist in this regard some simplistic and crude tendencies, namely, there is still a question of the "heart of iron and rock" to some extent. But what needs to be further noted is another tendancy: "face of a Bodhisattva." Some comrades still believe in the "art of personal relationship," according to this they would murmur tirelessly behind your back but smile blandly to your face, and in this way bring an atmosphere of vulgarity into our political life. Some comrades, on the other hand, fail to express solemn criticism in the manner of seeking truth from facts in respect to erroneous words and deeds, or they simply refrain from carrying out any criticism or education; this has resulted in the fact that a considerable number of departments have become soft and feeble in their ideological leadership.

Let people with the "face of a Bodhisattva" change into a "face of iron and work"; let people with the "heart of iron and rock" change into a "face of a Bodhisattva." Correctly developing criticism and self-criticism will enable us to sweep away various political cobwebs, resist the encroachment of various microorganisms, and forever preserve our revolutionary youth.

9255
CSO: 4005/46

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY SETS GUIDELINES FOR GOOD MEETING STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 81 p 8

[Commentary by Chen Fen [7115 1164] and Pan Chuntao [3382 2504 3447]; "Holding a Meeting Means Holding a Meeting"]

[Text] According to press reports, Comrade Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478] suggested at the industrial and communications work forum recently convened by the State Council that "Holding a meeting means holding a meeting; we must concentrate our energy and go all out for it; all our activities must be encompassed in the central task of doing a good job in holding that meeting, and items unrelated to it should not be brought up." In accordance with this guiding idea, the forum did not organize any sightseeing trips this time; after it was started, no cultural and recreational activities were pursued; participants all greeted one another as comrades and refrained from arranging exclusive meals or special meals; when they went out on visiting engagements, they all rode in large sedans; the forum was not provided with those commodities in short supply, and even when delegates went to visit a factory, the three bags of finely wrapped export matches prepared by the factory for each delegate were also tactfully declined.

After reading such reportage, one senses something fresh and new and feels quite encouraged; for such a fine style of meeting, one can hardly help thumping the table and shouting "bravo!" Holding a meeting means holding a meeting; This is a question of style for such an operation. When holding a meeting, we must have a good meeting style, this has always been advocated by our party. For a long time, especially because of the interference and sabotage during the 10 years internal turmoil, there was indeed an unwholesome tendency showing up in our meeting style. For instance, some would hold a meeting in the daytime but in the evening would show two or three movies in a row "for reference" which were entirely unrelated to the business of the meeting. Some would arrange plenty of time for sightseeing trips to scenic spots and sites of ancient relics during the meeting period in the name of invigoration it, but in reality they would simply roam around mountains and wander about the sites. Some would resort to pomp and extravagance in living arrangements, eat and drink to their hearts' content. Some would sell the so-called commodities for "internal consumption" and "handling," included all imaginable varieties such as tea leaves, old wine, cigarettes, etc. Some would even rush out souvenirs, briefcases, teacups, pens, thermoses....

These arrangements were unrelated to the meeting, and the upshot was that these auxiliary activities turned out to be the central ones. The theme of the meeting dissipated and an otherwise good meeting was held in a loose and incoherent manner; it became perfunctory, and it reaped little results. At times some would doze off in the meeting hall, some would attempt to purchase commodities in short supply but in great demand, and some would even play cards, drink wine, and create disturbances.

When holding a meeting, we should balance work with relaxation; it is necessary to dine leisurely and enjoy cultural and artistic programs; nor is it entirely improper to arrange some appropriate visits and sightseeing trips nearby when conditions warrant doing so. But all this must not be excessive. As for things like eating and drinking to one's heart's content and purchasing commodities which are in short supply, these things should especially not be done. Holding a meeting is intended to solve practical problems; but such unwholesome practices during the meeting are incongruous with that goal. Such practices during the meeting hurt the party's work style in the first place, also impinge on people's resources, and produce no results; they are of no benefit either to the state or to the people. Therefore, the question of how to stop these deviations in meeting style is a question awaiting urgent solution.

Insofar as the leaders in charge of organizing a meeting are concerned, it is most important to foster a good meeting style and make sure that holding a meeting means simply holding a meeting. In convening a meeting, leaders all subjectively expect to hold one that is as good as possible and which will produce results; I don't think there is any likelihood of their not wishing to hold a good meeting. But why in some meetings has a lack of consistency between subjective will and objective results appeared? Apart from some peculiar reasons, a very important component in this is that some leading comrades still lack sufficient understanding of this question of devious style, and some even view the practice of letting the participants eat well, drink well, and have plenty of fun as an important purpose of the meeting. The end result is that when they pursue the good life excessively, they are embarassed by that life. If we arrange too many of those things which have little to do with the content of the meeting, they are bound to dilute the theme, or even cause the basic to turn into the peripheral.

Meeting style is a manifestation of the party's work style. If leading comrades at various levels can provide a good leadership, set up an example, and if everyone of us comes forward to pay attention to this question, to inherit and give scope to our party's good meeting style, our various meetings are bound to function better and achieve greater results.

9255
CSO: 4005/46

SHANGHAI UNITS CONVENE POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCES

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 1

> Editor's note: The Chinese People's Liberation Army has always attached great importance to the ideological education of its cadres and fighting men. The armed forces are known as the revolutionary crucible. The report carried by this paper today on the study made by units 83302 and 83304 on how to strengthen basic political work attests to that fact. At the present time, the influence of capitalist ideology continues to exist in society. The ashes of individualism continue to encroach on our body politic. Party organizations of various levels must strengthen their work in the field of political ideology. The large numbers of cadres and the masses on every battlefront must follow the example of the comrades in the People's Liberation Army in directing their efforts toward the remoulding of the world outlook, in overcoming individualism and in revivifying the revolutionary spirit in order to ensure the completion of their productive mission for this year and the continuance of the victorious march toward the establishment of a material and spiritual civilization.

[Text] Units 83302 and 83304 of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Shanghai recently held separate conferences to discuss and to exchange views on ideological work among their units and to study seriously the new situation and new problems which have emerged in connection with ideological work among the basic ranks of the army in this new era. It was agreed at the conferences that, in order to improve the disorganized and feeble work being done in the area of political ideology, it is imperative to deal a blow to individualism and to direct our efforts toward altering our world outlook.

At the discussion meeting convened by unit 83304, those attending the meeting, while taking note of certain outstanding achievements in ideological work among the basic levels, also analyzed the weaknesses which continued to exist. It was pointed out that individualism continued to plague a small number of cadres and fighting men, that certain cadres were overly concerned with their health problems, family difficulties, promotions, admission to a higher school, career advancement, work assignments, where they were being reassigned and their living conditions, and were incapable of distinguishing between the self and the public, their personal welfare and the welfare of the revolution and momentary benefits and long-term interests. Certain individuals were only interested in being given special treatment by their organizations and not in observing the rules of discipline. Certain political work cadres are remiss in correcting such aberrations and do not approach their work in a fearless and forthright manner.

At the conference for the exchange of views convened by unit 83302, the comrades of the 4th company of a certain regiment and the 85th artillery company of a certain regiment discussed the lessons they had learned from their experiences, both directly and indirectly. Originally an indifferent company, the comrades of the 4th company have, since the beginning of the year, helped their comrades and fighting men, through ideological rectification, to establish a Communist point of view of the world, to eradicate the ideological influence of individualism, to greatly strengthen their ideological underpinnings and to foster the noble spirit of service, of subjugating oneself in the interest of the public, and of exerting one's utmost efforts. This company has now emerged as one of the advanced units. On the other hand, the 85th artillery company, originally an advanced unit in 1980, has lagged behind in its accomplishments because certain comrades and fighting men had become self-satisifed with their work, lax in their ideological reform, preoccupied with their personal problems and unwilling to work regardless of difficulties.

At the conference for discussions and the exchange of views convened by the two units, it was agreed that a good way to suppress individualism and to hasten the alteration of the world outlook on the part of the cadres and fighting men was to make good use of criticism and self-criticism as a weapon. Some companies have taken steps to arrange for a review of the conduct of cadres at regular intervals. Other companies have voiced their strong support of the system of making progress reports at party branch general meetings and company affairs meetings. Some companies have taken the lead in encouraging the masses to make known their views to those in leadership positions. Other companies, by organizing meetings to discuss living conditions, company affairs and to engage in heart-to-heart talks, have succeeded in promoting among the comrades a positive attitude in engaging in ideological struggles. The two conferences expressed their approval of these activities. They exhorted the units to adopt various ways to restore and to give full play to the excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism, to eliminate the ideological debris cluttering the minds of comrades and fighting men, to remove the ideological influence exerted by liberalism and individualism espoused by the capitalist class, and to hasten the alteration of their world outlook.

Facts indicate that opposition to individualism is a continuing mission and that, while removing the influence of undesirable thoughts, it is also necessary to organize the study of Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong. The 1st company of a certain regiment and the 8th company of a certain regiment, in tackling certain ideological problems existing in the minds of certain fighting men, have made arrangements for them to study anew such writings as Chairman Mao's "To Serve the People," "In Memory of Bethune," and "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved the Mountain" in order to inculcate in them the spirit of total dedication to the service of the people, the proper way of life for revolutionary fighting men, and the distinction between personal welfare and the welfare of the revolution. Those comrades who attended the conference convened by unit 83302 for the exchange of views on their experiences in political work have come to acquire from the lessons learned by the above-mentioned companies the understanding that Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong are basic to the cultivation of men and that they serve as mighty weapons for bringing about ideological reform. It is only by using the correct ideology in helping cadres and fighting men to free themselves from the confines of individualism that we can help them to dedicate themselves to the Communist ideology, to promote the Communist morality and style and finally to bring about a change in the world outlook.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM USED TO OVERCOME LAXNESS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Shi Qinglang [4258 2532 2597]: "Take up the Weapon of Criticism, Change the State of Laxness: A New Mood Prevails in the Militia Artillery Company of the Jiangdu Water Conservation Project Administration Offices"]

[Text] The militia artillery company of the Jiangdu Water Conservation Project Administration Offices has consciously taken up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to carry out criticism of harmful tendencies and thus transformed an attitude of laxness and carried out militia construction.

During the last few years militia construction in this artillery company has manifested a few new problems. There has been an increase of tendencies toward "concern over money," unrestrained laxness and disobedience towards leadership. These tendencies combined with a lack of consistent understanding among the cadres to produce a weakened militia organization and an inability to grasp militia work. In order to correct this situation the militia artillery company took up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to struggle against these harmful tendencies and have the cadres lead the way in putting things to right. During the April anti-aircraft target practice a militiaman in the Third Squad refused to perform gunner duties and this affected the squad's training. The company cadre sought out the militiaman for a heart to heart talk and criticized his error of refusing to participate in work and thus influencing the training session. This militiaman then admitted his error, took the initiative in presenting the squad leader company cadre with written self-criticism and happily took up his gunner duties.

In conducting criticism and self-criticism this company pays attention to technique and methods in order to get people to act correctly and not heighten contradictions. "Xiao Teng," a militiaman in the Fourth Squad, often left without permission during anti-aircraft gunnery training. In criticising him for this behavior the company cadre always emphasized objective reasoning. The company cadre believes that the reason "Xiao Teng" was unwilling to admit his error was because of an irrational desire to save face. He therefore repeatedly sought him out for heart-to-heart talks and pointed out why such behavior was wrong and expressed the hope that he would correct his behavior by asking permission to attend to other duties and thus cultivate an attitude of self-discipline. He also sought out "Xiao Teng's" sentry post leader to help out with ideological work. Finally, they were gradually able to convince "Xiao Teng" to admit his errors and resolve to reform. By conducting criticism and self-criticism this militia artillery company effectively overcame a tendency toward laxness, satisfactorily completed all work responsibilities and raised their fighting strength. In target practice during the first half of the year they attained outstanding results. In August they were also designated by the Yangzhou Military Subdistrict as an advanced unit in the "Three Carrying Outs" in militia work.

11582
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARTICLE DISCUSSES PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CALL FOR MILITARY MODERNIZATION

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 81, p33

[Article: "Respond to the Party Central Committee's Call, Step Up Modernization of the Units"]

[Text] As the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Communist Party of China pointed out, the People's Liberation Army must "make progress in improving its fighting strength and gradually build itself into a powerful, modernized force." These are the grand combat orders which the Party Central issued to the broad officers and men and on the glorious duties of the people's army in the new historical period.

Why should the army be modernized? The most basic point is to have a modernized military force equipped with the most recent weapons. This is an objective requirement made by the process of historical developments and also is an assurance of victory in any future wars of anti-aggression.

Marxism has always professed that weapons are the major factor in war. In history, the birth of any new type of weapon always results in major changes in the relative strength of the two opposing forces. Engels said, "The birth of weapons is the foundation of victory in a conflict." ("Makesi-Engesi Xuanji--Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 206) Lenin also pointed out, "If a military force does not plan to have all of the weapons and fighting tactics and methods which the enemy has or might have, others well view this as stupid or even criminal behavior." ("Liening Xuanji--The Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 249) After Liberation the Party Central and Comrade Mao Zedong were extremely concerned about building modernization in the armed forces. As early as 1951 there was a call for the study of modern national defense to transform backward conditions in the army and build it into a superior, modernized revolutionary force. In 1953, Comrade Mao Zedong said that in order to prevent imperialist invasion our army, air force and navy must have completely mechanized armaments and equipment. This is unavoidably connected with complex, specialized technology. What we now need is a large number of people who are capable of grasping and utilizing modern science and technology. We must also make continual progress and improvements in our technological preparations. He repeatedly emphasized that we already were stronger than in the past and that we must be even stronger in the future. We not only must have more aircraft and cannon but also must have atomic and hydrogen bombs. In the world of today if we are not to be pushed around by others we must have these things. These important statements and directives by Comrade Mao Zedong have enriched the storehouse of Marxist military theory and are our compass in carrying out modern ization.

We are now carrying out socialist modernization in the midst of a chaotic international situation. The mad plans of the socialist imperialists in the Soviet Union to wrest hegemony over the entire world involves on the one hand the all-out development of conventional weapons and on the other hand the vigorous development of nuclear weapons. They use their superior armaments and equipment to first interfere with one nation and then to invade another area, bringing much unrest to the entire world. They are determined to subjugate us and are unhappy at our implementation of the four modernizations, seeking in all ways to obstruct and prevent them. With the support and connivance of the Soviet Union hegemonists, the Vietnam hegemonists also became blinded by lust for gain and at the same time that they made an armed invasion of Kampuchea they started up an anti-China campaign which resulted in bloody border incidents. People of Chinese heritage want us to increase our modernization, and friendly nations express the same wish. Our enemies are forcing us to modernize, so under conditions such as these how could we possibly proceed slowly in this matter?

In the world of today, to be backwards is to invite attack. Modern warfare is a comparison of manpower and economic strength as well as a comparison of modern military tactics and modern military theories. In future conflicts our enemies who employ modern armaments will find the tables turned on them. If we do not undertake to strengthen ourselves and attempt to catch up it is possible that in any future war of anti-aggression we will be placed in a passive position. Therefore, to a certain extent, whether or not to modernize the army has become a question which is related to the existence of the country and the people and the success or failure of socialist modernization.

Does our emphasis on modernization and on improved armaments and equipment mean that we are no longer revolutionary? Of course not. Our people's army is an army which is equipped with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and which is qualitatively different from all bourgeois armies. It will not do to be equipped only with modern weapons and equipment and to have modern military science and technology. It also must have a high level of revolutionary ideals, a patriotic spirit and an unflinching death-defying revolutionary heroism. Fighting strength is demonstrated both on the material and spiritual levels. The two are complementary. To ignore armaments and engage in empty talk about the function of spirit is to engage in "mysticism" and idealism. To carry out modernization and ignore doing things in a revolutionary way departs from materialism. Only when modern weapons are held by revolutionary people can there be full and complete military strength. Everyone is now aware of the superior politics of our army, yet we must accept the fact that our armaments are less than superior. We must both improve our armaments and carry out modernization to the extent of national potential and must at all times be prepared to use our armaments to confront our enemies. This requires that we make progress in strenthening our ideological work, give vent to our army tradition of defeating forces having superior equipment and implanting the concept of invincibility. This is the basic stance and viewpoint of our military preparations to prevent invasion by major and minor hegemonists. The modernization of weapons is a process of continual development from small to large, few to many, and low level to high level. Modernization must therefore develop from the current foundation. Each and every cadre and soldier must unleash his knowledge, talents and intellect to think of ways, make plans and be creative to transform our current equipment and provide modernization with wings to fly. If we have the spirit of the old man who moved mountains, take a firm stance with our current equipment, make step by step changes and make innumerable changes and partial reforms we certainly will achieve a leap in our level of quality.

Military modernizations depends on the development of modernization throughout the whole country. Our national economy is now going through a stage of development which is beset with difficulties and fraught with dangers. Because of this, military modernization cannot be accomplished in one fell swoop. We must make a general, overall approach, make allowances for our national problems and correctly understand the relationship between national defense construction and economic construction. However, we cannot be impatient, castigate god or man or lose faith in ourselves. We can only be concerned with and supportive of socialist construction on the local level and make contributions toward transforming our backward national condition of being poor and blank. If national economic construction is properly carried out our military construction can then make relatively rapid developments. At the same time we also must continue to support the policy of working long and hard at military construction, make careful and detailed plans to give full vent to our current economic resources with the most possible efficiency and strive in all ways to save on and reduce military expenditures.

Implementing military modernization means that we must make even higher demands for scientific and technological skills of our officers. The modernization of weapons is the crystallization of modern science and technology and is impossible without a certain level of knowledge in science and technology. Therefore, before we have modern weapons to use we ought to value our time, grasp study, strive to acquire modern military technology and scientific knowledge. There is an old saying, "Repair the house before the rainy season, dig wells before you suffer from thirst." Units which sit and wait for the arrival of new weapons before starting to study their use will find themselves hopelessly behind. A look at the present level of science and culture among the units shows that there are many cadres and soldiers who have middle school and lower middle school educations. But because of the ten years of chaos the actual educational level of some is rather low and far from being adequate for the demands of modernized warfare. We must be aware of such conditions.

The way ahead is dangerous and we bear a heavy burden. The officers and men in our units have the resolve and the faith to follow the leadership of the Party Central Committee in reaching new levels in the construction tion of revolution and modernization and in making even greater contributions in protecting the socialist homeland.

11582
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NANJING UNIT STUDIES CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM ISSUE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81, p 1

[Article by Jian Wei [1696 0251], Hong Shui [3163 3055] and Dong Geng [2639 5087]: "Firmly Grasp Party Principles to Overcome Vulgar "Relationships"; Secretaries of Party Organizations on All Levels Do Research on Taking the Lead in the Criticism and Self-Criticism Issue"]

[Text] "We must enthusiastically conduct criticism and self-criticism. Secretaries of party organizations must take the lead in overcoming the influence of vulgar 'relationships,' and uphold clear-cut party principles." This quote is found in a document from a recent conference convened by party organization secretaries on all levels in a Nanjing unit and is an important issue which they energetically studied and solved.

"What are the factors which now prevent us from grasping party principles and which make us fearful of criticism of self-criticism?" The secretaries participating in this study felt that one major reason was the interference of vulgar "relationships." Those comrades afflicted with this problem dare not criticize the upper levels. They are afraid of offending the leadership, afraid of "wearing small shoes," and agree to everything in order to curry favor. They dare not criticize the lower levels for fear of losing votes, fear of losing their "foundation in the masses," so they are accomodating and permissive. They are unwilling to criticize on their own level for fear of creating an unpleasant atmosphere and being unable to conduct their duties so there is a mutual disinclination to interfere. This great variety of "relationships" was like a corrosive which severely damaged party principles and prevented criticism and self-criticism. Accordingly, the secretaries took up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to make a severe self-analysis and truthfully discover to what extent "relationships" were current in their own thinking. They believe that first of all the weapon of criticism was misused during the ten years of chaos so that some comrades now take criticism, which originally was an expression of true concern for comrades, as a weapon to direct against comrades with whom they cannot get along, so that any mention of criticism elicits feelings of fear. Therefore, the use of "relationships" in place of party principle has replaced the weapon of criticism. The second factor is the interference from selfish motivations. During the discussions some comrades said with a guilty conscience that in the past they had only considered individual gain or loss, did not concern themselves with party interests, feared "standing out" and vexing other people, and took the bureaucratic road that criticism was obstructive. Although they were aware that this was incorrect they adopted the position that the less said the better. In addition, because of a bad atmosphere in some units "uncontentious people" who could derive benefit from any situation always received preference while those comrades who were strong principled and dared engage in criticism suffered injustice and were made unwelcome. After this went on for quite some time many people became accustomed to this and even felt that "relationships" formed the correct basis for doing things. Not only did some people become accustomed to it they also began to use these standards to evaluate and employ the lower levels, which aided in the development of "relationships" within the party.

After defining the main issue and discovering related factors the comrades attending the study session repeatedly carried out discussions and arrived at four actions to overcome these vulgar "relationships" and take the lead in grasping party principles. One action was for secretaries on all levels of party organizations to constantly take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The second action was to grasp criticism and self-criticism in the organizational life of the party. When carrying out criticism one should not fear "wearing small shoes," should not fear losing votes, and should fear offending people. Of course one must be concerned with methods and pay attention to results. When receiving criticism one should not haggle over the setting, the attitude or the method. The third action was to consciously accept mass observation and calmly listen to mass criticism. All party committees and party branches should restore the "suggestion boxes" and seek mass views on a regular basis. The fourth action was to firmly carry out the line of having both morals and talent, appointing people on their merits and being fair and above board in praising and blaming cadres. The ability to firmly grasp party principles and bravely carry out criticism and self-criticism should be made into a major criterion for evaluation of cadres.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

YINCHUAN TIGHTENS PUBLIC SECURITY

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 81 p 1

["Yinchuan Area's Broad Numbers of Militiamen Coordinate with the Public Security Organ to Maintain Social Order"]

[Text] The broad numbers of militiamen in the Yinchaun area are actively coordinating with the public security organs to maintain social order under the leadership of each level of the party organization to forcefully strike at the various criminal activities.

Coordinating with the public security organs to maintain social order is one of the three major duties of the militia. After the national working conference on public order in cities, the party committees of the localities of each level and the party organizations of the street units and enterprises all emphasized the organization of the militia to coordinate with the public security organs to maintain social order. The Food Grains Bureau of Yinchuan City was victimized by frequent pilferage several years ago. The party organ of the bureau summarized the lessons, organized militiamen to perform guard duty, and the situation visibly improved and this promoted production and work. A deputy secretary of the party committee of the housing construction company of the ward personally grasped the militia work, he coordinated with the public security organs to maintain social order and was awarded by the Public Security Department. The southern suburbs of Yinchuan City is a region where the city and the countryside are combined. The situation is more complicated. Since the beginning of this year, 34 neighboring units led by the public security organ organized the militiamen to participate in joint defense groups and insisted on night time patrols, this has served actively in making the social order in this area better.

The broad number of militiamen in the Yinchuan area acted strictly according to legal procedures in coordinating with the public security organs to maintain social order. The party organizations and the cadres of people's armed forces of the units that organized the militiamen to participate in the maintenance of social order also strengthened patrolling and disciplinary education of militiamen on duty and strengthened the legal and disciplinary concepts of militiamen.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG TAKES MEASURES AGAINST DRUGS, PROSTITUTION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 pp 1-2

["Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress Approves the Regulations Established by the People's Government to Prohibit the Sale and the Use of Narcotics and Outlawing Prostitution"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress passed a resolution on August 7, approving the "temporary regulation prohibiting the sale and use of narcotics" and "the temporary regulation outlawing prostitution" of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government. The two "regulations" were promulgated today by the Provincial People's Government (For the full text of the regulations, see page 2). The full text of the resolution is as follows:

Resolution by the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress Approving the "Temporary Regulation Prohibiting the Sale and Use of Narcotics" and "Temporary Regulation Outlawing Prostitution"
(Passed on August 7, 1981)

Be it resolved by the 11th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth People's Representatives Congress of the Province of Guangdong that the "Temporary Regulation Concerning the Prohibition of the Sale and Use of Narcotics" and the "Temporary Regulation Concerning the Outlawing of Prostitution" of the People's Government of Guangdong Province are approved and are to be promulgated by the Provincial People's Government.

Temporary Regulation Concerning the Prohibition of the Sale and Use of Narcotics of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government

Article 1. To maintain social order, protect the people's physical health, the sale and use of narcotics must be firmly prohibited. This regulation has been specifically written according to related regulations of the "Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China," "Notice by the State Council Concerning the Strict Prohibition of Opium Narcotics," the "Statutes for Punishment, Public Security and Control in the People's Republic of China" combined with the actual situation in our province.

Article 2. Persons manufacturing, selling, transporting opium, heroin, morphin or other narcotics shall be punished according to stipulation in related articles of the "Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China," leading elements of narcotics sales organizations shall be more severely punished.

Article 3. Persons illegally purchasing or stowing small amounts of narcotics shall be subjected to administrative detention and shall be subjected to a fine of 100 yuan to 3,000 yuan and the narcotics shall be confiscated. Where the offence is serious, such persons shall be sent to perform labor and to be educated and may also be fined.

Article 4. Persons using narcotics shall be subjected to administrative detention and may also be fined 100 yuan to 1,000 yuan and the narcotics and the paraphernalia for taking of narcotics shall be confiscated. Persons who continue against warning or who induce or order other persons to use narcotics shall be sent to perform labor and to be educated and may also be subjected to fine.

Article 5. Persons who inform, expose, help arrest elements who violate the law by selling and using narcotics illegally shall be commended and awarded.

Article 6. Persons subjected to administrative detention and fined shall be handled according to procedures stipulated in the "Statutes for Punishment, Public Security, Control in the People's Republic of China" to be adjudicated by the public security organs above the county. Persons sent to perform labor and to be educated shall be handled according to the "Supplementary Regulations Concerning Labor and Education Issued by the State Council." Where criminal responsibility is to be pursued, the matter shall be handled according to procedures stipulated in the "Criminal Litigation Law of the People's Republic of China."

Article 7. This regulation shall be promulgated on August 18, 1981.

Temporary Regulation Outlawing Prostitution of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government

Article 1. To maintain social order, good social morality and practice, it is necessary to outlaw activities of prostitution. This regulation is specifically written according to related regulations stipulated in the "Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China" and the "Statutes for Punishment, Public Security and Control in the People's Republic of China" combined with the actual situation in our province.

Article 2. Persons forcing and ordering women to engage in prostitution, or persons luring or allowing and keeping women for engaging in prostitution for profit shall be punished by regulations stipulated in related articles of the "Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China."

Article 3. Persons found to solicit the service of prostitutes shall be subjected to administrative detention and may be fined 100 to 3,000 yuan, reprimanded, and the units where they reside or their relatives shall be notified to claim them, and they shall be educated. Serious offenders shall be sent to perform labor and educated and may also be fined.

Persons found to solicit the service of prostitutes and found to be infected by syphilis and such malicious infectious diseases shall be severely punished.

Article 4. Women engaging in activities of prostitution shall be subjected to administrative detention, reprimanded, their relatives or the units where they reside shall be notified to claim them for strict discipline. Those who continue against many warnings shall be sent to perform labor and to be educated. Those who have already reformed shall not be discriminated against.

Article 5. Persons informing and exposing activities of soliciting the service of prostitutes and prostitution should be commended and awarded.

Persons obstructing public security and judiciary personnel investigating and arresting activities of soliciting the services of prostitutes and prostitution, or persons harboring elements who violate the law and commit the crime of soliciting the service of prostitutes and prostitution shall be subjected to criticism and education or shall be given warning. Serious offenders shall be subjected to administrative detention or be sent to perform labor and to be educated and a fine of 50 yuan to 300 yuan may be imposed.

Article 6. Persons subjected to administrative detention and fined shall be handled according to the procedures stipulated in the "Statutes for Punishment, Public Security and Control in the People's Republic of China" to be adjudicated by the public security organs above the county. Persons subjected to labor and education shall be handled according to "Supplementary Regulations Concerning Labor and Education Issued by the State Council." Where criminal responsibility are to be pursued, the matter shall be handled according to procedures stipulated in the "Criminal Litigation Law of the People's Republic of China."

Article 7. This regulation shall be promulgated on August 18, 1981.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

FORUM ON HOW TO MAINTAIN SECURITY ALONG RAILWAY TRACKS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 3

["Ministry of Public Security and Ministry of Railways Hold Joint Discussion Meeting, They Decide to Take Firm Measures to Reorganize Public Order and Security on the Railways, Strike at Criminal Elements Who Seriously Damage Public Order on Railways"]

[Text] The Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Railways held a joint discussion meeting during the last ten days of July to discuss the problem of public order on the railroads. It was decided to take firm measures to reorganize public order and security on the railroads to strike at criminal elements who seriously damage public order on railways.

Vice Premiers of the State Council Wan Li and Yang Jingren attended the discussion meeting. Wan Li pointed out in his talk that, at present, public order and security on the railways are very poor, and they cannot adapt to the demands of political and economic trends and economic readjustment of the present time. Cadres of each level of leadership, primarily the leading cadres of the ministry and the province must heighten their understanding of this problem, unify ideology, and take decisive measures to solve the problem of security on the railways well.

The discussion meeting suggested that the party committee and the government of each province, city, autonomous region grasp the reorganization of railroad security and public order at the present time as an important task, implement unified leadership, unified planning, and comprehensive crime solving. The current criminals who seriously damage public security on the railroads must be decisively attacked to expose the "lurking tigers" that are hidden inside the railroad establishment and along the railroad lines and that steal specifically from the railroad, and robbery and hoodlum gangs.

Participating in the discussion meeting were the public security departments of the ten provinces and autonomous regions of Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan, Shaanxi, Gansu, Nei Monggol, Sichuan, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, the ten railroad bureaus of Guangzhou, Wuhan, Zhengzhou, Xian, Lanzhou, Huhehot, Qiqi, Harbin, Beijing and Chengdu, and responsible cadres of the four railroad branch bureaus of Changsha, Hengyang, Huaihua, and Guiyang.

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CSO: 4005/856

BRIEFS

MINORITY LANGUAGE LITERARY JOURNALS--Beijing, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--Three literary journals in minority languages are coming out in the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region and Yunnan Province. The first issue of "Xinjiang Kirgiz literature" carries 60 works in the Kirgiz language. It was produced in Urumqi, capital of the region, in September. The 100,000 people of Kirgiz nationality live in the Xinjiang Pamirs, at the foot of Tianshan Mountains and in the Ili River Valley. The famous Kirgiz EPIC portraying their national hero "Manass," consisting of peoms, lyrics, legends, songs and provergs, is considered one of China's literary treasures. In the Dehong autonomous prefecture inhabited by people of Dai and Jingpo nationalities in Yunnan Province, two literary quarterlies, "yonghan" meaning the "golden peacock" in Dai and "wenbang" meaning the "crystallization of culture" in Jingpo, started publication this month. [OW201225 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 20 Oct 81]

BOOK ON PRC HISTORY--Beijing, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Part one of the "History of the Republic of China" was recently published by the Zhonghua Book Company to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. The history covers the period from 1894, when the Xing Zhong Hui (Society for the Revival of China) was founded, up to the proclamation of the provisional government in Nanjing in 1912 with Dr Sun Yat-sen as provisional president. The history pays tribute to the revolutionary leaders Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing and many others for their sacrifices and contributions to the success of the 1911 revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) monarchy. The "History of the Republic of China" is being compiled by the Institute of Modern Chinese History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. It will have three parts in twelve volumes. [Text] [OW151111 Beijing XINHUA in English 0132 GMT 9 Oct 81]

MINORITY NATIONALITY ART SYMPOSIUM--Beijing, 12 Oct (XINHUA)--China has trained 15,000 artists of minority nationalities, 43 percent of whom have had formal training in art at institutes of higher learning. This was disclosed at a national symposium on minority nationality art education now in session in Beijing. Art institutes have been set up in five autonomous regions and provinces populated largely by minority nationalities. In recent years, film studios were set up in Xinjiang, inner Mongolia and Guangxi, all regions with large minority nationality populations. The Beijing film academy has trained people of the Uygur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Miao, Tibetan, Korean, Hui, Bai, Manchu and Sibo nationalities. The current national symposium, running from 7 to 14 October, is attended by officials of provincial or municipal bureaus and art institutes. [Excerpt] [OW151111 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 12 Oct 81]

CSO: 4000/7

HONG KONG JOURNALIST URGES PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF CHINA

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by staff reporters Zhou Yizhi [0719 3015 0037] and Liang Ping [2733 1627]: "The Motherland's Mainland and Taiwan Can Both Be and Not Be Linked Together"]

[Text] We had gone to see Fei Yimin, director of the Hong Kong newspaper TA KUNG PAO, to ask him to discuss his ideas on the peaceful unification of the motherland. Mr Fei is a 74-year-old veteran journalist and political activist. He said that the 9-point plan put forward by [NPC Standing] Committee Chairman Ye [Jianying] for the peaceful reunification of the motherland not only concerns the fundamental interests of the state but also touches upon the personal advantages and disadvantages of every person on Taiwan. Therefore, he said, I think that: After the motherland is peacefully reunited, the mainland and Taiwan "will both be and not be linked together," which can bring very many advantages. This is an important question worth studying.

Mr Fei said that there are many aspects to "both being and not being linked together." For example, Taiwan has only 360,000 square kilometers of land and is short of fuel resources, but the mainland is 9.6 million square kilometers in size, a big country abounding in natural wealth, and it can supply Taiwan with the petroleum, coal, foodgrain, and resources it requires, thereby benefiting Taiwan's economic development and also changing the situation of its dependence on foreign countries. Conversely, China's construction of the four modernizations requires many talented specialists and Taiwan over the years has trained many specialists. Owing to the fact that the space is too small, many people are "heroes with no scope to exercise their abilities," to the extent that some Ph.D's have been forced to go abroad and open up restaurants, which is a great pity. If these intellectuals could go to the mainland and take part in the construction of the four modernizations, they would have ample scope for their abilities. At the same time, Taiwan has many manufactured goods that can be sent to the mainland to satisfy the urgent requirements of the markets there and also can be exchanged for large amounts of goods and materials, thereby further developing Taiwan's economy. Wouldn't this be advantageous for the entire Chinese nation?

With regard to welcoming the return of talented persons from the Taiwan side, Fei Yimin put forward another tentative idea. He said that Chairman Ye has welcomed the Taiwan side's participation in the central government structure, offering its ideas and discussing together with us what was right for the country. The Kuomintang has many senior statesmen, and we welcome their advice and ideas about the building up of the country and also welcome the contribution of their strength to their ancestral home provinces, municipalities, and prefectures, together with the local people building up their native home towns. I believe that the central government would make the proper arrangements so that their position and treatment would not be changed, and would guarantee their freedom to come and go, and it would also be possible for them to go abroad or to Hong Kong or Macao. At the same time, the two sides could exchange experience in academic learning, culture, and construction. For example, Taiwan's export goods processing zones were set up comparatively early and the mainland's special economic zones were set up somewhat late comparatively. The mainland can ask Taiwan's economic specialists to come over and pass on their experience, and Taiwan's industrialists and businessmen can also invest in the mainland's special economic zones. An experiment can be carried out, and what is good retained and what is not feasible taken back. In brief, it will be good for you, good for me, and good for everybody, and what is good will become first-quality--this is my hope.

Recently Mr Fei, because he holds the post of chairman of the preparatory committee for the commemoration by all walks of life in Hong Kong and Macao of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, once again carefully pored over Sun Yat-sen's "Plan for Industry and Commerce." He said that over the past 30 years, with regard to economic construction, although the mainland had taken a roundabout course, the actual economic achievements of new China have already far surpassed Sun Yat-sen's "Plan for Industry and Commerce." In some respects, e.g., in science, the achievements we have made--the successful exploding of a hydrogen bomb, the putting up of artificial earth satellites, etc--are things Mr Sun never thought of in his day. But we still must remember Mr Sun's dying words: "The revolution has not yet succeeded, and the comrades must still make great efforts." An urgent task now faces us, viz, to realize Mr Sun Yat-sen's ideal of a "world of universal brotherhood."

Mr Fei Yimin said that the significance of China's peaceful unification would not be confined inside the country but would have a major effect on the world. A united, strong, and prosperous China of 1 billion people, which would never seek hegemony and which would firmly oppose any aggressive power, would be an important force for safeguarding world peace.

Finally, he changed the subject to that of China's traditional ethic of "reciprocity." Of one peruses China's history, one finds some tales of "burying the hatchet" and "enemies becoming friends." Why can't the modern Chinese people, for the interests of the state and nation and for world peace, learn from the magnanimity of the ancients and thus benefit future generations?

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 234

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9 November 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 234

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USSR APOLOGIZES FOR INTRUSION INTO SWEDISH WATERS

OW011849 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 81 [as printed]

[Text] Stockholm, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union expressed regrets to Sweden Friday because of the intrusion of a Soviet submarine into Swedish territorial waters near a Swedish naval base, Foreign Minister Rold Ullsten said today.

In an interview with the American ABC News program "Nightline," the Swedish foreign minister said it was "rather unique in the history of Russian diplomacy." The incident was remarkable, he noted, because "in this case we have proof of it."

"However, Ullsten said the apology was "not enough." "We have to complete the interrogation to find out what has happened and at least to find out what kind of explanation they will give us," Ullsten said, "and then we have to decide what should be done next."

"There is no opportunity for me to speculate about using violence," he said. "But it is our intention to demonstrate that this is not tolerable to the Swedish Government."

Ullsten said Sweden wants a satisfactory solution to the incident.

Soviet ambassador to Sweden Mikhail Yakovlev met Swedish assistant foreign minister (Leif Leifland) Friday and expressed "regrets for the submarine incident," Western news reports have stated.

Since the grounding of the submarine, Sweden has strengthened its defense near the Karlskrona Naval Base. The Swedish navy positioned 12 Swedish ships, including a frigate and torpedo boats, in the restricted area to keep surveillance of the stranded submarine.

CSO: 4000/10

HAIG SPEAKS ON POLAND, U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE

OW301208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 29 Oct (XINHUA)—The United States and its Western partners have been very expressive "about the unacceptability of direct or indirect Soviet interventionism" in Poland. "It has been our position and remains our position," Secretary of State Alexander Haig said here today.

"This is an issue which must be decided by the Polish people and Polish authorities," he said, adding that the United States is watching the situation in Poland "very, very carefully."

Haig was addressing a national foreign policy conference of editors and broadcasters at the State Department.

On East-West relations Haig described his meetings in September with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko as "frank, far-reaching, substantively complete and devoid of polemic and diatribe," "if the dialogue continues with the same level of give and take," he said, "I think we have some hope for progress in setting aside the vexing differences that have characterized the American-Soviet relationship in recent years."

CSO: 4000/10

U.S. SPOKESMAN CITED ON USSR MISSILES

OW291616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1559 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet SS-20 missiles deployed against West European targets should be "dismantled and destroyed" for their mere withdrawal would not significantly decrease the threat they pose to the West, said U.S. State Department spokesman Dean Fischer Tuesday, according to reports from Washington.

Fischer's comments came in response to a West German press interview with the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. The Romanian leader called for "decisive actions" to stop the nuclear arms race and the danger it poses for Europe. He told the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU that "This applies just as much to stopping the stationing of rockets produced by the United States as to withdrawing the Soviet rockets."

Fischer noted that "Romania has traditionally called for arms reductions in Europe, so we welcome his apparent acknowledgement of the grave threat posed to Europe by Soviet missiles, a threat which the December 1979 NATO decision on theater nuclear force modernization and arms control addresses."

"I would also point out that given the mobility and the long range of Soviet missile systems such as the multiple warhead SS-20, the mere withdrawal of these systems from Europe will not significantly decrease the threat that they pose to the West," he said.

Asked if he meant the SS-20's should be destroyed, Fischer responded: "They ought to be removed and dismantled or destroyed."

But he emphasized that he was "not suggesting that this was to be a policy position of the United States at the start of the theater nuclear force negotiations" with the Soviet Union in Geneva on November 30.

He said, however, that the dismantling and destruction of the Soviet SS-20 missiles coupled with the non-development of planned new Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in the NATO TNF modernization program amounted to the so-called "zero option."

"This is fully consistent with our objective of seeking equal and verifiable limitations at the lowest possible level," he said.

Under the 1979 decision, NATO is scheduled to begin deploying in late 1983 a total of 108 U.S. Pershing II missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles in West Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands in direct response to the Soviet deployment of at least 250 SS-20's targeted at Western Europe.

CSO: 4000/10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SAUDI MINISTER HAILS SENATE VOTE ON AWACS

OW300736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Kuwait, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Saudi Defence Minister Prince Sultan Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Thursday paid warm tribute to the U.S. Senate approval to sell AWACS planes to Riyadh and said it would boost the kingdom's defence capacity, according to Radio Riyadh monitored here.

Prince Sultan said in a statement that the 8.5-billion-dollar arms deal is "a victory for Saudi Arabia's policy of wisdom and moderation as well as a victory for the American national interest."

He said the U.S. Senate approval shows "the independence of U.S. political decisions against strong pressure that tried to put the foreign policy of the United States at the service of expansionist aims of a foreign state."

Saudi Arabia will continue to buy sophisticated weapons from Europe or the United States, he said. "We will never use these weapons for aggression. We will use them only when we are invaded or when we have to defend our Islamic and Arab rights."

Prince Sultan said Saudi Arabia's Middle East peace plan "provides the international community with a historical opportunity to advance the peace process and end the 30-year-long misery in the region."

Meanwhile, the Saudi paper AL-JAZIRAH said in today's editorial that the U.S. Senate action is a "turning point" in the U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia, the Arabs and Israel. "It is not only a great political victory for the Saudi Government but also a victory for the Arab people," it added.

Another Saudi paper AL-NADWA said that the AWACS sale is part of the process of rebalancing the strategic military balance between the Arabs and Israel.

CSO: 4000/10

MIXED REACTION IN MIDEAST TO U.S. AWACS SALE

OW300250 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Damascus, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Saudi Arabia today hailed the U.S. Senate's approval of the sale of AWAC planes to Riyadh as a victory for both the Kingdom and the U.S. President. It is a clear defeat for Israel and world Zionism, a broadcast of the Saudi Radio monitored here said.

The U.S. Senate's vote shows that the United States has begun to realise its "international responsibilities in a way completely free of influence of the Zionist lobby," the Saudi Radio added.

But the U.S. AWACS sale caused angry reactions from the Israeli Government, according to Israeli Radio monitored here. Israeli Prime Minister Begin today expressed regret over the U.S. decision, saying after a special cabinet meeting that Israel now faces a new and serious danger so that it will do its best to cope with "the new danger."

A Cairo report quoted Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali as saying today that the U.S. Senate's approval would boost the prospects of the Middle East peace effort. He saw in the sale a turning point in the relations between the U.S. and the Arab states.

In Damascus, official Syrian newspapers made no mention of the U.S. Senate's decision to sell AWACS to Saudi Arabia, but continued to attack Washington's Middle East policy.

CSO: 4000/10

U.S., UK AFFIRM COMMITMENT TO NUCLEAR DEPLOYMENT

OW281700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1535 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The United States and Britain, despite anti-nuclear demonstrations in Western Europe last weekend, have reaffirmed commitment to NATO plans for deployment of modern nuclear weapons in that continent to cope with the Soviet nuclear threat, according to foreign news agency reports.

Talking to a group of European and American investors at the White House Monday, U.S. Vice President George Bush said the danger to peace is the Soviet buildup, not U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe.

Referring to last weekend's anti-nuclear protests in London, Rome, Paris and Brussels, Bush said, "I don't question the idealism of the people who have been protesting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, but I do question their sense of perspectives."

He contended that the anti-nuclear movement in Europe does not represent the majority view.

He affirmed that the administration of President Reagan remains committed to NATO plans for deployment of 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

However, he said that the Reagan administration also intends "to work for a meaningful, verifiable reduction of nuclear forces throughout the world."

White House deputy press secretary Larry Speakes in a prepared statement disclosed that President Reagan discussed the weekend anti-nuclear demonstrations in Europe with his top advisers Monday and said "We will continue to work closely with our allies to deter potential Soviet aggression and believe strongly that is the best way to assure the peace."

Meanwhile, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington Tuesday also defended NATO's 1979 plan to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and criticized the proposals in the West for a unilateral disarmament.

Western Europe would be subject to political blackmail and a military attack from Moscow if NATO didn't meet Soviet military power, Carrington noted in an address to Luxembourg's Winston Churchill Foundation.

He said the Soviet Union's deployment to date of 250 triple-warheaded SS-20 missiles that can strike anywhere in Europe requires NATO to respond with deployment of 572 cruise and Pershing II missiles starting in 1983.

Referring to the recent anti-nuclear protests, Carrington said, "The many honest people in Europe who oppose nuclear weapons, and those in my country who advocate unilateral disarmament, are mistaken because of one fundamental fact--what they are suggesting would make war more likely." The mere fear of war would not be enough to prevent it, he added.

On a nuclear-free zone from Portugal to Poland, he said, this is "unfortunately a delusion" because "the Soviet Union has far stronger conventional forces, their use would more readily be contemplated if there were no nuclear deterrent." Moreover, he added, Soviet nuclear weapons can reach Western Europe from beyond Poland, indeed from beyond the Urals.

CSO: 4000/10

OPEC ACHIEVES UNIFICATION OF OIL PRICES

OW300356 Beijing XINHUA in English 0242 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Geneva, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The oil ministers of the 13 OPEC member countries agreed here today on the unification of their oil prices by setting the official price of the marker crude (Arabian light crude oil) at 34 U.S. dollars per barrel.

An official press communique of the OPEC, read out by the Indonesian Minister of Mines and Energy Subroto, the current president of the organization at a press conference held at the end of the one-day extraordinary ministerial conference, says that the OPEC's 34 dollars official price will come into effect not later than November 1, 1981 and will remain until the end of 1982. "The conference has also agreed to a set of value differentials for the pricing of all other OPEC crudes in accordance with their respective qualities and geographical locations," the communique notes.

It stresses that the decision taken by the OPEC "will have an evident positive effect over the economy of the world through an organization of the oil market which, in turn, will contribute also to the consolidation of OPEC as the main hydrocarbon supplier to the international market."

According to the agreement, Saudi Arabia, the biggest oil exporter in the world, will raise its oil price from the present 32 dollars per barrel to 34, while the rest of the OPEC members will decrease their prices by one to three dollars respectively. Libya and Algeria will be allowed to set their oil prices at 38 dollars a barrel, four dollars higher than OPEC's official price as the differentials for their high-quality light oil, while Nigeria, another high-quality oil producer, will have its differentials of three dollars higher than the official price to set its price at 37 dollars. [as received] Some OPEC countries, which produce heavy oil, will be permitted to set their prices at one or two dollars lower than the official price. The Kuwaiti oil minister told a press conference tonight that his country will set its oil price at 33 dollars.

The achievement of the unification of oil price by OPEC will possibly put an end to the confusion at the world oil market which has lasted for more than one year. This confusion was partly due to the oil glut at the world market and partly due to the OPEC countries' differences in pricing policies. The contradictions between the "moderates" and the "hard-liners" became obvious when Saudi Arabia produced more than 10 million barrels a day to generate the oil glut at the world market and sold its oil at the lowest price of 32 dollars, and the three North-African producers set their oil prices above 40 dollars, the highest among the OPEC members. Today's agreement shows the unity among the OPEC countries since they, the "moderates" and "hard-liners" in particular, all made compromises in order to achieve a consensus on the price unification. The stabilization of oil market will be beneficial to both oil-producing and oil-consuming countries.

CSO: 4000/10

PZPR RESHUFFLES POLITBURO, SECRETARIAT

OW291042 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Oct (XINHUA)—The Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee held its fifth plenum today with a minor reshuffle of the Politburo and the secretariat, according to reports received here.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who replaced Stanislaw Kania as the party's first secretary at the fourth plenum ten days ago, delivered a speech to the Central Committee.

He denounced the one-hour nationwide strike organized by Solidarity, which ended just two hours before the opening of the party plenum.

He said that the strike had backfired on its Solidarity Trade Union organizers by exposing their destructive designs.

He said, "I think that this strike, no matter how many people took part in it and no matter how voluntary it was, served for millions of Poles as a warning, an emergency signal."

Jaruzelski noted, "In the name of the highest God, in the name of saving the nation, the party calls on Solidarity to adopt a constructive approach to discontinue strikes and give up unending negation."

He said, "The enemies of socialism are showing their hand completely."

"All dangers are accumulating," he said. "The collapsing economy, disruption of the functioning of the socialist state and anti-Soviet provocations constitute a great threat. The people's power cannot tolerate this."

At the same time, he stressed "the necessity of cooperation between all patriotic forces that recognize the reality of socialism."

During the plenum, alternate Politburo member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Professor Marian Orzechowski of Wroclaw University were elected to the Central Committee secretariat, bringing the number of secretaries to nine.

The plenum also elected army chief of general staff Florian Siwicki an alternate member of the Politburo.

Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member, said that the Politburo had discussed the question of Jaruzelski's multiple officeholding and had decided that in the current political and economic situation it was desirable for Gen. Jaruzelski to maintain his posts (as party secretary, prime minister and defence minister).

On behalf of the Politburo and the secretariat of the party Central Committee, Olszowski assured Jaruzelski of their greatest help under all circumstances.

CSO: 4000/10

REPORT ON POLAND'S SOLIDARITY STRIKES

OW281750 Beijing XINHUA in English 1551 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Poland's Independent Solidarity Union staged its second nationwide strike for one hour at noon today in defiance of government warnings and appeals to call off the stoppage, according to reports received here.

The first took place on March 27 in protest against reported manhandling of some unionists in the town of Bydoszcz.

Workers walked off their jobs today wearing red and white armbands and hoisted Polish flags and banners over the factories and some other buildings. But the essential services such as hospitals, power stations, schools and food industries were exempted.

The United Workers' Party newspaper, TRYBUNA LUDU, splashed a headline saying, "Let Us Spare Our Motherland From Strikes. They Do Not Reflect the Interests of the Worker."

Today's strike was called to protest against the increasing shortage of food and to press the government to accept solidarity's demand for a "social council" in which both the government and solidarity take part to manage the country's ailing economy. The demand had been rejected earlier.

Strikes not connected with the nationwide walkout are continuing in Zyrardow, Tarnobrzeg and Zielona Gora regions. Coal miners in Sosnowiec went on an indefinite strike today to protest against an incident last night in which dozens of miners were injured by poison gas in milk bottles thrown from a running car.

CSO: 4000/10

JARUZELSKI PROPOSES 'EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES'

OW310814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--Polish Prime Minister Wojceicj Jaruzelski today submitted to the parliament a draft law on extraordinary measures to protect the interests of citizens and the state.

He also proposed that a national consultation council be formed of political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, and scientists, writers and artists.

Speaking to the parliament (SEJM) he deplored that "unbridled strike actions have become a way of life," he said. "It is known at today's session, the convent of seniors will present to the chamber a draft resolution which calls firmly for an immediate end to strike action and to all actions violating the social order."

The prime minister also proposed the creation of a committee for social consultation under the Council of Ministers.

He explained that he had to hold the offices of party's first secretary, chairman of the Council of Ministers and defence minister in the current extraordinary situation.

He announced a government reshuffle appointing the Democratic Party's chairman, Edward Kowalczyk, to replace Deputy Prime Minister Stanislaw Mach.

Kowalczyk becomes the third non-communist party deputy prime minister along with the Catholic, Jerzy Ozdowski, and Roman Malinowski of the United Peasants' Party.

Five ministers were appointed, including Zenon Komender, vice-president of the PAX Catholic Association as minister of internal trade and service.

CSO: 4000/10

POLAND'S SEJM CALLS FOR SUSPENSION OF STRIKES

OW010230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0217 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Poland's National Assembly (SEJM) today unanimously adopted a government-backed resolution calling for the immediate suspension of all strikes.

The resolution said, "In the face of danger to the nation's existence and in order to protect citizens' basic needs, the SEJM calls on all trade union chapters to abandon immediately strike actions which are ruining the country."

It said, "It is not the time for work stoppages and demonstrations when the country is in direct need."

The resolution said, "The SEJM simultaneously notes with approval the call by the Presidium of solidarity's national commission to suspend current strikes, as well as earlier similar appeals by other trade unions and social organizations."

"If the call of the SEJM should prove ineffective and a state of higher emergency for the nation's existence arises, the SEJM will consider a proposal to equip the government with such legal means as are required by the situation," it added.

During the two-day session, the SEJM reaffirmed its support to Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski and his government.

The SEJM instructed the government to make every effort to bring about swift amelioration of the present situation and appealed to the whole society to give full support and assistance to the measures taken by the government.

The resolution expressed concern about the unbridled actions of the extremists in the trade unions, pointing out that their tendency and activities "run counter to the social accords and the basic interest of the people and the state."

CSO: 4000/10

POLISH GROUPS DEMAND STRIKE CALL OFF

OW300645 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1526 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--In the wake of the joint meeting of the PZPR, the United Peasant Alliance and the Democratic Alliance, condemning the stand taken by the "Solidarity" Union against the government's efforts to solve social difficulties. Various trade union and social organizations and the media in Poland have recently issued statements and published articles opposing the "Solidarity" Union's decision to stage an 1-hour national strike on 28 October.

The national cooperative committee of the Polish Professional Trade Union issued a statement on 27 October calling on its members not to participate in the 28 October strike. In its statement, the second largest Polish trade union organization, with nearly 4 million members, stressed that we "should not take blind adventurist action to destroy ourselves, we should negotiate and consult," and that "only by working conscientiously can we overcome the crisis."

In its statement issued on 27 October, the work group of the Polish Federation of Autonomous Trade Unions "opposes the strike which will cause unwanted social tension." The statement said that every call for a strike under the current social and economic situation is "detrimental to, and threatens the existence of, Polish society."

The General Council of the Polish Teachers Association pointed out on 27 October in its open letter to the national committee of the "Solidarity" Union that the scheduled "national strike cannot win our sympathy or support."

The Presidium of the General Council of the Polish Socialist Youth Federation pointed out in its 27 October statement that the strike is "a most incorrect form of protest" under the catastrophic economic situation facing the nation. It urged the "Solidarity" union to call off the national strike scheduled for 28 October.

The continuous strikes have further aggravated Poland's economic problems and prolonged the turbulent political situation. People from all walks of life are tired of the strike and oppose it. Even within the "Solidarity" Union itself, especially numerous grassroots trade union organizations and ordinary members, have begun to oppose the strike. According to PAP, when the Koszalin chapter of the "Solidarity" Union decided that the whole province should be prepared to stage a strike, most of the factories in that province, including numerous "Solidarity" factory committees, opposed such a decision.

The 27 October Polish ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI pointed out in its commentary that the 1-hour strike would cost the state 1 billion zloty (equivalent to $30 million) and that the strike "will cause tremendous losses," not only to the economy, but also to "national defense potential and national security."

According to PAP, a spokesman of the national committee of the "Solidarity" Union issues a communique upholding the national strike on 28 October.

CSO: 4005/156

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES POLISH SEJM MEETING

OW312105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1150 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The 8th Polish Sejm held its 17th meeting in Warsaw today. At the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and Polish prime minister, submitted to the Sejm a "draft law on extraordinary measures to protect the interests of citizens and the state" and proposed the establishment of a national consultation council. Jaruzelski delivered a lengthy speech at the meeting. He pointed out: At present, the sociopolitical situation in Poland has further intensified. Tension, clashes and strike actions have swept Poland. The shortage of supplies on the market has worried many people in society.

He said: The government has adopted and will continue to adopt measures to improve the ration system on food and certain industrial products and the coupon system. He proposed the immediate setting up of a committee to supervise the market and carry out social consultation so as to expand society's role in supervising the supplies and functions of the market.

In his speech, Jaruzelski accused the extremists of the "Solidarity" Trade Union of "creating a de facto opposite government" and of "undermining the unity of the country and bringing the economy to a standstill." He denounced the nationwide warning strike recently organized by the trade union. He said: "Unbridled strike actions have become a way of life." "This situation must not continue." He went on, saying: In view of the existing dangerous situation, the government has submitted a draft law on extraordinary measures to the Sejm Presidium to protect the interests of citizens and the state. The convent of seniors will present to the chamber a draft resolution which firmly calls for an immediate end to strike action and to all actions violating the social order. He emphatically pointed out: "If this resolution is not observed, the prime minister will have to fulfill, on an emergency basis, the legislative procedure for enacting the draft law proposed by the government." "Efforts must be made to protect the interests of the state and maintain stability in the country."

Jaruzelski also proposed the formation of a national consultation council of political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, and scientists, writers and artists, as well as the creation of a committee for social consultation under the Council of Ministers. The former will carry out its activities according to the program of the people's united front. The latter's task is to express its opinion and offer suggestions to the government on how to solve social and economic problems.

Jaruzelski explained that he must hold the offices of the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and the government prime minister in the current extraordinary situation. He said: "This is conducive to obtaining the necessary effects for action." He also said: For the same reason, "I intend to retain the office of defense minister."

After that, he proposed to the Sejm a government reshuffle to meet the current situation.

CSO: 4005/156

POLISH SEJM URGES SUSPENSION OF STRIKES

OW011001 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0753 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--The 17th session of the 8th National Assembly of Poland closed today after 2 days in session. The session unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the "Solidarity" Trade Union to immediately suspend all strikes. The resolution stressed: "If the call of the National Assembly should prove ineffective and a state of emergency for the nation's existence arises, the National Assembly will consider a proposal to equip the government with such legal means as are required by the situation."

The resolution expressed "deep concern" about the deteriorating sociopolitical situation and the incessant waves of strikes and protest activities. At the same time, it expressed "understanding and sympathy for the social dissatisfaction caused by hardships in life." The resolution instructed the government to "make every effort to bring about swift amelioration of the present situation" and appealed to "the whole society to give full support and assistance to the measures taken by the government."

The resolution called on the "Solidarity" Trade Union to "make constructive contributions" to overcoming the crisis in Poland, respect the constitutional principles and state organs and abide by the laws of the land. The resolution expressed "deep concern" about the actions of the extremists in the "Solidarity" Trade Union, pointing out that their tendency and activities run counter to the vital interests of the people and the state.

The resolution also instructed state administrative organs, public security and judicial departments to "effectively maintain public order and adopt measures according to law."

The session finally approved proposals by Premier Jaruzelski on government personnel matters and decided to remove Stanislaw Mach from his post as vice premier and to replace him by (?Edward Kowalczyk), chairman of the Democratic Alliance. In addition, the ministers of communications, domestic trade and services, foreign trade, materials management and veterans' affairs were replaced.

CSO: 4005/156

BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG MINISTERS VIEW PACIFISTS

OW271748 Beijing XINHUA in English 1651 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Brussels, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--The Soviet superiority of nuclear weapons in Europe has upset the balance of nuclear missiles deployed there and is threatening peace and security in Europe, according to the foreign ministers from Belgium and Luxembourg.

Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb and Luxembourg Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Colette Flesch reached these conclusions after studying the increase in European pacifism.

"To better meet the desire of the Belgian people and the government for peace, we must emphasize the withdrawal of Soviet SS-20 missiles which have upset the balance in Europe. This is the only way we can call off the deployment of corresponding U.S. missiles," the Belgian foreign minister said.

The Soviet Union has continued to station SS-20's in Europe, and its nuclear warheads now total 750.

"These nuclear warheads will not strengthen our security," he said. "On the contrary, they cause menace and disequilibrium."

Speaking on foreign policies, Luxembourg Deputy Prime Minister Flesch said, "In fact, the pacifists' aspirations are being turned to oppose the deployment of battlefield nuclear forces in Europe. The result is that the pacifist movement will allow the West to be reduced to an inferior position in face of the increasing Soviet military superiority." The result is extremely dangerous, he added.

Talking about detente, Flesch said it should be viewed only as an inseparable whole, that Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has shaken the system of mutual cooperation and understanding and that the Soviet Union is playing a risky game that could jeopardize world peace.

Recently, some Belgian political parties and the news media have also commented on the current pacifist movement.

The Belgian Labor Party pointed out in an article that the Soviet Union shared great responsibility in the new arms race.

Withdrawal of the SS-20's is inevitable to safeguard European peace, it said. The article also demanded that no new-type American nuclear weapons should be deployed in Europe.

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE stressed in an article yesterday that the goodwill of most pacifist movement participants is undoubted, but the people must guard against those who might take advantage of the fear of a nuclear conflict.

CSO: 4000/10

JAPAN DISTURBED BY USSR MINISTER'S VISIT CANCELLATION

OW281425 Beijing XINHUA in English 1310 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese side expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet Education Minister Mikhail Prokofyev's cancellation of visit to Japan. The Soviet minister was to visit Japan at the invitation of the Japanese-Soviet Friendship League of Dietmen.

Prokofyev cancelled the trip because the Japanese Foreign Ministry had issued a "special visa" for him instead of a diplomatic visa as requested, Soviet Ambassador to Japan Dmitriy Polyanskiy said.

Since the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan, the Japanese Government has imposed sanctions on the Soviet Union including the freezing of exchange of visits between high-level officials of the two countries.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry sources called Prokofyev's cancellation of the visit on the pretext of the visa problem "a matter beyond understanding."

Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki told newsmen today that "the Japanese side had done nothing wrong on the matter of dealing with the Soviet education minister's visit as it handled the matter in good faith." He added, "Diplomatic visas are issued when negotiations are to be held between government officials. In the present case, it is a matter involving the League of Dietmen, therefore, it is not a matter for political talks."

The Japanese press holds that by demanding a diplomatic visa for the Soviet minister, the Soviet Government attempted to make a breach in the Japanese sanctions. The Soviet cancellation will cast a shadow on the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan to come, the NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN said.

CSO: 4000/10

FRG'S APEL REJECTS UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

OW291808 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Bonn, October 28 (XINHUA)—West German Defense Minister Hans Apel said yesterday that he is opposed to one-sided disarmament by the West and called for an increase of the federal defense force's attacking power.

Addressing the 25th conference of Bundeswehr commanders, which concluded in Ingolstadt today, Apel also pointed out that one-sided disarmament will increase the probability of war and that the future of West Germany could be guaranteed only with a Western alliance.

The majority of public opinion in West Germany, Apel said, is behind the NATO dual tract decision. He said it must be made clear to those who are critical of the country's defense policy that one-sided arms limitations and controls are not acceptable. He also called for a halt to Soviet armaments.

Dealing with the importance of soldiers, Apel said that their role only can be conducive to the maintenance of peace when armed forces possess an attacking power. It is not enough to have only the will of peace today, he said. "People must see that the security of West Germany can in no way be defended without the use of nuclear weapons," he explained.

The three-day annual commanders conference was attended by 375 generals and high-ranking officers from Bundeswehr's three services.

CSO: 4000/10

'XINHUA' REVIEWS TENSION BETWEEN SUDAN, LIBYA

OW291552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--Border tension between Sudan and Chad has been growing since the rupture of diplomatic relations between Sudan and Libya last June.

The Sudanese News Agency reported that Libyan airplanes had raided towns and villages in the western border areas of Sudan on 26 occasions.

In a press interview in Cairo in the middle of this month, President Ja'afar Numayri accused Libya's leader al-Qadhdhdafi of planning to mount a large-scale invasion of Sudan from the West. Meanwhile, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak has assured Numayri that Egypt will come to the help of Sudan if it is invaded by Libya. Thus, a tense situation prevailed over the border.

Later on, Libya declared that it would withdraw its troops from the border areas and Sudan welcomed Libya's announcement. Numayri pledged that Sudan would not attack Libya first, and so did Mubarak. This resulted in an easing of the explosive situation.

Since last December, Libya has stepped up its intervention in Chad. Taking advantage of the internal strife in Chad, it has sent 6,000 mechanized troops equipped with Soviet-supplied arms to that country. A part of the Chadian guerrillas were driven to the areas bordering on Sudan and over 20,000 Chadian refugees have made their way to the Sudanese town of Junaina and many more to other cities of Sudan.

Since mid-September this year, Libya has intensified its bombing of towns and villages near the Sudanese side of the border under the pretext of attacking Chadian guerrillas.

In response to Sudan's request for military aid and in defence of its own traditional interests in the area, the United States has promised to supply Sudan with M-60 tanks, 102mm howitzers and F-15 airplanes and increase its military aid to Sudan in the current fiscal year from 30 million to 100 million U.S. dollars and economic aid to 115 million dollars.

The Sudan News Agency reported that in order to ensure security in the capital and prevent Libya from using the same bad elements who had infiltrated with the refugees to carry out subversive activities, the Sudan public security authorities had detained some 19,000 refugees. They were soon released with the exception of anti-government fundamentalists, lawless soldiers, profiteering merchants and the saboteurs in the guise of refugees.

President Numayri disclosed recently that some of the arrested had confessed that they were sent to Sudan by Libya to sabotage Sudanese economy and overthrow the government.

Diplomats in Khartoum were reported to have pointed out that the danger that foreign forces may take advantage of Sudan's bad harvest this year and the spiralling prices to stir up trouble in collaboration with internal opposition in the country.

CSO: 4000/10

AL-QADHDHAFI SENDS MESSAGE TO OAU ON CHAD

OW291331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Nairobi, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi said that he may very soon send an envoy to Libya and Chad and he himself may visit Libya afterwards to discuss the implementation of the OAU resolutions on Chad, according to local press reports today.

Moi made the remarks after receiving a special message from Libyan leader al-Qadhdhdafi yesterday. He said that the message was "very important" in relation to the problems in Africa including Chad.

It was reported that Libya's message was sent soon after French President Francois Mitterrand appealed to the OAU chairman for sending an African peace-keeping force to Chad to replace the Libyan troops there and after Chadian President Goukouni issued a communique demanding that Libya keep out of the factional fighting in Chad.

The Kenyan paper DAILY STANDARD stressee editorially today that Libya has not abandoned its plan for merger with Chad and instead it has increased its troops in Chad from 4,000 to some 15,000 strong, intending to use Chad as a "base in the heart of Africa for infiltrating, subverting and destabilizing other African countries."

The Kenyan paper DAILY NATION disclosed editorially on October 26 that France and the United States have started sending small arms to Chad to support President Goukouni and pledged logistic support for an African peace-keeping force in Chad.

CSO: 4000/10

OAU CHAIRMAN CONCERNED OVER UN DEBATE ON WESTERN SAHARA

OW300148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0125 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Nairobi, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--The current chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, has expressed his concern over the unfortunate developments surrounding the Western Sahara debate at the current session of the United Nations.

Moi made the expression in a message today to King Hassan II of Morocco and President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria.

In his message, President Moi said, "It has been brought to my attention that your representative at the U.N. has introduced a separate resolution on Western Sahara. Such action is not conducive to progress in the implementation of the decisions of the OAU implementation committee on the question of Sahara, and should not be encouraged. It is absolutely essential that we should be united in our search for a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara."

Moi said, "Under the circumstances, I am appealing to you in accordance with the mandate of the implementation committee to allow the OAU implementation committee on Western Sahara to execute its mandate on Western Sahara accordingly."

"Africa demands that the question of Western Sahara be settled in accordance with the 18th OAU summit resolution and consequent recommendations and decisions of the implementation committee on Western Sahara," he said.

CSO: 4000/10

ITALIAN LEADERS DISCUSS MISSILE BALANCE IN EUROPE

OW291248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Rome, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--About 200 Soviet SS-20 missiles were directed at Italy and can destroy 600 Italian cities, Italian Defence Minister Lelio Lagorio told newsmen at a radio interview today.

An AVANTI report today says that Lagorio said at a meeting in Prato on October 26: "The government line is to maintain a just balance among various forces in the world. The establishment of a force which can prevent any adventurous actions is necessary for opening the door to detente. This is the only starting point for reaching final agreement on disarmament."

He said: "A balance of force should be viewed from the fact that the Soviet Union has begun deploying missiles since 1977. As a reply, the West should also begin pursuing the same plan."

Italy is in favour of a "zero formula," namely, the Soviet Union should dismantle its missiles and the West would stop deploying theirs, he said.

According to another report, Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo said at a recent meeting of the Christian Democratic Party: "Because of the existence of imbalance, it is necessary to reestablish balance with new weapons which are not offensive, but dissuasive."

Political secretary of the Christian Democratic Party Flaminio Piccoli said at the same meeting that peace could not be sought by demonstrations alone. Neutrality cannot guarantee security without a balance of force. He reminded the people they must not forget that an imperialist power has invaded Afghanistan and is threatening the security of Poland.

CSO: 4000/10

MRS GANDHI SPEAKS ON MILITARY ALLIANCES

OW311215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] New Delhi, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday said that many countries are now realising that military alliances entail obligations that might not be entirely consistent with a nation's concerns.

Inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the school of international studies, Nehru University, Mrs Gandhi spoke of the restiveness and apprehension about bases and stationing of missiles that many countries involved in alliances feel.

India had no desire to get entangled in rivalries and conflicts of power blocs and their war preparations, she added.

Mrs Gandhi said: "Had we built our defence forces at the behest of others or through gifts of armaments, the centre of decision and policy-making would have moved out of our hands."

Talking of India, Mrs. Gandhi said that non-alignment was not an objective but a policy--a policy that had helped India to become technologically more self-reliant.

Mrs Gandhi said that self-reliance and development are not mere desires but essential and the "only possible way."

A two-hour battle between students and police happened when Mrs. Gandhi came to the university. The students were protesting against the anti-democratic policies of the government and her presence.

CSO: 4000/10

AFRICANS URGE REAPPRAISAL OF SALIM UN CANDIDACY

OW310244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0208 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The African group of states to the United Nations today called on the permanent member of the security council, who kept vetoing Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim A. Salim in the election of a new U.N. secretary-general, to reconsider its position and support Salim.

This appeal was contained in a communique released this afternoon following the meeting of ambassadors of the African group.

The communique says: "The African group expressed its deep concern that a permanent member of the council had consistently opposed the OAU's candidate. The African group appeals to this permanent member to reconsider its position and thus support minister Salim."

It adds, "The group also expressed its concern for the attitude of the two permanent members who have consistently abstained and appeals to them to reconsider their position."

"The African group also urges all members of the council to support Africa's candidate," it concludes.

It is understood that the United States vetoed Salim while the Soviet Union abstained all along in the council's six rounds of balloting last Tuesday and Wednesday to choose a new U.N. secretary-general.

Facing the deadlock, according to council sources, the council has canceled its scheduled meeting today and decided to continue its consultations next Tuesday with regard to considering the recommendation for appointing a new U.N. secretary-general.

CSO: 4000/10

RAW MATERIALS DISPUTE STRAINS NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Hu Jie [5170 2638]: "The Raw Materials Question in the North-South Relationship"]

[Text] On 22 and 23 October this year, a summit conference for a North-South dialogue will be held in Cancun, Mexico. In this connection, a preparatory meeting at the foreign minister level was held in Cancun at the beginning of August. The communique issued by the meeting pointed out that the objective of the summit conference would be to create conditions for holding global negotiations on eliminating the economic disparities between industrial countries and developing countries. People know that the contradictions between the South and the North (i.e., the contradictions between the developing countries and the industrially developed countries) are longstanding, the countries involved are widespread, and there are many piled-up problems which have become increasingly sharper in recent years. Among them the problem of new materials is one of the most outstanding. Raw materials are the important material foundation for North-South interdependence and are also the outstanding important reason for this interdependence. The raw materials problem affects the North-South relationship now and in the future. This article is intended to provide some materials and views on this problem.

Raw Materials Cause North-South Interdependence

In North-South economic contacts, raw materials always flow from the South to the North, i.e., from the developing countries to the developed countries. The economies of industrially developed countries depend on the raw materials of the developing countries. With regard to energy raw materials, the Western industrial countries import 4/5 of the total amount of petroleum imported in the world, and of this figure 3/4 of the petroleum comes from Third World oil-producing countries. With regard to mining industry raw materials, America depends on outside supplies for 15 percent of its consumption, Western Europe 75 percent, and Japan 90 percent, and 2/3 of these supplies come from developing countries. Although America's proportion of imported mining raw materials is fairly small, in terms of absolute quantity it is the world's largest importing country, with it heavily dependent on foreign supplies for 20 kinds of strategic ores. With regard to agricultural raw materials, the Western industrial countries account for 70-75 percent of the world's consumption of cocoa, coffee, and rubber, and almost all this amount is supplied by developing countries. One can see that if the South did not apply raw materials, the North could not have its material civilization.

With regard to the developing countries, raw materials are their major source of funds. Because the great majority of the developing countries have still not extricated themselves from the unbalanced economic structure created by colonialism, as of now primary products still account for 2/3 of their exports, and for many of these countries foreign exchange income depends on the export of one or two agricultural or mining products. Twenty-eight countries in Africa export only one to three kinds of raw materials. For example, Zambia's income from its export of copper accounts for 50 percent of its total output value; Zaire's income from its export of copper accounts for 50 percent of its foreign exchange income and over 30 percent of its total output value; Maritius' income from its export of sugar accounts for 90 percent of its total export income; and Mauritania's income from its export of iron ore accounts for 60 percent of its total export income. Therefore, the amount of raw materials imported by the industrial countries, and the prices paid for these raw materials, have a very great economic effect on the developing countries. In this connection, the developing countries also depend on the raw materials markets and prices of the developed countries. Moreover, since the end of the war [World War II], the developing countries' increase in foodgrain production has been slow, and in over 60 countries the output per capita has dropped. Many developing countries that were foodgrain-exporting countries before the war have become foodgrain-exporting countries, and because of this have become increasingly dependent on foodgrain supplies from the developed countries.

One can see that raw materials supply and demand form the economically interdependent relationship between the North and the South. This relationship of dependency was established on the basis of unequal price exchanges, and it follows the old international economic order and is filled with layer upon layer of contradictions.

The Raw Materials Problem Sharpens North-South Contradictions

After the 1970's began, the developing countries launched a struggle in the raw materials field to strive for their economic liberation. However, except for the signal victories won by the oil-producing countries, the struggle of the other countries that export agricultural and mining raw materials was restricted by all sorts of contradictions. America and certain other developed countries did their utmost to protect their vested interests and the old international economic order, which made it impossible to reach a just and reasonable solution to the raw materials problem, thereby causing outstanding aggravation between the North and the South. The unreasonable phenomena in the raw materials problem are as follows:

1. The excessively low price of raw materials. At the beginning of the 1970's, the developing raw materials-producing countries universally raised the prices of their raw materials, but in the middle of the 1970's the prices of raw materials universally jumped back, even to below the actual price in 1971. The main developed countries manipulated and suppressed the prices of raw materials by such methods as buying up and stockpiling raw materials in large quantities or

having transnational corporations in raw materials-producing countries sell raw materials directly to their parent corporations or controlling the international centers that fix the prices of raw materials. With the exception of the organization of aluminum-producing countries' raising of the price of alumina, none of the other 20 organizations of raw materials-producing countries of the developing countries could prevent the prices of raw materials from dropping.

2. The enlargement of the scissors movement of the prices of raw materials and finished industrial products. The prices developing countries get for exported raw materials are dropping, and the prices they pay for finished industrial products and foodgrain are rising. Because of this, in the 1960's the developing countries lost $50 billion. In the 1970's, the situation worsened: from 1974 to 1978. The scissors price movement expanded by 15 percent, and in 1978 alone the developing countries lost $30 billion. Actually this was a shifting by the main developed countries of the consequences of their economic crises and inflation onto the developing countries.

3. The industrial countries' monopoly of raw materials processing and their profit on the circulation of commodities. The developing countries produce raw materials, but they do not control the links of processing, transporting, selling, and distributing the raw materials of their own countries, and the profit these links bring are very big. For example, the price of alumina after being smelted into aluiminium is 9 times higher than it was originally, and the selling price of bananas is 8 times higher than the production price. The cost of transporting raw materials from the place of production to the place of selling is often much higher than the original price of the raw materials. These portions of the price increase limit the earnings of developing countries and are basically the earnings of the industrial countries.

4. Raw materials export markets are not properly protected. The industrial countries constantly employ adminitrative measures such as excessively high hygenic and safety standards, quantitative limits, and import licenses, as well as protective measures such as tariff barriers or subsidies on their own countries' products, and thus the raw materials of the developing countries cannot equally and freely enter their markets, and this situation is especially prominent with regard to agricultural products.

5. The sales of raw materials are subject to increasingly intense competition from the industrial countries. For example, the raw materials produced by the industrial countries of Australia and Canada compete with those of the developing countries in the mining raw materials selling markets: some industrial countries use South Africa's mining raw materials to hold down the prices of the developing countries' raw materials; America has taken away Africa's peanut market; and Western Europe's sugar beets are flooding the cane sugar markets. Besides this, the synthetic materials and substitute raw materials developed by the industrial countries are threatening the developing countries' markets for natural raw materials. For example, there are the technologies for replacing natural rubber with synthetic rubber, cocoa with soybeans, copper with aluminum, etc.

6. The sovereignty of raw materials countries over their natural resources is still being impaired. After the 1970's began, the developing countries took

measures such as nationalizing or regulating by law foreign capital enterprises in order to protect their sovereignty over their natural resources and their economic interests and to prevent the artificial lowering of raw material prices. However, the transnational corporations and the major industrial countries took some countermeasures. For example, after the first part of the 1970's, the industrial countries switched their mining investments to Australia, Canada, South Africa and other countries and regions. Eighty percent of mining investment does not go into the developing countries. These countermeasures seriously affected the developing countries, halting nationalization and even causing it to retreat.

With regard to seabed resources, the rights and interests of the Third World countries are also being impaired. Last year although the Law of the Sea Conference in Geneva reached an agreement (still not in effect) on the exploitation of seabed resources, and ruled that the exploitation of seabed resources must be approved by a special organization formed by the 36 developing countries, in actuality the developed industrial countries already monopolize the exploitation of seabed resources.

Raw Materials Pose an Important Problem in Harmonizing North-South Relations

With the raw materials problem having such a great effect on North-South relations, naturally it is one of the principal topics at all sorts of meetings designed to harmonize North-South relations. The United Nations has held many special meetings and trade development meetings, and has also adopted some resolutions of principle favorable to the developing countries. But some of these resolutions cannot yet be truly put into effect and some of them are basically not put into effect, so that up to today there is still not a path being taken toward a just and rational solution of the North-South raw materials problem. At present, there exist in North-South negotiations on the raw materials problem the following major issues.

1. The issue of stabilizing the prices of raw materials. In 1976, a UN trade development meeting adopted a "comprehensive plan for commodities" with the aim of stabilizing the prices of raw materials. The core of this plan was the setting up of some "international stockpiles" of raw materials, currently set at 10 kinds of raw materials (the developing countries had proposed that 18 kinds be stockpiled). When the international market price of any of the 10 kind of raw materials drops or rises beyond a prescribed standard, the international stockpiling mechanism should sell or buy this raw material in order to stabilize its price. Three years after adoption of the "comprehensive plan for commodities," the North and the South reached agreement on setting up a "joint fund" for "international stockpiling." However, the "comprehensive plan for commodities" has up to now still not truly been put into effect, first of all because the fund is inadequate, now being only $750 million, far from the originally set figure of $6 billion. Next, according to the agreement, the joint fund cannot be used until after the new materials-producing countries and the raw materials-consuming countries reach a specific agreement; and owing to the procrastination and obstruction on the part of the industrially developed countries, it is very hard to reach this specific agreement.

2. The issue of compensation for the drop in real income from raw materials export. Besides the price fluctuations in raw materials, the reduction of output created by natural disasters also affects the income stability of raw materials-exporting countries. There are now only two international accords under which compensatory grants and loans are provided to developing countries whose export income drops: one is the regional "Lome Accord" and the other is the supplementary accord of the "comprehensive plan for commodities." But the "Lome Accord's" compensatory fund is only 820 million European currency units (about $1 billion). The compensatory fund of the "comprehensive plan for commodities" every year does not reach $40 million now. Compared with the developing countries' trade deficit of $300 billion, it is truly a drop in the bucket and of no avail.

3. The issue of the indexed price readjustment on raw materials. The developing countries have proposed that the prices of raw materials be periodically indexed to the prices of industrial products and be correspondingly readjusted. This principle, called "price indexization," can prevent the developed countries from shifting their inflation onto the developing countries and also can break the manipulation by monopoly capital of international markets. The principle of price indexization was affirmed at the 6th and 7th special sessions of the UN General Assembly. However, during dialogues and relevant negotiations between the North and the South, almost all the industrially developed countries have opposed this principle. America even proposed: Owing to the fact that the developing countries suffer losses brought about by the enlargement of the price scissors on raw materials and industrially finished products, it is up to the developing countries to make up these losses themselves by increasing the volume of export.

4. The issue of reforming the world economic structure. In order to fundamentally change the irrational phenomena with regard to the raw materials problem, the developing countries have demanded: a country should process its own raw materials so that it makes its natural resources a foundation for industrialization; should take part in the international transport, circulation, sale, and distribution of its own export commodities; should in due time have full and effective control over foreign policy making with regard to its own natural resources; and should retain its international markets for raw materials, and trade discrimination should be abolished. These demands involve a profound reform of the international economic structure, and thus are even more difficult topics in the North-South dialouge.

The dispute over raw materials has increasingly strained North-South relations. North-South negotiations up to now have not been able to solve this problem. Especially in recent years, when the developed industrialized countries have insisted on their original position and order, there has been a tendency to aggravate the North-South conflict. This situation has detrimental consequences for the world economy, the economic growth of industrial countries, and the development of developing countries. The Western industrial countries should respond to the legitimate demands of the developing countries and justly and rationally resolve the raw materials dispute so that the development of North-South relations will lead to a new situation.

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CSO: 4005/59

SOUTH KOREAN STUDENTS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE

OW310832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0319 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Three hundred students of Koryo University in Seoul demonstrated on October 29 and scattered leaflets denouncing the rule of the Chon Tu-hwan regime, according to a KCNA report today.

About 8 students were arrested by the police.

At Seoul University, the report said, a fierce clash took place recently between students who took part in campus activities and plainclothes men watching them. The police arrested several students.

Students of Rihwa Women's University in Seoul on October 27 scattered about 500 leaflets and appealed to fellow students to rise against the Chon Tu-hwan regime. One student was arrested.

Students of many other universities and colleges in Seoul, Kwangju and other places also rose in struggle recently.

Despite intensified control over universities by the Chon Tu-hwan regime, the South Korean students' struggle, quiet for sometime, has become active again.

CSO: 4000/10

DPRK PAPER CRITICIZES ROK CONCURRENT UN ENTRY CALL

OW291726 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Pyongyang, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--South Korea's call for "simultaneous entry into the United Nations" is a dangerous political trap and crafty trick to keep the Korean nation divided forever, NODONG SINMUN notes today in a commentary.

Commenting on the South Korean authorities renewed claim for the simultaneous entry of both sides of Korea into the United Nations, the newspaper states that the formula was worked out by the United States and presented by Pak Chong-hui. The formula already has been rejected by world people, it says.

The commentary also says that Chon Tu-hwan has been clamouring for anti-communism and confrontation, pursuing a line of split and war and intensifying tension on the Korean peninsula. The distrust and hostility between the North and the South have increased day by day. In such circumstances, the paper goes on to say, the simultaneous entry into the U.N. will only deepen the hostility and confrontation between the two sides, and aggravate the situation on the peninsula. What is more, it will serve to legalize the splittists' "two Koreas" policy, thus laying a greater obstacle to the reunification of Korea, the paper adds.

It states that the independent and peaceful reunification of the nation is the urgent desire of the Korean people. The claim for the simultaneous entry into the U.N. runs counter to the nation's aspirations for reunification and to the current of the times.

Korea can enter the United Nations and other international organizations only if it achieves its reunification, the paper stresses, adding that people who worry about the future of the Korean nation should strive for the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

CSO: 4000/10

BRIEFS

ROK PROVOCATIONS AGAINST DPRK--Pyongyang, 1 Nov (XINHUA)--The South Korean puppet army fired tens of thousands of machinegun bullets into the D.P.R.K. side of the demilitarized zone, southeast of Kamsubong, in the central sector of the military demarcation line from 16:35 to 18:30 hours yesterday, according to a KCNA report. The action, the report said, constitutes a grave military provocation against the northern half of the republic and the South Korean Chon Tu-hwan clique should bear full responsibility for it. If the South Korean puppet army continues to act recklessly, the northern half of the republic will have to take proper countermeasures in self-defence, the report said. [Text] [OW010716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 1 Nov 81]

OMAN SUPPORTS AWACS DEAL--Muscat, 1 Nov (XINHUA)--Oman has declared her support for the American AWACS deal with Saudi Arabia, according to OP (Oman Press) today. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Saudi Arabia's acquisition of AWACS planes would bolster stability in the Arab peninsula in particular, and the Middle East in general. Saudi Arabia's strengthening of her air defence system with sophisticated military equipment would benefit the six member states of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council, the spokesman added. Oman was fully satisfied with the United States government's approval of the sale, he said. The AWACS deal would also strengthen the existing friendly relations between the region and the United States. [Text] [OW011934 Beijing XINHUA in English 1857 GMT 1 Nov 81]

XIZANG PILGRIMS RECEPTION CENTER--The Ngari Prefecture pilgrims reception center in Xizang region was recently established in Burang County. This center has begun receiving Indian and Nepalese pilgrims. In the wake of the constant improvement and the development of the relations between the PRC and India and between the PRC and Nepal, more and more Indian and Nepalese pilgrims have gone on a pilgrimage to this county. To improve the friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the Foreign Affairs Department of the Ngari Prefectural Administrative Commissioner's office formally established the pilgrims reception center at the beginning of September. This center has interpreters and reception personnel and tour vehicles. On 18 September, the center received the first group of 18 pilgrims since 1962. The majority of these pilgrims were Indian officials. The second and third groups of Indian pilgrims will arrive in Burang County at the end of September and at the beginning of October. Before the establishment of this center, Nepalese pilgrims were received by the Burang County People's Government. Since the beginning of this year, the county has received some 800 Nepalese pilgrims. [HK231334 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 81 HK]

CSO: 4005/156

REN ZHONGYI INTERVIEWED ON 'LEFTIST INFLUENCE'

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 20 Aug 81 pp 28-29

[Report on interview with Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], first secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee, by Niu Zhengwu [3662 2973 2976]: "Removal of 'Leftist' Influence Mainly Depends on Studying"]

[Text] In the month of May in Guangzhou, the pomegranate flowers were fiery red and the fragrant yulan magnolia blossoms filled the trees. I made a special trip to this famous city in the south to interview Comrade Ren Zhongyi.

Things are not always opportune, however, because Comrade Ren Zhongyi was just then attending and conducting an important meeting--a study discussion of the leading cadres of Guangdong Province, and for the moment he could not make time to grant an interview. This slight "hitch," however, made me think earnestly about the subject of this interview: What should I discuss with Comrade Ren Zhongyi?

People are not unfamiliar with Comrade Ren Zhongyi. After the smashing of the "gang of four," he was transferred from Heilongjiang to Liaoning to take up the onerous task of bringing order out of chaos in this "major disaster area" which had been seriously damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In Liaoning he led the cadres and the masses to launch a vigorous discussion on the question of the criteria of truth, how to earnestly implement various party policies, boldly redress and exonerate the martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], firmly open and develop country fair trade, and enthusiastically support writers and artists in creating and performing the play "spring-heralding flowers" as well as other fine works. All of this profoundly impressed people.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi has not been in Guangdong long and he would not consent to talk about his work since coming to the province. I thought I might as well first understand the substance of this study discussion of the leading cadres, so that I could perhaps find a topic for our conversation. From indirect sources I found out that this study discussion gathered together the members of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, the deputy provincial governor, and those were in charge of departments directly subordinate to the province in order to compare the spirit of the documents of the Central Committee Committee's work conference, to apply it to their work practices, to sum up the lessons learned, and to launch criticism and self-criticism. Relatively good results have been obtained in removing "leftist" influence. In connection with this study discussion I recalled the ideological tendency of the society in the past period. Many people believe that we still need to continue criticizing the "left" now and in the future, but some also believe that a "rightist tendency is on the rise" and that we need to be "anti-rightist." How would Comrade Ren Zhongyi view these problems? The reader might also hope to understand this. So, after the conclusion of this cadre study discussion, this correspondent requested an interview with Comrade Ren Zhongyi, and he willingly agreed.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi welcomed this correspondent in his office. The furnishing of the office was simple and unadorned: a desk, a file cabinet, a woven bamboo sofa, and several rattan chairs. Comrade Ren let this correspondent sit on the sofa and he himself sat on a rattan chair, and our conversation began.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said that the purpose of the study discussion was to further deepen understanding of the documents of the Central Committee's work conference, remove "leftist" influence from the guiding ideology, enhance our understanding, and remove interference in order that we might better implement the correct line, principles and policies formulated by the party since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. He expressed the belief that there is no longer a leftist opportunist line against which we need to struggle. By and large, what exists is the influence left behind in the minds of people by "leftist" material. However, the influence of this kind of "leftist" mentality is long-standing, very deepseated and widespread, and should never be overlooked or underestimated! The influence of the "leftist" mentality is sharply and diametrically opposed to the party's line, principles and policies. If it is not removed vigorously, we will be unable to consciously implement the party's line, principles and policies or to realize the four modernizations.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi next analyzed the characteristics of the influence of "leftist" mentality. He said that one prominent characteristic is its extensiveness. It can be said that in every place and every front there has been influence by the "left." For example, in the countryside there is fear of "wealth," which is considered revisionist; it is feared that wealth will cause polarization and that wealth means capitalism. In industry there is fear of "profit"; any mention of it is considered "putting profit in command" and capitalistic; political accounting is considered "revolution" and economic accounting is considered "revisionism." In finance and trade there is fear of "flexibility"; rigid control alone is considered socialism; flexibility is considered disorder, and a big fuss is raised at the slightest flexibility. In education there is fear of "wisdom"; the idea that "intellectual education comes first" has been criticized for a long time; knowledge is overlooked and no respect is given to intellectuals. In culture and art there is fear of "blooming." The policy of cultural confinement was enforced for so many years that some people have evolved a mentality. The word "bloom" in "let a hundred flowers bloom" seems very dangerous, for to "bloom" is to "liberalize." In factories and enterprises there is a desire to implement the system of work responsibility, but some people fear "contracts." When Guangdong and Fujian decided to set up special economic zones, some people became fearful of anything "special."

He said that "leftist" material also possesses a false revolutionary character which can therefore mislead people. Some always believe that "left" is better than right, and like to view everything from the "leftist" point of view and to judge everything according to "leftist" standards. They always suspect a "rightist" tendency in the many policies and measures adopted in the effort to bring order out of chaos as well as in the general policies and lines formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. A cripple watching a show, as the saying goes, will see everything slanted.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi expressed the view that the influence of the "leftist" mentality is the greatest obstacle to our progress. In the implementation of various policies, in carrying out reform in various areas, and in the course of revitalizing the economy, we feel the existence of such an obstacle. Of course, one cannot ascribe all problems to the "left." For instance, opposition to the four basic principles comes from two sources. One is opposition by the "left," which has attacked the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee as "rightist" and "revisionist." The other is opposition by the "right," by which, under the pretense of a "demand for democracy" and a "demand for human rights," a very small minority of people conspire to form illegal organizations, print and distribute illegal publications, craving nothing short of nationwide chaos. The tendency to violate the four basic principles must never be treated lightly. In addition, an absolute minority of people also worship things foreign and are not patriotic; they even give up their national and personal character in front of foreigners. Some cadres disregard party discipline and state law. They are corrupt, accept bribes, and take part in smuggling activities. Some people secure private gain at public expense, benefit themselves by doing harm to others, and engage in unhealthy tendencies. These problems must be concretely analyzed and resolved as they are, and we should not freely label them left or right.

At this point in the conversation, this correspondent recalled having heard the talk among some people about Guangdong being a so-called "window of the south wind," which holds that the special economic zones have "brought many problems." In discussing this problem with Comrade Ren Zhongyi, he said: Guangdong is close to Hong Kong and Macao, and in carrying out the special economic policy and establishing special economic zones, it is necessary to be a little more open toward the foreign powers. At the same time, when foreign capital and advanced technology and equipment are introduced, they unavoidably bring in some "fragrant" wind and bad odor. We must pay sufficient attention to this. In implementing the special economic policy we can never tolerate party members and cadres who do not adhere to party discipline and state law. The more open we are externally, the more strict we must make our discipline and demands internally. However, when economic policy is relaxed a little, when literature and propoganda are a bit more flexible, and when there is a little more variety in people's dress, we should not treat this as a problem and make a fuss.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi then said that ideologically we should maintain the struggle in two areas: opposing the "left" and also guarding against the right. But in terms of the guiding ideology, the emphasis should be on removing the influence of "leftist" mentality. We should never equate and treat opposition to the "left" and guarding against the right in the same way. We should not resist or slacken the removal of the influence of "leftist" ideology on the pretext of guarding against the right.

How, then, can the influence of "leftist" mentality be removed? Comrade Ren Zongyi extressed the view that the removal of the influence of "leftist" mentality differs from the historical struggle against leftist opportunism. We cannot adopt the form of struggle used in the past, but should mainly rely on studying and on carrying forward the fine learning style of combining theory and reality. He said that for many years many of our comrades were easily influenced by the "left" and often mistook "leftist" material for Marxist-Leninism, chiefly due to a shallow theoretical basis and insufficient training in the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism. Quite a number of comrades studied a little in the past, but for a long time there was a bad tendency in theoretical studies, of "superior-mindedness," and this could not even be regarded as "bookishness." In addition, for many years numerous matters of right and wrong in fundamental theory were confused, and some erroneous theoretical viewpoints became deep-seated in the minds of a lot of people. Therefore, it is not possible to remove the influence of "leftist" mentality now without studying anew.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi expressed the view that the main characteristics of the confusion regarding basic theoretical problems are: First, confusing the relationship between the material and the spiritual. This has had a very bad influence on people's mentality. Disregarding objective facts, proceeding from concepts and dogmas rather than reality, and even engaging in the two "whatevers" are all related to this influence. Second, confusing the relationship between productive forces and production relations, on one hand, and the economic foundation and superstructure on the other. Resistance to economic reforms and admonition against establishing diverse forms of work responsibility systems in agricultural production are related to this influence. These theoretical errors extend many "leftist" points of view and "leftist" policies. This analysis by Comrade Ren Zhongyi clearly shows how important it is to make up missed lessons on basic theoretical problems.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi told this correspondent that the party committee at all levels in Guangdong Province must continue to hold study discussions and remove the influence of "leftist" ideology through the deep-going study of theory. Apart from studying the documents of the party Central Committee, they should study a little of the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. In the course of this, they must earnestly sum up the many years of both positive and negative experience, launch criticism and self-criticism. Of course, criticism and self-criticism must be carried out on a conscientious basis, never engaging in any movement or letting people just get by.

This correspondent wrote this article on the interview after returning from the south. Before it was published, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was convened. In Beijing, this correspondent again met Comrade Ren Zhongyi. He said elatedly that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session was both a summary of historical experience and the guiding principle for bringing order out of chaos, for carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. We must study the "Resolution" in earnest and use this ideological weapon to further remove the "leftist" influence and to unify ideological understanding. In this way we will even more consciously unite around the party Central Committee, work together with one heart, and open up new prospects on the path of the four modernizations.

9586
CSO: 4005/21

IMPROVING PARTY STYLE FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 8, Aug 81 pp 8-11

[Article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "Party Style and Democracy"]

[Text] The "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" points out: "The issue of the style of the party in power is linked with its life or death." These are weighty words which call for our conscientious understanding.

I remember when we first entered the city of Beijing in 1949, the democratic figures and high level intellectuals, during their studies, asked a question: Is it possible for the Communist Party to degenerate? They felt that the Chinese Communist Party was good, but wondered whether it would always remain so. At that time, a responsible comrade answered: The Communist Party will not degenerate, because it practices self-criticism. Many people were satisfied with the answer, but some remained doubtful. A professor of Beijing University said to me: Then, is it possible for the Communist Party not to criticize itself one day?

The question has always stayed in my mind. Subsequent facts showed that the professor's question was well put. If self-criticism will keep the party forever safe from degeration, then what will guarantee that it will always follow the practice of self-criticism? If this problem is not solved, the party still runs the risk of degeneration. Actually, in the history of the international communist movement, it was not rare for the parties in power to run into problems. We must admit the existence of the possibility before we can make up our mind to find the means of prevention.

I once read a pamphlet by Huang Yanpei [7806 3508 1014] entitled "Return from Yanan." He visited Yanan in 1945, saw Chairman Mao and discussed his thoughts. He said to Chairman Mao: In my life of 60 plus years, I have seen many who indeed "rose suddenly" and "perished suddenly." An individual, a family, an organization, an area, and even a country--many cannot escape the control of this cycle. Most of them find themselves in hardships and difficulties at the beginning and have to fight for survival. Therefore, they concentrate their attention, using extreme care in everything they do, with everyone exerting himself. When the circumstances improve, they gradually slacken their concentration. As time passes, inertia sets in, spreading from a few to the majority. Once it becomes a trend, it is impossible to reverse it even with a vigorous effort. In history, there were instances of "slack government and successful officials," "people perishing and government ceasing," and "seeking honor and gaining disgrace." Therefore, I hope that the Chinese Communist Party will find a new way to escape the control of this cycle.

According to Huang Yanpei's record, Chairman Mao answered: We have already found a new way, and we will escape this cycle. The new way is democracy. Only by letting the people supervise the government will the government be afraid to slacken. Only when everyone takes the responsibility will the situation of "people perishing and government ceasing" be avoided.

The answer is a solution to the problem. While self-criticism is a good medicine for degeneration, a person may sometimes "hide his illness for fear of treatment" and refuse to take the medicine. Thus, it requires the people to see that he takes it. In other words, we must use democracy to guarantee that the party follow the practice of self-criticism. Self-criticism is a democratic practice. However, the democracy mentioned by Chairman Mao above refers to a state system. It is democracy in its original meaning. Criticism and self-criticism, as a sort of party practice, may possibly be preserved or discarded. However, once the people truly become the masters, once we have a sound socialist democratic system, then, the people will be able to supervise the party, prevent it from degeneration and help it preserve its superior traditional style, including self-criticism. The people will not relinquish their democratic rights. Therefore, a sound socialist democratic system is a guarantee against the degeneration of the party. To prevent a drop of water from drying up, the method is to place it in the ocean; to prevent the party and the leaders from degeneration, the method is to place them in the masses.

Actually, the problem had long occurred to Marx and Engels. When summarizing the experience of the Paris Commune, they declared that the situation where the public servants of society turned into its masters must be prevented. They also proposed the method of solution, which was the general election and the low salary systems. Following its spirit today, one may say that it is to introduce a socialist democracy and abolish prerogatives.

On the eve of the founding of the nation, Chairman Mao foresaw the problems accompanying victory. Guo Moruo's [6753 3106 5387] "300-Year Memorial Ceremony of Jiashen" was printed and distributed in 1944; the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee sounded the warning bell to the entire party in 1949. In the early days after the founding of the nation, besides launching the movement against the "three evils," we continuously rectified the party and its style. The party of those days indeed maintained its superior traditions and won universal acclaim from the people. As the party style was good, the mood of the entire society also became good.

Until the party's "Eighth Congress," the issue remained in an important position. The resolution of the "Eighth Congress" declared that, as the Chinese Communist Party had become the party in power, it must pay special attention to modesty and prudence, guard against conceit and haste and combat bureaucraticism. It also stated that, in view of the party's leadership position, it became even more necessary to carry out criticisms and self-criticisms. In his "Report on Revising the Party Constitution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The position of the party in power is a new test confronting us," because "it can easily make our comrades become contaminated with bureaucratic habits," severed from reality and the masses; therefore, "we need to practice the internal supervision of the party, and also the supervision of the party organizations and party members by the masses and figures outside the party." His words were correct.

The problem first occurred in 1957. In that year, Comrade Mao Zedong published his famous article entitled "on Correctly Handling the Internal Contradictions within the People," stressing the use of democratic methods for their solution. Not long thereafter, a rectification movement was launched in the entire party, and the masses were activated to make criticisms and suggestions. However, in the later stage of the movement, the struggle against a very small number of rightists who attacked the party was expanded, and many who expressed critical opinions to the party with good intentions were condemned as rightists. Thereafter, many people no longer dared to tell the truth and express their critical opinions. Thus, the rashness of 1958 was able to spread without restraint. However, there were still some in the party who dared to speak out, but they were knocked down in the "anti-rightwing" movement of 1959. As a result, criticisms and suggestions inside and outside the party were stifled.

At a mass meeting of 7,000 people in early 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong again emphasized the importance of democratic centralism. The present "Resolution" states that the meeting "preliminarily summarized the experiential lessons of the 'great leap forward' and launched criticisms and self-criticisms. Before and after the meeting, most of the comrades erroneously criticized in the 'anti-rightwing' movement were reexamined and rehabilitated. In addition, the labels were removed from the majority of those classified as 'rightists.'" However, by the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee in September of that year, the climate again changed, and the erroneous leftwing theme again raised its head. Thereafter, it developed all the way to the "Great Cultural Revolution."

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party's leading cadres were classified into two kinds of people: One kind included those of the "bourgeois command post," who could be criticized in whatever way, and who had no right to defend themselves. The moment they offered an argument, they were accused of "furious counterattack" and became doubly guilty. The other kind consisted of those of the "proletarian command post," who enjoyed the prerogative of freedom from criticism. No one could touch a hair on their heads. They could only be praised, not criticized; otherwise, it would be "smashing the villain." The fact was that the problem was precisely with the "proletarian command post." As a result, the party style was greatly undermined, and its degeneration greatly aggravated.

Until today there are still people who feel that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was ultra-democracy or large democracy; that it was excessive democracy. Therefore, they want to learn a lesson: Democracy is a dangerous thing; now is not the time to stress democracy. Where was any democracy in the "Great Cultural Revolution?" It was only feudal fascist dictatorship plus anarchism. One must not mistake anarchism for democracy. It was claimed that there were "four great" freedoms, but just try to post a large-letter poster criticizing the "gang of four!" Did not the Tiananmen incident make it very clear? Was not Zhang Zhixin's [1728 1807 2450] sacrifice a lesson? Actually, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the greatest undemocracy; it was imposed by a minority on the 800 million people. Had our country had a truly sound socialist democracy and legal system, it would have been basically impossible for the "Great Cultural Revolution" to have occurred.

The "Resolution" points out: "For a number of reasons, we did not systematize and legalize inner-party democracy and the democracy of state, political and social life. Or, though laws were formulated, they lacked the proper authority. Thus, a condition was created: When the party's power was overconcentrated in individuals and when the phenomenon of arbitrary decision by individuals and personality cult in the party developed, it was difficult for the party and the state to prevent and restrain the start and development of the 'Great Cultural Revolution.'" It was a very important experiential lesson.

Reviewing the history since the founding of the nation, we will see that our party originally possessed the superior style of criticism and self-criticism, but styles could be discarded. At the mass meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: Our party's good tradition of criticism and self-criticism suffered a serious damage in a period in the past. Today, it is being restored and developed, and some good new experiences have been amassed." This thesis is compatible with the practical conditions.

The "good new experiences" naturally are not limited to only one. According to my personal understanding, one important experience is that democracy must be interpreted not only as a style, but also as a state system.

For a period in the past, the moment "democracy" was mentioned, people thought of criticism and self-criticism, humbly heeding the opinions of the masses and permitting others to speak, including derogatory remarks of oneself. These are naturally all very important, but they are not enough.

Whether "permitting others to speak," "developing democracy" or "collecting the opinions of the masses," the subject is omitted. Who "permit" others to speak? Who "develop" democracy? Who "collect" the opinions of the masses? It is the leading organs and cadres. Since they may "permit others to speak," naturally they may also prohibit them from doing so. Even if people are permitted to speak, there is still the question of whether they will be heeded. If one runs into a diehard bureaucrat who "ignores the taunts and derisions and follows his own bureaucratic ways," what can one do?

In fact, if it is only "permitting others to speak," "carefully listening to opinions" and making self-criticisms, then, certain feudal monarchs were able to do so. The First Emperor of Tang, for instance, "followed advices gladly," and Emperor Chongzhen twice issued "edicts blaming himself." Is it conceivable for us to restrict the concept of "democracy" to such method and style?

The county magistrate in the operatic film "Sesame Official of the Seventh Grade" said: "If an official does not make decisions for the people, it is better to go home and sell potatoes." These words won much acclaim. In the feudal era, it was very good when the officials were willing to "make decisions for the people" and they deserved praises. However, that the common people begged the county magistrate to "make decisions for the people" was precisely because they could not make their own decisions. They were not their own masters and had no control of their own destiny. They could only pray to Heaven for a wise monarch or an honest official who was willing to do some good for the common people, and they would find themselves fortunate. If Heaven sent down a tyrant or a corrupt official, the common people deserved to be out of luck.

Talking about democracy today, we must never be guided by such thinking, but by historical materialism, recognizing the masses as the creators of history, the liberators of themselves, and the masters of their own destiny. What we need now is not "making decisions for the people," but "the people making decisions." The difference of one word reveals the essential difference of two kinds of political ideals.

"People making decisions" denotes the people's position in the state and the kind of state system. Democracy in this sense is different not only from "making decisions for the people" of the bureaucratic lords of old, but also from "developing democracy" and "permitting others to speak" of today.

Where is the difference? The word "people" changes from the object to the subject. The word "others" in "permitting others to speak," for instance, is the object. However, the people's right to speak and right to criticize are provided in the constitution and form part of our system, and they may not be prohibited from speaking. Do they only have the right to speak? No. The people also have the power to decide on state affairs and to manage the state. According to the constitution, all powers of the People's Republic of China belong to the people. The people may not only criticize the leading organs and cadres, but also select the public servants preferred by them and dismiss those who are not satisfactory. They may not only express their views on state affairs, but also legislate, make decisions and supervise the work of the government. In short, the people are the subject; the people rise up and take the responsibility; the people exercise the authority of the masters. Only thus will the degeneration of the party in power and leading cadres be prevented. Only thus will we escape the control of the cycle of several thousand years.

As aptly stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his "Speech," "after the revolutionary victory, the people have become the masters of the state and society. The most essential substance of the party's leadership of state life is to organize and support the people as the masters and build a socialist new life." The "Resolution" also points out the necessity to guarantee that the activities of the leading figures "remain under the supervision of the party and the people." In recent years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we are further systematizing and legalizing the socialist democracy. It is an excellent thing, supported by the broad party members and masses.

Naturally, just to have a system is not equivalent to all's well with the world; we must still struggle for democratic centralism. This also is our historical experience.

6080
CSO: 4005/42

INTEGRATION OF CREATIVITY WITH DISCIPLINE STRESSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological review by Zhai Wen [5049 3080]: "Insist on Integration of Initiative and Creativity with Organization-Consciousness and Discipline"]

[Text] In our inner-party life at present the following situation often exists: when inattention to giving scope to a party member's initiative and creativity is being corrected, some comrades often tend to overlook organization and discipline and manifest certain tendencies of extreme individualism, liberalism, anarchism, and bourgeois liberalization; when emphasis is being placed on making the party's organization and discipline more strict, they somehow become inhibited here and there and lack the proper spirit of initiative in their work. Although situations such as these are reflected only among a small part of our comrades, we can by no means ignore the influence they bring with them. We should insist that attention be given to this matter and that it be analyzed in order to find a way to solve this problem.

First of all, we should integrate the development of initiative and creativity with organization-consciousness and discipline on the basis of correctly understanding and implementing the party's principles and policies. The initiative and creativity which our party requires each party member to develop to the maximum in general mean the spirit of initiative, the spirit of down-to-earth work, and the spirit of innovation with which they adhere to, and carry out, the party's principles and policies. The organization-consciousness and discipline which our party requires each party member to continuously strengthen in general mean conscious maintenance of consistency with the party Central Committee in their implementation of the party's principles and policies. Therefore, when a communist is able to unite the party Central Committee's line, principles and policies with actual situations, exert all his intelligence and talent, and creatively realize the party's propositions, then we should affirm that this comrade has both given considerable scope to initiative and creativity and manifested a high degree of organization-consciousness and discipline. In the past few years, whether in terms of taking the responsibility to implement cadre policies, rectify unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation, or carrying out principles of economic readjustment, improving the management of enterprises, promoting the responsibility system in agricultural production, developing diversification, adhering to the four basic principles, ameliorating our ideological and political work, etc, many comrades within the party have given an outstanding performance; the basic reason for this is that they accepted the party's principles and policies, their thinking was relatively liberated, they were able to seriously study new situations and new problems, they consciously cleansed the influence of leftist or other erroneous ideas, and they dared to proceed and were good at proceeding from the actualities of their own units in developing their own work independently and responsibly. They did not consider that maintaining consistency with the party Central Committee in politics restricted their own initiative or creativity in any way; on the contrary, they always gained wisdom and strength in starting out on their phase of work through the study and implementation of the party's principles and policies. If one is satisfied only with copying and transmitting the party's principles and policies, if when he encounters obstacles he immediately becomes negative and resorts to sabotage or does whatever he pleases, and acts reklessly and blindly, then it will be very difficult for him to integrate the development of initiative and creativity with the observation of organization-consciousness and discipline.

Second, we should integrate the development of initiative and creativity with the observation of organization-consciousness and discipline under the principle of consciously carrying out democratic centralism. Highly developing democracy is the foundation for carrying out correct centralism. It requires party members, in their inner-party life, to have the courage and the dexterity to propose questions, express opinions, amplify achievements, criticize defects, and actively exercise the democratic rights conferred upon them by the party constitution. This is just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The so-called development of enthusiasm must be reflected concretely in the creative capability, the responsible spirit, and the energetic outlook at work on the part of the leading organs, cadres and party members, in the courage and dexterity with which they propose questions, express opinions, and criticize defects, as well as in the role of supervision exercised over such leading organs and leading cadres from the caring and protective point of view." At the same time, we cannot do without a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy, we cannot but oppose the conduct of those who openly propagate propositions different from those of the party Central Committee and those who place themselves as individuals above the party organization. In doing so, we do not mean to, nor will we, suppress democracy or constrain the party members' initiative and creativity, but we will make it possible precisely for every party member to exert his initiative and creativity even better in our normal democratic life, and effectively organize such initiative and creativity in a direction consistent with that of the party, so that they can engender an influence several times greater than that which is possible under a dissipated condition. In a word, as long as we adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, avoid partiality and absolutization in our thinking, and achieve an integration of the development of our initiative and creativity with our organization-consciousness and discipline, things will not be very difficult.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has led us to insist on returning to order from disorder, rectify the guiding ideology, establish correct principles and policies, and revive and strengthen inner-party life. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee passed the "Resolution," reelected and elected additonal principal leading members of the party Central Committee. The results of these endeavors have already provided good objective conditions for the vast ranks of the party members to integrate their initiative and creativity with their organization-consciousness and sense of discipline. Today, how to guide those party mambers who have not yet been able to integrate their initiative and creativity with the organization-consciousness and sense of discipline very well to overcome certain deviations in their thinking and their conduct in time to prevent them from advancing from one kind of partiality to another kind of partiality is a question very much worthy of our attention. For example: 1) when a certain deviation occurs, we must calmly analyze the situation and appropriately judge its manifestation, its extent, and its degree; either underestimation or overestimation would result in misjudgment in providing guidance for work. 2) When someone at a superior level criticizes a certain aspect of a certain deviation in a certain locality, other localities should carefully analyze the actual situation in their own respective area; any problem that exists in you locality is your specific problem, and how much of that problem exists is then the extent or degree of that problem. What is to be earnestly avoided most is to blindly "stir up a wind." The existence of both [leftist and rightist] kinds of deviation at the same time is found quite often; while attempting to grasp the main deviation in a given period and solve it, we must at the same time pay attention to peripheral and temporarily inconspicuous deviations. 3). Once a certain deviation occurs and the mistakes of a certain group of individual are subject to criticism, we must carry out concrete analysis and provide active guidance. Foregoing principle or condoning and placating mistakes is wrong; exaggerating at random or easily "raising questions to the higher plane of principle and line" is also wrong. We must strictly distinguish the improper use of words from mistakes in the political point of view, and questions in ideaological perception from questions of fundamental political stand. We must especially not take the expression of different opinions within the party in accordance with organizational principles as willful resistance or confrontation, or take someone's attitude of reservation maintained because he cannot think through certain questions for the time being as insistence on his mistakes.

Leading organs and leading cadres at various levels must take teh process of overcoming the deviations which occur in the development of our initiative and creativity and the strengthening of our organization-consciousness and discipline as the very process through which the party, under the guidance of correct principles and policies, protects and supports the vast ranks of the party members so that they dare to think, dare to act, dare to shoulder responsibilities independently, and dare to work without inhibitions. All methods which contribute toward the attainment of this goal must be promoted; all methods which hinder the attainment of this goal must be changed or improved upon.

9255
CSO: 4005/36

STRENGTHENING PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER IDEOLOGICAL WORK URGED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 1

[Dispatch from the office of the Propaganda Department, provincial party committee: "Meeting of Heads of Regional, Municipal and County Party Committee Propaganda Departments Asks Various Localities To Seriously Change the State of Laxity and Feebleness, Earnestly Strengthen Party Leadership Over Ideological Work"]

[Text] Strengthen party leadership over ideological work, change the state of laxity and feebleness, overcome the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, and adhere to the four basic principles: these were the themes discussed at the recently convened meeting of heads of regional, municipal and country party committee propagands departments throughout the province.

Participating in the meeting, which was held 9-16 September, were heads of regional, municipal and county party committee propaganda departments throughout the province and responsible comrades in charge of the ideological and political work of provincial departments, commissions, offices and trade unions, and youth and women's organizations, numbering altogether 125.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee were present at the meeting to speak on several questions concerning the ideological front; the participating comrades seriously discussed these questions and unanimously supported their views.

The meeting held that an important question on the ideological front at present is to change the state of laxity and feebleness in the leadership ranks. We are determined to uphold the Central Committee's directives on the solution of this question. We must launch criticism against the already emergent tendency of bourgeois liberalization, which deviates from party leadership and from the course of socialism. In Fujian, for example, multiple manifestations of leadership laxity and feebleness have been exibited: not only has criticism against bourgeois liberalization not been sufficiently expressed, but there has also been a lack of sufficiently vigorous struggle against devious trends and unorthodox practices within the party ranks and a lack of sufficiently severe crackdown on the criminal elements who resort to overseas smuggling, speculation and double-dealing as well as sabotaging of social order. The meeting agreed with the opinions expressed by the leading comrades of the provincial party committee: laxity and feebleness constitute a problem in our leadership, and the responsibility lies with the provincial party committee. In respect to those below, the main question is one of education; there is no need to resort to inspection and examination at each level. It is necessary to affirm that, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the results achieved on the propaganda, education, science, literary, information, publication, and theoretical fronts in our Fujian Province are the main thing. The ideological state is on the whole healthy. Such a good situation has been rare for many years. But at the same time we must also see that among some of the people there still exists the tendency toward wishing to cast off party leadership and the erroneous tendency toward "looking at money," looking at the bourgeois style of life, as well as the bad habit of being intolerant of commendation and intolerant of criticism, as once a person is commended he also becomes isolated, and once a person is criticized he also becomes opposed to the critic. In some localities religious activities have begun to prevail and feudal superstitions have become rampant. Struggling against such devious trends and practices and such pernicious tendencies has especially great significance to our Fujian Province, which is implementing special policies and flexible measures.

The meeting stressed the importance of correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism and also put forward tasks and requirements on the ideological front. The meeting pointed out: we must believe that on the ideological front the overwhelming majority of comrades support the party leadership and wish to follow the socialist path, and even if they have exhibited some defects or made some mistakes, they are still willing to correct them. With respect to the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization that has already emerged in some literary circles and in circles of intellectuals and youths and students, we must adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism; we must adopt the dredging approach in the manner of the gentle breeze and the drizzling rain; we must take the attitude of wishing to render warm help and to achieve unity. We cannot afford to be simplistic and crude, or to resort to sophistry or to wield the big stick, much less to start some movement. In order to solve the ideological problem among the masses of the people at present, along with strengthening our ideological and political work, we must at the same time make up our minds to make a success of our industrial and agricultural production, make a success of our economic work; we must also energetically rectify our party workstyle and dare to launch resolute struggles against bad people and bad things; with respect to smuggling rings and elements sabotaging social order and committing criminal offenses, we must execute a swift and severe crackdown on them most rigorously. Under the premise of adhering to the four basic principles, our entire ideological front must continue to emancipate people's thinking, give scope to socialist democracy, strengthen the socialist legal system, cleanse the influence of leftist ideas, unswervingly implement the "double-hundred" principle and the major decisions of opening to the outside world, delegating power downward, and liberalizing our policies in order to invigorate our economy and enliven our thinking.

The meeting analyzed the question of the relationship between correctly solving the cleansing of the influence of leftist ideas and the criticizing of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. From the point of view of the leadership, it is necessary both to solve the state of laxity and feebleness and continue to cleanse the left erroneous tendencies that have been dominant for along time. The provincial party committee has repeatedly stressed the emancipation of our thinking, giving scope to democracy, and cleansing the left erroneous tendencies in our guiding ideology: all this has been correct. But this task is not yet accomplished. At the meeting, many comrades sharply asked: Have we done enough to emancipate our thinking? Have we done enough to give scope to democracy? Have we done enough to criticize leftist things? Have we done too much, or not enough? Everybody was of the opinion that it is not that we have done too much, but not enough. There was never any question of having done too much. Without cleansing the leftist matters, it is impossible to solve the question of bourgeois liberalization. The reason such a tendency as liberalization has appeared is first of all because of the influence of the bourgeois ideology and in the second place because of a reaction on the part of the long standing leftist ideas. Hence, cleansing the influence of leftist ideas and critizing liberalization are consistent with each other, and the spirit of hte Sixth Plenary Session and the national forum on questions on the ideological front are also consistent with each other; we should not put the two in opposition to each other but should correctly launch our struggles on the two fronts.

The meeting held that the whole party must pay attention to questions on the ideological front and to strengthening our ideological and political work. Questions on the ideological front cannot be understood as being the concern only of the propaganda departments; they are the work of the whole party, the basic work of the party. The party's basic work has to do with no other than ideological construction and organizational construction. At present, we must do a good job in propagating the "Resolution;" we must unify the understanding of the whole party under the conclusions of the "Resolution." We must promote further political stability and unity through penetrating study and extensive propagation of the "Resolution" in order to maintain even greater political consistency with the party Central Committee.

We must also do a good job in carrying out our economic propaganda work; we must promote various forms of the responsibility system in agriculture, in industry, in commerce, in communications and in various enterprises and trades in general; we must likewise maintain our stability in our policy decisions. We must propagate market adjustment under the guidance of state plans and dare to let some people "stand out," let some people get rich first, and not feel apprehensive about the appearance of "outstanding households." But we must also educate people to obey state laws, follow state plans, correctly handle the relationship between the state, the collective and themselves, so that all can consciously and actively help accomplish the state's purchasing tasks.

Our newspaper and journals, radio broadcasts, and movie propaganda must, along with criticizing the tendency toward liberalization, at the same time encourage writers to emancipate their thinking, enliven their creations, and produce more good works for socialism.

With regard to the question of religion, we must pay attention to the implementation of our religious policies and respect the religious beliefs of followers of religions, but permission should not be given to those who wish to take advantage of religious activities in order to resort to illegal activities, still less to those who attempt to carry our illicit communication with foreign countries and resort to activities of infiltration and subversion.

Fujian Province is one which opens to the outside world. We must actively develop our external economic activities, expand our foreign trade, adopt even more favorable and more protective policies in respect to investment by foreign businessmen, and at the same time pay great attention to erosion by bourgeois ideology and resolutely resist the influence of bourgeois ideology.

9255
CSO: 4005/39

BRIEFS

PLA UNITS--Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese on 18 October, on pages 2 and 3 a roll of honor of individuals and units who gained merit in combatting floods in Sichuan during the past summer. Individual members of the following PLA units stationed in Sichuan are honored: the No 3 flying wing of unit 39753; the 1st company of unit 56030; the 82 recoilless gun company of unit 56039; machine-gun company of unit 56044; boat bridge company of unit 56015; special duties company of unit 56033; special duties company of unit 56028; 3d company of unit 56156; boat bridge company of unit 56018; unit 56042; unit 56262; 2nd company of unit 56034; 6th company of unit 56178. The following units of Chengdu Military Region are honored: 56028, 56030; boat bridge company of unit 56013; hospital of unit 56015; 100 mortar company of unit 56031; units 56032, 56033, 56084; boat bridge company of unit 56015; unit 56034; 3d cannon company of unit 56085; engineering battalion and 1st company of antiaircraft gun battalion of unit 56017; boat bridge company of unit 56005; unit 56039; boat bridge company of unit 56016; unit 56042; boat bridge company of unit 56018; units 56044, 56045, 56173; political section of unit 00300; unit 56180; special duties company of unit 56182; special duties company of unit 56183; units 56172, 86727; units 39527, 87476, 39753; 3d company of unit 86881; units 56105, 56109, 56156; 59th detachment of Chengdu Military Region HQ; 4 hostel of Chengdu Military Region; PLA 51st army hospital; PLA 39th army hospital; 43d detachment of unit 56229; units 56241, 56262; 1st student squadron of 1st technical school of PLA capital construction corps; political section of unit 89778; political and administrative department of PLA logistics engineering college. [HK300202 Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/156

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

LITERARY JOURNAL--Beijing, 27 Oct (XINHUA)--Literary and art works should keep to the socialist road and to the orientation of serving the worker-peasant-soldier masses and should portray socialist new people and things emerging from among the workers and peasants. This was the consensus of opinion of commune members, rural cadres, teachers and factory workers at two recent meetings sponsored by the editorial department of the journal ZHONGGUO TONGSU WENYI [0022 0948 6639 0198 2429 5669 CHINESE POPULAR LITERATURE AND ART], a literary monthly published in April this year, read mainly by worker-peasant-soldier masses, primary and secondary school teachers and educated youths. They were opposed to going after bourgeois liberalism and digressing from the socialist road in publishing magazines or books and making films. [OW311105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1155 GMT 27 Oct 81 OW]

XIZANG LITERARY, ART CONGRESS--The first Xizang regional congress of literary and artistic workers opened in Lhasa on 5 October. The congress established the Xizang Regional Federation of Literary and Art Circles. The congress also held the first festivals of the regional association of writers and folk literary workers, the regional association of dramatists and folk artists, the regional association of musicians and dancers and the regional association of artists and photographers. The congress also established the organization of all the federations. The tasks of this congress are to sum up the positive and negative experiences of this region in literary and artistic work, continue to eliminate leftist ideology, criticize the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and promote the healthy development of this region's socialist minority literature and art. The congress elected the leading positions in the regional federation of literary and art circles. Literary and artistic workers of regional subordinate organs, all prefectures and municipalities and PLA units stationed in the region elected approximately 300 delegates who were organized into the 9 delegations who attended the congress. A delegation which was sent by the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and was comprised of responsible persons of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, famous writers and artists also attended the congress. [HK231334 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 81 HK]

YUNNAN SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION--According to a YUNNAN RIBAO report, the Kunming inspection group of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee inspected certain units of the Kunming municipal commercial and educational systems from 31 March this year onwards and has thus put forth three suggestions in relation to how to grasp well building of socialist spiritual civilization: 1) all units must stress ideological and political work. All schools must implement, in an overall way, the party's educational policies, and service catering trades must educate the workers and staff to correctly deal with the related interests of the state, the collective and the individual; 2) all leaders must take the lead in giving play to the spirit of arduous struggle and make known the difficulties to the people enabling them to understand the country's situation; 3) schools, shops and organs must all promote work style; they must work in coordination with each other and learn from each other. On the afternoon of 17 September, the Kunming inspection group talked with the leaders of the Kunming Municipal People's Government at a forum and exchanged opinions on the building of socialist spiritual civilization. [HK110330 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 81 HK]

SYMPOSIUM ON NOVEL--Jinan, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The literary artistry of the classical Chinese novel "A Dream of Red Mansions" was the major topic of discussion at the 1981 national symposium on this novel held recently in Jinan, capital of Shandong Province. One hundred and fifty scholars attended the 6-day symposium. Zhou Ruchang, one of China's best-known researchers on the novel, said that the 18th century author, Cao Xueqin, was an original writer of high artistic merit. Zhang Bilai, vice-president of the Chinese Society for the study of the novel "A Dream of Red Mansions," welcomed scholars from Taiwan to come to the mainland and visit the places of historic interest linked with the novel. He urged that the scholars in Taiwan and mainland should exchange books, journals and data and should cooperate in preparing the meeting in commemoration of the 220th anniversary of Cao Xueqin's death and the international symposium on the novel, both expected to be held in Beijing in 1984. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 30 Oct 81 OW]

CSO: 4000/9

U.S RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAIWAN PROBLEM DISCUSSED

HK270947 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 26 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu [4619 6015 1311]: "The U.S. Has a Share of Responsibility for the Taiwan Problem"]

[Text] Our Kuomintang friends have paid close attention to the international influences of Beijing's peace talk proposals. They time and again pointed out that the peace talk proposal put forth by the Chinese Communist Party is "aimed at confusing world opinion." They repeatedly urged international personages not to be "fooled by the Chinese Communist Party."

This is a strange and interesting thing. The peace talk proposal is issued to the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan and the party invited to the peace talks is Kuomintang rather than "international personages." Since the Kuomintang authorities reject the proposal, why should they worry about the possibility that "international personages" would be taken in? Could these "international personages" participate in the peace talks on behalf of the Kuomintang or order the Kuomintang to attend the peace talks?

The "international personages" who can make the Kuomintang feel perplexed and alarmed should be those who are pursuing the "Taiwan relation act" and straddling the "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Are they not the Americans?

Recently when the Chinese Premier Zhou Ziyang was attending the North-South meeting held in Mexico, the U.S. President Reagan invited him to a working lunch. They talked about the Taiwan problem. According to the reports by foreign news agencies, after the talks the United States would adopt a more cautious attitude toward the problem of selling weapons to Taiwan.

Those who cherished "a gleam of hope" feel perplexed and alarmed again, saying that the Chinese Communist Party has pulled the United States over to its side to interfere in China's internal affairs.

The fact that China and the United States talked about the problem of Taiwan means that China has taken the stand to defend its independence and sovereignty. Apart from internal factors, the U.S. policy is also a reason why Taiwan has become a "problem." In the early 1950's, the U.S. President Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Straits to invade and occupy Taiwan and implement the "policy of two Chinas." In so doing, the United States hampered the peaceful reunification of our country. We still remember that in 1958 the Chinese Defense Ministry issued an open letter to our compatriots in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu, saying: "We are all Chinese. Peace is the best of the 36 stratagems." This statement was made by Chairman Mao. He also urged the Kuomintang troops not to withdraw from Jinmen and Mazu. However, the U.S. Secretary of State Dulles went to Taiwan personally to force the Kuomintang "late President the revered Mr Chiang" to withdraw his troops from Jinmen and Mazu. He intended to take the Taiwan Straits as a boundary between "big China" and "small China." Therefore, Beijing's peace proposals were always without results. Luckily the Kuomintang did not succumb to the pressure of the United States to withdraw its troops from the above-mentioned islands.

Now the United States and China have established diplomatic relations. However, the United States is still concocting the so-called "Taiwan relations act." The lotus root snaps but its fibers stay joined. Last year, on the eve or shortly after Reagan assumed power, the United States spread the news that it would resume "official relations" with Taiwan and that it would sell fighter planes to Taiwan. If the United States does so, this will mean interfering in China's internal affairs and giving Taiwan verbal or actual support so that it will refuse peace talks.

China held talks with the United States on the Taiwan problem. China never tries to draw the United States to its side, but urges the United States to stop interfering in China's internal affairs. This is entirely different from what Taiwan is doing. Taiwan hopes that the United States will not be taken in and that it will not abandon the "Taiwan relations act."

The United States has a share of responsibility for [illegible] Taiwan problem, because it is still interfering in this matter. It should stop the interference immediately.

CSO: 4005/159

HU YAOBANG MEETS XIZANG DRAMA TROUPE

HK191510 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 18 Oct 81 p 7

[Report: "Hu Yaobang's Recent Conversation With Xizang Artists"]

[Text] Not long ago, Hu Yaobang and Wan Li met the Xizang modern drama troupe in Zhongnanhai, Beijing and talked with its members. Hu Yaobang uttered a number of "actor's lines," such as "I am 66 years old and will probably die someday" and so forth.

His conversation has neither been published by newspapers and magazines in foreign countries nor by Beijing's RENMIN RIBAO nor HONGQI. However, it is published by XIJU YISHU [DRAMATIC ART] a Beijing magazine which receives little attention. The following are some excerpts of Hu Yaobang's conversation:

Hu Yaobang: Who is the head of this troupe?

Shu Kun: He hasn't come. She is the deputy head of the troupe.

Hu Yaobang: (Turns to Zhuo Ma) Are you of Xizang nationality? (Some people said that Zhuo Ma and Ren Wang play the parts of a man and the prince and Duo Bu Ji and De Yang play the parts of Romeo and Juliet.) Instead of "Romeo and Juliet," why don't you perform your own Xizang plays? Some people told me that a Xizang play, based on a fairy tale, called "Jie Shi Da Shen" is being staged.

Wan Li: (Explaining to Comrade Hu Yaobang) It is a Xizang fairy tale. (to all the members of the troupe) We should perform Xizang dances and plays. Xizang nationality is a nationality with culture.

Hu Yaobang: Xizang nationality is a nationality with culture. Excellent songs and dances of this nationality are a component part of the outstanding culture of the Chinese nation. Is there anyone who wants to dance now? Is there anyone who wants to speak. If you don't speak, I will speak. Do you need interpreters?

Members of the troupe: No, we don't need interpreters.

Wan Li: Your Hunan dialect is more understandable than my Mandarin with a Shando ng accent.

Hu Yaobang: It will be too bad if you learn from me. Nobody understands what I say. I was told that, mandated by comrades in Xizang, you want to extend greetings to me and Comrade Wan Li and say hello to us. We really do not deserve this and it is really too much for us! Instead, we would like to convey our greetings to comrades in Xizang and our gratitude for their concern shown to us (applause). It has been more than 1 year since Comrade Wan Li and I visited Xizang. Although Comrade Wan Li and I only visited Xizang once, we cherish a deep affection for it. I do not know why.

Wan Li: Comrade Yaobang gave us a good speech. His Mandarin is more understandable than mine. My Mandarin has a strong Shandong accent. It is not easy for you to understand it (laughter). Last year, we went to Xizang....

Hu Yaobang: He carried out a lot of investigations....

Wan Li: I talked a lot. I was not familiar with the situation, so I talked with cadres of counties and prefectures. I was afraid that I would issue incorrect statements which harm you. Facts eventually proved that what I said was correct. I hope that you will unite more closely, struggle hard and enrich yourselves as soon as possible. I will repeat what I said. You have good conditions to do so. You have vast territory and abundant resources, but your population is sparse. The only defects are poor communications and low scientific and technical standards. The central authorities will support you so that you will do well. The central authorities intend to help you more but how should we help you correctly? Please don't hesitate to raise your opinions. For example, instead of supplying you with barley, we gave you wheat. You raised your objection and we corrected our mistakes (laughter). How should the State Council help you and avoid harming your interests? Please convey our message: If the State Council or the central authorities have done anything which harms your interests, please point them out. We will correct our mistakes. Please convey our message.

Hu Yaobang: It is time for you to speak. Cadres of the Han nationality were able to select two representatives to speak. Now it is time for you to speak (laughter).

Suo Nan: My Mandarin is not good enough.

Wan Li: You can speak much better than I do.

Suo Nan: Today, we feel happy because we can meet with leaders of the central authorities.... The present situation in Xizang is favorable. Peasants and herdsmen have become rich and cities have become prosperous.

Wan Li: We cannot say that the situation is excellent. We can only say that it is better than before....

Wan Li: I want to add a few words. I once convened a meeting to discuss the commodity supply for minority nationalities because their supply of knives, shoes and so forth was insufficient....

Suo Nan: Peasants need wool brushes to weave woolen fabrics. They can only buy these wool brushes in Tianjin and Beijing.

Wan Li: Let your girls be colorfully dressed.

Cao Zhengfang: People have money now, but the supply of goods is insufficient. They can buy earrings and bracelets only in Shanghai.

Wan Li: People in Xizang like top hats, but they are not available.

Luo Dan: The people of Xizang welcome Comrade Hu Yaobang and Comrade Wan Li to visit Xizang again.

Hu Yaobang: I am 66 years old now and will probably die someday. (laughter)

Wan Li: I will go to Xizang again.

Hu Yaobang: Comrade Zhao Zhiyang will visit Xizang.

Cao Zhengfang: The supply of scientific, technical, literary and other books to Xizang is insufficient.

Wan Li: Has the minister of culture come? (Zhou Weizhi: I am here.)

Hu Yaobang: Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai should each send 1 million books to Xizang. In this way, Xizang will get 3 million books. Please call on the masses to contribute books.

Wan Li: We should publish books in Xizang and Uighur languages. Since we translate foreign books, why should we not publish books in these languages?

Hu Yaobang: Xizang should develop solar energy within a few years.

Wan Li: Don't burn cow dung anymore. It is an eyesore to stick cow dung on the wall... "A strange thing in Lhasa is that cow dung is packed in bags and sold by the jin."

Hu Yaobang: I burnt cow dung for a long time. I started burning cow dung in 1935. Are there any other people who want to speak? We have talked for about 45 minutes.

CSO: 4005/157

'BA YI RADIO' VOICES OPPOSITION TO CCP-KMT TALKS

OW311415 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Facts show that the proposal made public by Marshal Ye [Ye Shuai 0673 1596] that talks be held between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties will cooperate for the third time has caused serious disagreement within the party Central Committee. The proposal is imposed on the whole party by a certain person on the party Central Committee, proceeding from personal fame and gain, abandoning the party's principles and class stand and despite objection by the vast majority. It is an unforgivable political mistake.

The proposal is contrary to our party's avowed purpose that it is determined to liberate Taiwan. The liberation of Taiwan has always been an important task of our party and army for the reunification of the motherland. It is also the wish of every patriot of the Chinese nation.

However, in the past 20 years or so, because our party has made a series of major mistakes, particularly mistakes in army-building and foreign-affairs lines, [words indistinct].

Not long ago, central leading comrades headed by Deng Xiaoping put forward a so-called new principle for peaceful reunification of the motherland. In early 1979, at the working conference of the party Central Committee after Comrade Deng Xiaoping returned from a visit to the United States, he optimistically stressed the assurances made by the U.S. Government. He also stated that the United States will give up all support and aid to Taiwan. Because of this, in the past few years our country has sided with the West in foreign affairs, allied with the West militarily [jun shi shang tong xi fang lian he 6511 0057 0006 0681 6007 2455 5114 0678] and identified itself with the West politically.

However, imperialism (?has failed to fulfill the promises it made). The recent supply of modern military equipment to the Kuomintang authorities by the U.S. Government is an ironclad proof. Isn't this enough to cause us to think deeply?

It is regrettable that Deng Xiaoping and other leading comrades, ignoring and forgetting the interests of the country and nation, think only about their personal prestige--how to crown themselves with the laurel for reunifying the motherland so that their names will go down in history.

Past cooperations between the Kuomintang and the CCP were all necessitated by circumstances. The first Kuomintang-CCP cooperation was for the purpose of launching the punitive expedition against the northern warlords and abolishing the feudal (?rule). The second Kuomintang-CCP cooperation took place at the crucial juncture when the Chinese nation was in peril, and it was for the purpose of resisting Japanese imperialist aggression. Today, under circumstances of peaceful construction, what reason is there for cooperation between the CCP and the Kuomintang?

Let us not mention the results of past Kuomintang-CCP cooperation. Let us take a look at the essence of the present cooperation proposal. The proposal says: "After the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. The central government will not interfere with local affairs on Taiwan." Moreover, the proposal guarantees that Taiwan's current socioeconomic system and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged, and that there will be no encroachment on the proprietary rights over private property, houses, land and enterprises. Isn't this clearly coming to terms with and capitulating to the capitalist system? Is this the goal for which the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have shed their blood, laid down their lives and struggled hard for the better part of this century? Even more infuriating is the proposal that the present Taiwan authorities may take up posts of leadership in national political bodies and participate in running the state. To run the state together with the Kuomintang authorities who have slaughtered communists and stamped out the lives of millions of fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation--this means not only association with the reactionaries, but an act of blasphemy against the revolutionary martyrs, who must be turning in their graves.

The initiators of the above-mentioned proposal must think thrice before they act. Don't forfeit the fruits of revolution won by our people over the past half century and move for narrow personal fame and gain. The cooperation proposal which is a gross deception can only bring consequences that will also be gross deceptions.

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No. 235

Selections from JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No. 8, 1981

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EXPLOITS OF CREW OF GUIDED MISSILE DESTROYER RECOUNTED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, 1981 pp 8-11

[Report by Zhang Hanting [4545 3352 0080] and Lin Tingsong [2651 1656 2646]: "Youth Sparkles on the High Seas"]

[Text] Youth is the most precious time of human life. How should one spend one's beloved youth! By his actions, everyone provides a different answer.

On the eve of Army Day, we came to a guided missile destroyer, designed and built by our country, on a news-gathering assignment and saw many cadres and fighters in the prime of life spending their happy youth on the crests and troughs of waves in order to defend the motherland.

Captain Li Changming [2621 2490 2494], an intelligent and capable commander of swarthy complexion, has tempered himself on stormy waves for 28 years as a fighter and a cadre. On a long escort mission in the Pacific Ocean, he led the entire ship's crew to unite and work without letup so that they completed the mission in splendid fashion and for which they were collectively cited for meritorious service, second class.

On the ship there are many fighters who, like Li Changming, contribute their youth to the sea. During a combined formation training exercise, engine crew chief Dai Jinkun [2071 6855 0981] contracted a digestive ailment but still continued to work, not leaving his battle station for 12 hours. Storekeeper Qian Yunhua [6929 0061 5478], when rush-repairing a boiler, made his way into a pipe in which the temperature was over 50 degrees centigrade to do a soldering job. The hot and suffocating boiler and the scorching pipe toasted the hair on his head but he persevered in his soldering for 7 hours and finally made the repair. During a voyage, radar-sonar chief Meng Xiangfu [1322 4382 4395], despite danger to himself, repaired an oil pipe connection. Antiaircraft gun crew chief Li Shuiming [2621 3055 2494] led his crew, while the warship was on a voyage, to diligently aim the crew's guns at flying birds in order to try to find out the patterns of hitting moving targets.... In this way these men provided their respective answers to the question of how to spend one's youth.

Not long ago, the warship conducted guided missile firing in which, from loading, adjusting and firing, it achieved the desired results. It is precisely these beloved fighters who display absolute sincerity in loyalty to the party and to the motherland, who use their intelligence and strength to build an unbreakable "great wall" for the motherland's naval defense. Their youth sparkles on the high seas.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Radar-sonar chief Meng Xiangfu leads fighters in carefully safeguarding the radar antenna.

2. Antiaircraft gun crew chief Li Shuiming leads his crew in continued training while carrying out a mission, for which he was cited for meritorious service, third class.

3. Radar crew chief Hu Jigui [5170 4949 6311], who has been cited for meritorious service, third class, conscientiously tracks a target.

4. Radio crew chief Zhuang Yifeng [8369 0076 1496] while on a long voyage led his crew in sending and receiving 10,000 messages without error, for which he was cited for meritorious service, third class.

5. Engine crew chief Dai Jinkun (left) and a fighter inspect a pipeline.

6. Storekeeper Qian Yunhua, who has received a merit citation, third class, carefully solders a pipe.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JINAN AIRMEN IMPROVE FLIGHT TRAINING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, 1981 pp 12-13

[Report by Wang Hongen [3769 3163 1869], Liu Wei [0491 3555] and Wu Shouzhung [0702 1108 8369]: "Fighting Eagles Soar in the Blue Sky"]

[Text] From the airfield, one by one the fighting eagles, like arrows released from a bowstring, thrust straight up into the blue sky. This was a difficult tactical training exercise carried out by a certain attack plane unit of the Jinan Air Force.

Last year in every test, this unit obtained the best results since it was formed and set its highest record in total flying time. After the new annual training began, the officers and men gave themselves a new topic: How to keep on "climbing slopes" and set new standards in flying? They conscientiously analyzed the weak links in past training, and concluded that in the past the tactical background provided had been insufficiently complex and that in diving attacks the method of making several dives had been adopted. Although good results were obtained by training in this manner, it was still far removed from the demands of actual combat. In order to train so as to have a perfect mastery of combat skills, they decided to change the former training method by training in hitting the target with the first round on the first dive.

The key to hitting the target with the first round on the first dive are the two links of selecting the diving angle and of grasping the opportune moment to begin firing. In order to solve the difficult problem posed by these two links, deputy group commander Sun Zhongyuan [1327 1813 0337] looked over relevant written materials and linked them to his own flying practice, and wrote down many of his experiences. He also made a light-ring model on which he drew small targets. Using bits of time, he repeatedly practiced--training, experimenting, and calculating--and finally found the ideal data for selecting the correct diving angle and the opportune moment to open fire. At a military training competition organized by the division, he took first place in rocket firing.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Squadron leader Peng Gongyang [1756 0501 7122] (right) and pilot Yue Jiancong [1971 0494 0654] study a roll of film and exchange firing experiences.

2. Deputy group commander Deng Huifu [6772 1920 3940] (right) zealously helps a pilot to select the diving angle for attack.

3. Four aircraft fly in formation to the target zone.

4. Another flying day begins.

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GUIDED MISSILE BATTALION CARRIES OUT TRAINING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, 1981 pp 14-15

[Article by Zhang Jucheng [1728 1565 2052] et al.: "We Are Constantly Ready"]

[Text] "We are constantly ready" and "will strike at wherever the party points to!" is the solemn pledge heard at the training ground of the 4th battalion of an unidentified unit [bu] of a guided missile unit.

Recently, the 4th Battalion received orders to undergo training. The testing detachment [fendui] had to check out the closely packed circuits and intricate precision instruments inside the missile fuselage, which required a fairly high level of scientific and technical know-how. At the beginning of the year, because some key technicians had been transferred out for training, the training of new technicians [hao shou [5714 2087]] ran into difficulties. The detachment's chief technician Chen Xiang [7115 3276] confronted the problem and took the initiative to act as an instructor. He purchased such scientific and technical books as "Lessons on Transistors" and "Electrical Engineering," studied diligently and wrote over 130 pages of lesson plans. After the new technicians attended more than 50 hours of classes, they achieved marked improvement in their knowledge of basic theories and specialized fields, which enabled the test work to be carried out successfully.

The launching detachment [fendui] is in charge of numerous specialized tasks and each technician not only has to be proficient in his own work but also has to know other specialized work as well. They have to be expert in one thing and good in many. In order to meet this requirement, they launched activities to work with fuel, electrical and air lines. The cadres and fighters studied hard and quickly mastered the skill of drawing charts of the "three lines" from memory. They also can skillfully handle the work of actual assembling operations. Controller Wang Mingchao [3769 2494 2600] is a typical example. He joined the unit over a year ago, and through rigorous training, is not only able to use the instruments and recite from memory their code names, proper positionings and prescribed values, but also able to perform the operations accurately and swiftly. As a result, the training task was successfully carried out.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Chief technician Chen Xiang [7115 3276] (left) and technician Wang Chunxi [3769 2504 0823], standing fast at their post, check out the missile fuselage's air bottle nipple [connection].

2. Carefully checking out the guided missile to make sure it is in good combat condition.

3. Number 7 technician Han Yunliang [7281 6663 5328] carefully checks out the guided missile for air leaks.

4. Cadres engage themselves in work to attain high quality.

5. Controller Wang Mingchao [3769 2494 2600] conducts vertical tests.

6. The instrumentation squad is conscientiously doing its work to effectively prepare for the launching.

7. Moving on to a new position.

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GUANGXI BORDER TROOPS REPULSE VIETNAMESE ATTACKS ON FAKASHAN

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, 1981
pp 38-39

[Report from the China-Vietnam border front by Wu Shibin [0702 0013 2430] and Zhao Keming [6392 0668 6900]: "Heroic Fakashan Stands Towering Like a Giant"]

[Text] "The great motherland is not to be bullied, its territory is sacred and inviolable"--this is the pledge taken by the border defense fighters holding their ground at Fakashan in Ningming County, Guangxi. Since 5 May this year, the Vietnamese intruders have fired over 10,000 artillery rounds at our Fakashan area and, under cover of artillery and tank fire, have launched attacks in turn by military forces, ranging in size from company to battalion to regiment, on our position. Our border defense fighters have risen up to counterattack and the intruding Vietnamese soldiers have been duly punished. The position at Fakashan has been held steadfastly.

On 5 May, when the Vietnamese army mounted a fierce intrusion against us, the cadres and fighters defending here, driven beyond the limits of their forbearance, rose up and counterattacked. Deputy company commander Huang Zhaorong [7806 0340 2837] and platoon leader Zhou Kunsheng [0719 0981 516B] led the fighters of the 1st Platoon in fiercely beating back the enemy soldiers charging at their front. Deputy squad leader Li Huaijing [2621 2037 3878] singlehandedly thrust himself into the enemy position and, fiercely firing his submachinegun to the right and left, covered his comrades-in-arms as they completely annihilated the remnants of the enemy forces. Ni Shengdin [0242 516B 7307], leader of the 2d Squad, although deafened by the enemy's artillery fire, still resolutely directed the counterattack by the fighters of his squad, which repulsed several enemy attacks. The 5th Company held fast to its position for 7 days and nights. On 10 May alone, it routed three attacks by a strong company and did not let the enemy advance one step. The company has received a merit citation, first class.

The intruding Vietnamese army, like a beaten, infuriated gambler, before dawn on 16 May launched five successive attacks in regimental strength on Fakashan. One company commander at our position was wounded. At this critical juncture, Liang Tianhui [4731 1131 1920], the commander of another company, stood up and led the cadres and fighters of his company in a rush to the firing line, where he formed a fighting collective with the fraternal unit. With the fire support of our artillery detachment, they fought a fierce battle with the intruding Vietnamese soldiers for 2 hours, during which they routed one enemy attack after another and firmly held their position. In front of our position, the aggressors left behind over 150 corpses.

The idea that the motherland is above everything else shines brilliantly among our border defense fighters. In the face of their victory, they are highly vigilant and are prepared at any time to smash intrusions by the Vietnamese aggressors.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. On 10 May, the officers and men of the 4th Company of a certain unit of the Guangxi border defense units beat back several attacks by the Vietnamese army and stood fast at Fakashan.

2. Since the beginning of this year, the Vietnamese army has made many incursions into our Fakashan area, firing rifles and cannons, destroying our villages, and killing the inhabitants of our border area. These are houses of our border inhabitants destroyed by artillery fire, and cattle killed by the Vietnamese army.

3. During the 5 May battle, deputy company commander Huang Zhaorong (right) directed his forces flexibly and decisively, for which he received a merit citation, first class.

4. Mu Jinhua [5459 6855 5478], a fighter of a sapper platoon, bravely and resourcefully removed 51 land mines, thereby opening a passage for our counterattacking forces, for which he received a merit citation, first class.

5. On 16 May, our artillery detachment with fierce fire dealt relentless blows to the Vietnamese aggressors intruding into Fakashan.

6. A certain unit of the Guangxi border defense unit invited heroes of the counterattack battle of Fakashan to deliver reports. On the rostrum from the right: single-handed hero and fighter Yuan Huangao [5913 3562 7559], recipient of a merit citation, first class; deputy squad leader Li Huaijing, recipient of a merit citation, second class; and political instructor Deng Mingzhi [6772 2594 1807].

7. A fighter of the 4th Company during a lull in the battle writes in his diary, recording the new crimes of the enemy and expressing his steel-like determination.

8. Fighter of the mess squad preparing food at Fakashan to insure that their comrades-in-arms at the forward position have plenty of good food to eat.

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YUNNAN BORDER TROOPS WIPE OUT VIETNAMESE INTRUDERS AT KOULIN

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, 1981 pp 40-41

[Report from the China-Vietnam border front by Zheng Jian [6774 0256] and Bing Xin [0393 2450]: "Koulin Relentlessly Annihilates Intruders"]

[Text] During the battle of defensive counterattack against the intruding Vietnamese army at the Koulin area of Malipo County in Yunnan, the border defense units fought a fine battle of annihilation.

On the morning of 7 May, a company of the Vietnamese army intruded into our Koulin area and frenziedly plundered and destroyed, actions which aroused the furious indignation of our border defense fighters. When attacking enemy-occupied Hill No 15, artillery squad leader Zhang Yushai [1728 6460 3189] grabbed a submachinegun from a comrade-in-arms and, charging while firing, was the first to fight his way up the hill. Platoon leader Luo Zhiqiang [5012 1807 1730] led a combat team to go around the enemy firing point and swiftly and suddenly rush up to a commanding height in the enemy's rear, from where it engaged the enemy at close quarters.

"For the honor of the motherland"--this was the lofty belief of the warriors of Koulin during the battle and was also the source of the strength of the officers and men in vanquishing the enemy. New fighter Luo Dongcheng [5012 2639 2052], just turned 17, inserted himself alone into the rear of the enemy position and was immediately surrounded by three Vietnamese soldiers. Without the slightest trace of fear, he met the enemy attack calmly and, agilely and cleverly making use of terrain features, shot dead the three enemy soldiers. Deputy company commander Wang Guangjun [3769 0342 0193], in the battle in which the Vietnamese soldiers occupying a certain hill of ours were attacked, was approaching the enemy's forward position when a land mine exploded. Turning, he pushed fighter Su Fachen [5685 4099 3791], who was behind him, down to the ground and protected the comrade-in-arms with his own body. When he charged the position he clutched his submachinegun and threw hand grenades and fired the gun in alternation, firing at point-blank range on the first charge. The fighters, following the route opened up by deputy company commander Wang, with one vigorous effort charged up the hill. In the 1979 war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, Wang had taken captive six enemy soldiers, for which he received a merit citation, second class. He has now again distinguished himself in action.

With the support of people of all nationalities in the border region, the fighters have obtained one victory after another. In this battle the aggressor received due punishment: over 100 corpses of Vietnamese soldiers were left behind on our side of the border, and a batch of the Vietnamese army's weapons and equipment were captured by our army.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. On 7 May, in the battle of counterattack in the Koulin area of Malipo County, our border defense fighters swiftly leap forward.
2. People of all nationalities in the Koulin area transport goods and materials to a border defense company.
3. On the morning of 7 May, our artillery detachment bombards the intruding Vietnamese soldiers.
4. Officers and men of the 1st Company day and night hold fast to their position on Koulin Mountain.
5. Fighter Wu Liangbao [0702 5328 0202], who singlehandedly circled around the enemy's rear and shot dead four enemy soldiers and blew up an enemy firing point, for which he received a merit citation, first class.
6. Border defense unit of the Koulin area search for dead enemy troops on the ground it recaptured.

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POLICY TOWARD THIRD WORLD SAID TO BE UNCHANGED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 81 p 37

[Article by Shen Yi [3088 0044]: "China Belongs to the Third World Forever"]

[Text] The leader of an African country recently visited China. He frankly said that he had heard that China was "blaming" Chairman Mao (the West propagated the idea that China was carrying out "de-Maoization") and had changed its foreign policy. This worried him very much. His apprehension had its cause. If Chairman Mao were being denigrated in a comprehensive manner, then the correct foreign policy he formulated would also be denigrated. Chairman Mao resolutely opposed hegemonism, resolutely supported the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist struggles of the people of various Third World countries; this had already deeply struck roots in the hearts of the people in the Third World. After Chairman Mao's death, was China going to continue to stand with the people of the Third World?

Chairman Mao's strategy of differentiating the three worlds was correct. China will never become a hegemonistic power; China belongs to the Third World forever. We want to continue to adhere to the foreign policy Chairman Mao formulated in his late years. Therefore, clarification of this point is very important to the people of Third World countries, and also very important to the people of China.

China's Policy Toward the Third World Has Not Changed

One of the questions about which the people of the Third World are concerned is the following: Since China is developing relations with the United States and other developed countries, does it oppose only Soviet hegemonism but no longer imperialism and colonialism?

The fact that China is opposing hegemonism jointly with some Western countries does not imply that it no longer supports the struggles of the people of the Third World or that it now ignores the interests of the oppressed nations. Conditions in Third World countries vary: some are suffering from Soviet hegemonistic expansionism, some regard the United States or other countries as their main threat, and some are still struggling against racist rule or Israeli expansionism and for national independence and liberation. As in the past, China will firmly stand on the side of the oppressed nations and peoples, oppose aggression and interference in Third World countries by external forces, firmly support their struggles to maintain their national independence and develop their national economies, and firmly support their struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

China's development of relations with the United States is not the same as supporting certain of the latter's erroneous policies toward Third World countries. The United States shows partiality in siding with Israeli and South African racism, supports South Korea in hindering Korea's reunification, and interferes with the internal affairs of certain countries, including China. All this is opposed by China. China maintains an independent and self-reliant foreign policy; this is not equivocal by any means.

China carries out economic exchanges with certain developed countries and absorbs certain advanced technology and capital from foreign countries. This benefits the construction of our socialist modernization; but China remains an underdeveloped country and is in the same situation as those developing countries which import foreign technology and take out foreign loans; it encounters many problems similar to theirs in the development of its national economy. China wishes to struggle together with other Third World countries for the establishment of a new international economic order.

China is still very poor today; its ability is often unequal to its ambition in wishing to render support to certain Third World countries. When China has made a success of its economy and when its national capabilities become stronger in the future, it will be able to take on more obligations toward certain countries of the Third World which are in difficulty and also to increase its contribution to the forces in defense of world peace. We have always been of the opinion that the construction of China's four modernizations constitutes not only a patriotic cause but also an internationalist cause.

Strengthen the Unity of the Third World

There are also some who are afraid of the unity between China and the Third World and who have therefore been manufacturing rumors and attempting to incite them to contention and drive a wedge between them.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam, for instance, are the ones that have fabricated the theory of the "China threat," alleging that China "threatens" its neighbors and the countries in Southeast Asia. Actually, China does not have a single soldier abroad, but it faces the Soviet Union, which deploys 1 million soldiers in the north, and Vietnam, which continues to fire its guns in the south; the one being threatened is China. Vietnam has sent its soldiers into Kampuchea and it controls Laos; the countries being threatened are indeed those of Southeast Asia. These are all facts for everybody to see, and the charges are unworthy of any refutation. The Soviet and Vietnamese big and small hegemonisms, in creating rumors to frighten others, are banking on nothing except driving a wedge in the relations between China and the Southeast Asian countries and thereby weakening the antihegemonist forces. This simply cannot be done. But from this we can well see, on the other hand, that the Soviet hegemonists are very much afraid of the unity between China and the Third World countries; this reminds us that we must treasure this unity very much.

There are also some who frighten others with the Chinese Communist Party. This is a replay of Dulles' old tune. That the Chinese believe in communism is China's internal affair. The Chinese revolution was not imported from abroad, nor will it be exported to foreign countries. The path a country selects is that country's own affair, and has nothing to do with China. As for China, precisely because of the leadership provided by the Communist Party, it was able to achieve independence and liberation, it was able to oppose powerful countries and advocate fairness in international struggles. The China led by the CCP is the enemy of hegemonism; only hegemonism encroaches upon other countries' sovereignty and territories and endangers world peace.

China has always taken the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the norm in handling international relations; China is determined not to interfere with other countries' internal affairs; it advocates equality between big and small countries alike, opposes the manhandling of the weak by the strong, and never imposes anything on others. China has a very outstanding reputation in international intercourse.

Another leader of an African country gave a talk in Beijing on his country's experience. He said: We believe China entirely, because China provides aid only according to other countries' needs and never interferes with other countries' internal affairs; but the Soviet Union single-mindedly concentrates on its ambitions, its hegemony and its world strategy. The country that first recognized this fact was China. You have reminded many countries, so that they are now prepared. We are China's old friend, and sometimes we have also received "aid" from the Soviet Union, but the "aid" from the Soviet Union somehow is always accompanied by interference.

From this we can see that it is completely useless for anyone to frighten others with the China "threat" or "Communist China." As for the question of whether when China becomes rich and strong it will also commit aggression against others, China has already declared that it will never become a hegemonic power. One who adheres to Marxism is not prone to doing things beneficial to himself and detrimental to others.

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CSO: 4005/53

USE CARE IN COMPARING ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINA, WEST

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Zhou Zhixing [0719 1807 5281]: "Horizontal Comparisons and Vertical Comparisons"]

[Text] Some persons say that when young people survey China's economy, they like to make horizontal comparisons; comparing China with the economically developed capitalist nations, they feel that the accomplishments have not been all that great and that the socialist system is not all that superior. The older generation, however, likes to make vertical comparisons; comparing China with the historically older China, they feel that the accomplishments have been great and that the socialist system is much superior.

I think that they exaggerate the difference between the ways the "two generations" look at issues. In fact, although there are some among the older generation who only "make vertical comparisons," they are few in number, and although there are some among the young people who only "make horizontal comparisons," they are not numerous. What is worth noting is that there are actually a few people who use the pretext of "making horizontal comparisons" with present-day society to deny the superiority of the socialist system, and this view can readily deceive young people.

In analyzing anything, one should look at its relationship to other things as well as look at the changes within the thing itself. In talking about a nation's socialist system, one should both make horizontal comparisons and vertical comparisons and combine the "horizontal comparison" and the "vertical comparison."

First of all, one should consider that a long period of feudal control and imperialist aggression made China's social production backward and the people's standard of living impoverished. China's socialist system was built on this foundation. If you take this as the point of departure for making comparisons, you can see that the achievements in construction in new China in the 32 years since its founding have been enormous, and that the position of the people's government and the improvements in the standard of living are unprecedented. If you depart from this historical fact and just use China's present condition to make a so-called "horizontal" comparison with the developed capitalist countries, then you cannot come to a correct conclusion. This comparison is as unreasonble as ridiculing a man recently cured of a long illness for not being as strong as an athlete.

Secondly, when making "horizontal comparisons" you should note that comparability of facts and things in common are preconditions for comparing the two facts. When comparing nations, you should look at the national situations. If the national situations are different, then there is no way they can be compared. Some people compare China with such economically developed countries as the United States and Western Europe and [nations], as a result they become very dejected. The population of these countries is small, the average amount of arable land per person is large, and they began early to develop industrially. If you were to set aside these factors, how could you explain the problems in comparing steel output, scientific and technical levels, and standards of living? If you compare our national situation with that of similar countries (such as India), then you can see that China's level of productive forces and standard of living is superior to theirs. Of course, this is not to say that you cannot compare production levels and living standards with those of developed countries. But in the comparison, you should not forget China's situation or underestimate its capabilities, but should look at the difference and further intensify the urgency of the "four modernizations."

Thirdly, in carrying out "horizontal comparisons" you should mainly compare the rate of economic and cultural development. In the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, although we have suffered destruction from imperialism, hegemonism, and the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we ourselves have committed many errors and now must carry out an economic readjustment. Nevertheless, in the past 32 years the rate of China's economic and cultural develpment has still exceeded that of the majority of capitalist countries. This is a demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system.

Fourthly, in comparing the weaknesses of the socialist system, you cannot look just at material things, but you must also look at spirit. Some people are dazzled by the gaudy material life and colorful high-quality goods of capitalism and do not make a conscientious study, so they come to a ready conclusion and say that "capitalism is better than socialism." They do not see that the capitalist system creates its own maladies which it cannot overcome, and that these maladies become more outstanding daily. Take the United States for example. The United States can send rocketships to the moon and have every family possess a car and an electric refrigerator, but it cannot resolve the daily more serious social problems of robbery, murder, drugs, and suicide. Although such a society has a high standard of living materially, can the people have many blessings to speak of? Of course, China's productive forces are not developed and the people's standard of living is not high, but the lives of the people are protected, their spirit is full of vitality, and society is stable. In the long view, it has even brighter prospects ahead.

As long as you pursue "horizontal comparisons" and "vertical comparisons" in seeking truth from facts, you can come to the correct conclusions: 1. Although we have had several setbacks, our accomplishments since the founding of the PRC have still been enormous and are proof that the socialist system is vigorous and superor. 2. Compared with the developed capitalist countries, China's present economic and cultural level still is pretty far behind, and we must struggle to catch up. 3. There is only one way to revive China, and that is, under the leadership of the CCP, to summarize the lessons of historical experience, uphold the socialist road, and fully develop the superiority of the socialist system.

Parochial arrogance is ridiculous; loss of confidence is tragic.

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CSO: 4005/23

MEANING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Ji Buwu [0679 1580 2976]: "An Elementary Talk on the Content and Characteristics of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State": "Socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization." This is a scientific conclusion derived by our party according to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the practical experience of socialist construction. For many years in the past, because we were subject to the influence of leftist mistakes in our work, and especially because of sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the building of our socialist spiritual civilization encountered considerable interference. Our study of socialist spiritual civilization was also inadequate theoretically. Today, the people of our country face the great task not only of building an advanced material civilization but also of building an advanced spiritual civilization. Therefore, theoretically strengthening our study of socialist spiritual civilization will doubtless be of great significance to the promotion of the construction of our modernization.

In the general sense, the so-called spiritual civilization means the state of progress concerning man's intelligence (education, science, culture, etc) and ethics (ideals, beliefs, sentiments, customs, etc). Man's social development has had its own intellectual and ethical content in each period of civilization. Then what is the "advanced spiritual civilization" we are talking about? In his speech in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jiangying said: "Along with the building of an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time improve the educational, scientific and cultural level and the health level of the whole nation, establish lofty revolutionary ideals and revolutionary moral customs, develop a noble, rich and colorful cultural life, and build an advanced spiritual civilization." At the central work conference at the end of 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The so-called spiritual civilization does not just mean education, science and culture (these are entirely necessary), but also communist ideas, ideals, beliefs, morality, discipline, a revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations between men, etc." This means that the socialist spiritual civilization mainly includes: a highly developed educational, scientific and cultural level, a Marxist worldview, lofty revolutionary ideals and communist moral customs, strict organizational discipline, a firm revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations between men, a patriotic spirit and the spirit of building an enterprise through arduous effort.

In the past, a certain point of view held that socialist spiritual civilization mainly meant communist morality; this was incomplete. Because, if we take the term "civilization" alone, its content already includes material civilization and spiritual civilization, both of which indicate the state of progress of human society in contrast to "barbarity"; both of them encompass their respective highly rich content and are relatively independent of each other. Hence, insofar as spiritual civilization is concerned, it falls far too short to take morality as its main content and to have it reflect human society's state of progress in the aspect of its spiritual civilization. Spiritual civilization should include such important content as education, science and culture.

Another point of view held that education and science constituted productive forces and that it would be inappropriate to place them in the realm of spiritual civilization. Actually, education and science may well be placed in the realm of spiritual civilization. Education includes both the education of man in reproduction through labor power, which itself belongs to the category of productive force, and the education of man in his thinking, art, etc, which properly belongs to the realm of spiritual civilization. Marx said: "In order to change man's original nature, to enable it to acquire techniques and skills of a given labor unit and develop into a proficient and specialized labor force, we must have definite education or training" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 195). This shows that when Marx spoke of education he meant something very specific, he spoke of it in conjunction with the factor of productive force in terms of "labor force." Hence, we cannot negate education because of this; in a sense, education may also be included in the realm of spiritual civilization.

From the dialectical-materialist point of view, spiritual civilization came into being only along with the development of man's productive forces up to a certain degree, and it also develops along with the development of such productive forces. Engels divided the development of human society into three periods: the unenlightened period, the barbaric period, and the civilized period. He said: "The civilized period is one in which man learns about further processing of natural products and one in which real industry and art come into existence" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 73). The various forms of human society are bound to have a spiritual civilization corresponding to their respective characteristics. What we have mentioned as "advanced spiritual civilization" is precisely the inevitable result of human society developing to the socialist stage and also the result of the forward development of man's spiritual civilization. What are the characteristics of socialist "advanced spiritual civilization"? I think there are mainly two:

First, "advanced spiritual civilization" is the term for the advanced development of socialist spiritual civilization. That is to say, in terms of the prescription of its quality, it is of a socialist nature; this is fundamentally different from that of spiritual civilizations of all social forms prior to the capitalist society. In terms of the prescription of its quantity, it is not a low spiritual civilization but a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization.

Second, "advanced spiritual civilization" has Marxism as its own guiding ideology. Building an "advanced spiritual civilization," in the final analysis, is to foster and train socialist new men, and the formation of such new men's communist ideology and the cultivation of their communist morality also cannot depart from the guidance of Marxist theory. If it were separated from Marxism, socialist spiritual civilization would lose its own scientific foundation and people would lose their direction of advancement and destination. Hence, we can see that Marxism is the ideological foundation for building an advanced spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4005/47

'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' DEEMED NOT ALL MAO'S FAULT

Harbin XUE LI LUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 8, 1981 p 14

[Article: "How Should We Understand the Complex Social Historical Factors Leading to the Outbreak and Continuation of the 'Great Cultural Revolution'?"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" points out that aside from being the direct result of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in leadership, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was also the result of complex social historical factors which gave rise to it and allowed it to last as long as 10 years. The "Resolution" has made a penetrating and comprehensive exposition and analysis of these social historical factors.

To earnestly study these discourses in the "Resolution" is absolutely necessary. Some of our comrades are prone to see only the direct cause--Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes--and fail to see the complex social historical factors. Therefore, they attribute the mistakes to an individual, or even try to search for roots from the quality of the leader himself. An understanding like this is obviously erroneous.

Lenin pointed out that the reason why the theory of historical materialism is correct is "precisely because of its approach, which stipulates in a most precise and affirmative way that an individual factor is in the end of social origins." Historical figures might have played an important role in social development, but it does not mean that history can be created by a certain individual. It is a mistake to attribute all historical achievements to the "historical heroism" of an individual. Similarly, it is also erroneous to attribute the causes of historical setbacks to him because it runs counter to historical materialism. We must always go beyond the individual factor to analyze the underlying complex social historical factors.

The general trend of the history of human society is to move forward in accordance with its own intrinsic laws, and the rise of every particular historical event is the result of actions of many factors. Consequently, the course of history is a complex and lively one. Engels firmly felt that the development of history will under no circumstances be motivated by a certain kind of "sole decisive factor." Even if we are talking about the economic factor, which is the most important social factor, it is not permissible to regard it as the "sole decisive factor." He told us that history is manifested as the interaction of many factors, which are economic, political, legal, philosophical, or religious, etc., is expressed in the conflicts of many different wills, and is moving forward under such complex interactions. "As a result, there are innumerable interrelated forces and parallelograms which will give rise to a general historical outcome and that is called a historical event."

Judging from this, when we analyze such an important historical event as the "Great Cultural Revolution" or evaluate such a great historical figure as Comrade Mao Zedong, we can no longer attempt to search for a certain kind of "sole decisive factor" and thereby regard Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes as the sole cause, but rather we must notice a great many of the "interrelated actions" of social historical factors and analyze social historical causes.

Just as it has been pointed out in the "Resolution," social historical causes comprise various aspects such as: that the history of our socialist movement is not a long one and many more laws remain to be formulated; that our party has long been influenced by the historical conditions in our country; that certain conceptions and arguments of Marx and Lenin have been misinterpreted or dogmatized; that we are also influenced by some international factors; and that some people as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harboring ulterior motives, made use of the errors of our party and inflated them, and so forth. As Engels said: "even the traditions which exist in our minds may produce certain effects on us, although they may not necessarily be decisive." Because of the effects exercised by the feudal traditions which have been shaped over a long period of time, it also is impossible for us to prevent the phenomenon of personality cult from arising or to have it checked. "The interaction among all these factors" has constituted the complex social historical cause which gave rise to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Only by getting a clear understanding of these complex factors can we correctly evaluate the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought in order to clearly understand that Mao Zedong's mistake was, after all, the error of a great proletarian revolutionary, and realistically sum up the historical experiences and lessons so as to avoid recurrence of the tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to ensure that the cause of socialism will move forward smoothly.

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CSO: 4005/52

INCORRECT ATTITUDES TOWARD MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DECRIED

Harbin XUE LI LUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 8, 1981 p 21

[Article: "Why We Are Opposed to the Two Incorrect Attitudes Toward Mao Zedong Thought?"]

[Text] On the question of how to treat Mao Zedong Thought, two incorrect attitudes have been pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China."

One is the attempt to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role in the revolution and construction of our country just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years.

The other is the practice of adopting the attitude of turning the words of Comrade Mao Zedong into dogma, thereby regarding whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said to be unalterable truth only to be repeated and copied blindly as is, or even the unwillingness to realistically admit the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years, attempting instead to uphold these mistakes in new practices.

Why we are opposed to these two attitudes? The reasons are:

First, both these attitudes fail to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theory shaped through protracted historical trials, from the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, yet a distinction here is absolutely necessary. Mao Zedong Thought, coming into being and developing in the course of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party and a summing-up of the victories in the gigantic struggles of the Chinese people.

Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years, however, we must distinguish these mistakes from Mao Zedong Thought. To question or negate Mao Zedong Thought just because of these mistakes would be, in fact, to question or negate the glorious image of the party, and that would lead to a gross historical error. On the contrary, it is not correct either if it is assumed that the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong also belong to the realm of Mao Zedong Thought and should not be redressed.

Second, both of these two erroneous attitudes are the results of metaphysical, subjective and one-sided mistakes made from different angles. According to these two erroneous attitudes, it seems that "a great leader will never make mistakes," or "once he makes mistakes, he is no longer a great leader." Using these attitudes as a basis to study problems "is to use isolated, static and one-sided viewpoints to look at the world." It denies the motion, change and development of things and looks upon everything in the world as isolated from each other and never changing. Even though they are different in forms of expression, they are essentially the same, that is to say, metaphysical and one-sided. In order to correctly evaluate the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, the scientific attitude of dialectical materialism and historical materialism must be adopted. His mistakes cannot be concealed because of his immense contributions and, similarly, his immense contributions cannot be obliterated nor can Mao Zedong Thought be denied because of his mistakes. Only by seeking truth from facts to affirm the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought can the cause of socialism in our country go forward smoothly.

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CSO: 4005/52

RETURN OF TAIWAN SAID TO BE INEVITABLE TREND

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Report: "Return of Taiwan to the Motherland Is the Trend of the General Situation and the Direction of People's Expectations--Provincial CPPCC Convened a Forum of Personalities of Various Circles Yesterday To Express Support for Chairman Ye's Talk and Indicate Readiness to Make Contributions to the Unification of the Motherland"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference convened a forum of personalities of various circles to hold discussions on Chairman Ye Jaingying's talk on a further explanation of the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the principles and policies for realizing peaceful reunification.

The forum was presided over by Zhang Boquan [1728 3124 3123], head of the united front department of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and deputy chairman of the provincial CPPCC.

Participating in the forum were responsible persons of the provincial CPPCC, the provincial office of councilors, the province's various democratic parties and groups, and the industry and commerce association, plus the original KMT uprising generals.

Speaking at the forum at various times were: Chen Yilin [7115 0122 2651], Cheng Yiming [4453 0001 7686], Zeng Tianjie [2582 1131 4634], Li Jizhi [2621 3381 0037], Wu Zhongxi [0702 0112 4406], He Baosong [0149 1405 2646], Zheng Jingying [6774 2533 3853], Zhang Bochuan [1728 0130 2938], Wu Juetian [0124 6030 1131], Chen Zupei [7115 4371 3099], Yur Han [7189 3352], Zhang Zianqi [1728 7359 1477], Chen Zibin [7115 1311 1755], and Hu Weifu [5170 0251 1133]. They said that Chairman Ye's talk further explained the principles and policies on Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification; these are now even more clear and more concrete than the great policy principle on achieving the peaceful reunification of the motherland pronounced in the 1977 New Year's Day NPC Standing Committee "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan." They not only reflect the wishes of the mainland brothers but also the wishes of the Taiwan brothers, the Hong Kong and Macao brothers and the overseas brothers. The speakers said they completely uphold and firmly support these principles and policies.

They held that Taiwan's return to the motherland and accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification are the trend of the general situation and the direction of people's expectations, constituting an irresistible historical tide. Chairman Ye's talk is bound to promote the development of this tide even more forcefully. They expressed the belief that after the Taiwan brothers listened to the broadcast of this talk, they are bound to promote the great cause of the motherland's reunification with even greater enthusiasm and greater courage. They hope that the Kuomintang authorities will put national interests above everything else, forget previous ill will, and join hands with us in accomplishing the great cause of national reunification for the benefit of our posterity and the glory for our nation.

Those comrades who made these statements also indicated that they definitely will make contributions toward the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

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CSO: 4005/47

EXERCISE OF LITERARY CRITICISM STRESSED

Shenyang YALUJIANG WENXUEYUEKAN [YALUJIANG LITERARY MONTHLY] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 71-72

[Article by Liu Xiaoyan [0491 2400 3508]: "Literary Criticism and the 'Double-Hundred' Principle"]

[Text] "Literature and art must have criticism." This statement made by Lu Xun 46 years ago is fully true today.

Literary criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle used in literary circles; it is an important means by which the prosperity and healthy development of literary creation is guided and promoted. Literary criticism and literary creation are two mutually supplementary and complementary aspects in the literary realm, neither of which can be dispensed with. In order to insure that literature does not deviate from the direction of serving the people and serving socialism, and in order to help readers and audiences improve the level of their appreciation so as to better demonstrate the social functions of literature and art, we must regularly exercise literary and artistic criticism.

Some comrades put literary and artistic criticism in opposition to the "double-hundred" principle. They can accommodate little critical opinion, as they will only permit people to say good things about their works but not bad things, and when they hear someone say something bad, they immediately allege that that person is swinging the stick. Such a viewpoint and attitude are very wrong.

In implementing the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend," we must of course guarantee for literary and artistic workers a wide world of individual creativity and individual taste to the maximum, a wide world of ideas and fancies, form and content in their works; but implementation of this "double-hundred" principle means, at the same time, not abandoning the necessary ideological and artistic struggle, not dismissing the theoretical foundation of Marxism, and not dismissing the four basic principles. No one can understand the "double-hundred" principle to mean lacking in all scruples and doing whatever one pleases or to mean bourgeois liberalization. When we implement the "double-hundred" principle, we must allow both a hundred flowers to bloom and a hundred schools of thought to contend; we must allow both free development and free discussion. In order to discuss and contend, we must allow the expression of different opinions; we must allow readers, audiences and critics to criticize the product. This shows that launching literary and artistic criticism is an intrinsic part of implementing the "double-hundred" principle. It is entirely wrong to oppose literary and artistic criticism under the pretext of implementing the "double-hundred" principle. At present, in particular, it appears to be especially necessary to carry out appropriate criticism against a certain leftist trend and liberalization tendency in literary and artistic creation. Only when literary and artistic criticism is developed can literary and artistic thinking become lively and literary and artistic creation advance along a healthy course. "If people's mouths are shut in all cases and then it is said that the literary circles are now clean, the results will be contrary to what is attempted" (Lu Xun: "Decorative Literature: Occasional Notes from Reading (3)"). With regard to problems which appear in literary and artistic creation, especially tendentious problems, if they are not pointed out in time and subjected to discussion and solution, the direction of literature and art serving the people and serving socialism is liable to be affected. In a word, repulsing and tending to resist the exercise of literary and artistic criticism is altogether unwholesome.

On the other hand, we should also see that there really are some comrades who forget all about the "double-hundred" principle when they talk about launching literary and artistic criticism. They take a single point as the whole front, and replace the whole with a part, talking as if the literary and artistic situation in the 4 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" has been all bad; they have developed a special sensitivity toward "the stick" and they easily turn a literary and artistic issue into a political issue involving whether or not the work should be denigrated. Such an attitude is also unwholesome.

Comrades with this kind of attitude do not understand that our literary and artistic criticism is conducted under the guidance of the "double-hundred" principle. This kind of literary and artistic criticism follows literary and artistic laws, observes literary and artistic democracy, stresses the scientific attitude, and adheres to the principle of seeking truth from facts. It should be fully based on persuasion and not on simplification and crudeness, arbitrariness and tyranny; it should follow the democratic mode of discussion and not resort to administrative orders by using power to suppress others; it should criticize in order to help others and not resort to sarcasm and ridicule, abuse and attack. In particular, literature and art in these few years have basically followed and implemented the principles and line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and in general have maintained the four basic principles. In the face of such a basic fact, our literary and artistic criticism should further recognize that along with the identification of problems, it must at the same time not deny the good situation on the literary and artistic front. The literary and artistic history of the more than 30 years since the founding of our state has suffered enough from the subjective and arbitrary, simplistic and crude type of literary and artistic criticism; we must seriously remember this lesson and never tread the fallen track again. The "double-hundred" principle is a long-term, fundamental principle; even when some works exhibit defects and faults or get into serious problems, we should still not doubt, shake or violate this principle. At present, when we are proceeding to solve certain problems in literature and art, we must likewise not forget this principle. The tasks of literary and artistic criticism under the guidance of the "double-hundred" principle include criticism of what is bad and also affirmation of what is good; they include pointing out existing problems and also summing up results already achieved. As Lu Xun said: "The duties of a critic are not just to eliminate bad weeds but also to water good flowers" ("The Huagai Collection: Not Just Idle Talk (3)"). In fulfilling his duties, a critic should not emphasize one at the expense of the other.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art": "Literary and artistic criticism is a complicated question; it requires many specialized studies." Today, some comrades who like to dally with criticism not only lack specialized studies in respect to literature and art but also lack basic cultivation in literary and artistic theories. Their literary and artistic criticisms often do not proceed from the works themselves or from life but from their own likes and dislikes, from political concepts. This kind of literary and artistic criticism tends easily to deviate from the "double-hundred" principle. Similarly, certain comrades who are engaged in creation only like to talk about "relaxation" and do not like to hear criticism; they, too, are liable to deviate from the course of the four basic principles. Whether they are comrades who dally with criticism or comrades who are engaged in creation, all should seriously learn some Marxist fundamental theories in literature and art, seriously learn something about the party's series of principles and policies concerning literature and art, so as to improve the level of their literary and artistic criticism or their literary and artistic creation.

People's authors and critics, make your positive contributions for literary and artistic prosperity and development in the new era of socialism!

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CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION ADVOCATED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 3

[Commentary by Ling Feng [0407 1496]: "We Should Solemnly Criticize the Tendency of Bourgeois Liberalization"]

[Text] Li: Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the whole party has been studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" in order to further unify our thinking and unite ourselves together with the "Resolution"and look forward. Today, the national forum on problems on the ideological front suggests that we must change the state of laxity and feebleness that prevails in our ideological and political leadership and dare to criticize and overcome various erroneous tendencies, especially the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. Is this consistent with our study and implementation of the spirit of the document of the Sixth Plenary Session?

Wang: It is consistent, and the two are not in contradiction to each other. Because the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session points out: "The fundamental purpose of our summing up of the 32 years of historical experience since the founding of our state is to proceed on the basis of the four basic principles of adhering to the socialist path; adhering to the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the proletarian dictatorship; adhering to Communist Party leadership, and adhering to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to further concentrate the will and strength of the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities of the country under the great goal of building a socialist modern power." For this reason, the "Resolution" also points out: "We must correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the various erroneous ideas which deviate from the party's correct principles." We should say that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, conspicuous results have been achieved on the ideological front, including such aspects as literature and art, theory, news and publications. But we cannot but see that there have also appeared tendentious problems worthy of our attention, of which the more salient at present is the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. We still recall that after the Third Plenary Session, the party Central Committee immediately pointed out: Along with the continued emancipation of our thinking and the cleansing of leftist influence in our guiding ideology, we must at the same time prevent and overcome the tendency of liberalization deviating from the four basic principles. Since that time, some comrades continue to violate the four basic principles. At present, in certain departments and certain localities, leadership on the ideological front still exhibits certain tendencies of simplification and crudeness; this cannot be overlooked or denied. But what calls for our greater attention is the fact that a state of laxity and feebleness prevails in the ranks of such leadership, which have not forthrightly carried out correct criticism and the necessary appropriate struggle with respect to the tendency of liberalization with regard to the four basic principles. This has to do not just with individual departments or localities, but constitutes a rather general problem. The national forum on problems on the ideological front convened by the party Central Committee was designed precisely on the basis of the spirit of the "Resolution" to proceed from the actualities on the ideological front at present, emphasize the need to strengthen the party's leadership on the ideological front, and use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the erroneous tendency of deviating from the four basic principles. It is an important means to implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session and an inevitable continuation of the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session; it is entirely consistent with implementing the spirit of the "Resolution."

Li: Please explain what is meant by bourgeois liberalization, and what are the outstanding manifestations in this regard?

Wang: Bourgeois liberalization is an erroneous trend of thinking in violation of, and in opposition to, the four basic principles; its concentrated manifestation is a tendency to deviate from the socialist course and from party leadership, and its core is opposition to party leadership. In ideological circles, some put emancipation of our thinking and the double-hundred principle in opposition to the four basic principles; they take the four basic principles as "four restrictions" or "four sticks"; they take all instances of leadership and guidance as "fetters," and hold that expression and the press must be "absolutely free." For quite a while now, some people have been slandering party leadership, smearing socialism, and disparaging Mao Zedong Thought through writing articles and giving speeches to youths and similar forms' they talk as if our party and socialist system are devoid of any merit, and they even openly propose to "break through the four basic principles." Some trumpet the idea that the New China is not as good as the old China and socialism is not as good as capitalism, disseminating the strange theory that "you love your motherland, but your motherland does not love you." Some entirely deny the results achieved during the 32 years since the founding of our state, alleging that what we have been working on is not scientific socialism but agricultural socialism or even feudal socialism; or they take words and phrases out of the context of Marxist-Leninist works and select only some of them to prove that the so-called three great transformations "were handled erroneously" and that socialism "was initiated too early"; and they also want to "institute makeup lessons in capitalism." Some interpret Mao Zedong Thought as "historical idealism coupled with narrow empiricism" and a "small producer's worldview as reflected among the peasants"; they slander the party Central Committee represented by Comrade Mao Zedong as "an antiscientific, antidemocratic and antiprogressive faction with Marxism as its signboard, agricultural socialism as its core, and feudalism as its destination," and seditiously suggest that "the large-scale industry of modern China is bound to train revolutionary warriors who will carry out arduous and devoted struggles against that faction." There are also some who, as communists themselves, call the party leadership "official circles," while professing to be "people's circles" on their own part; they want the party to "rule by doing nothing" or even openly trumpet the idea that writers must "grow a few rebellious bones," advocating that they sing a tune opposite to that of the party. Hence, once an opinion is expressed, they immediately interpret it as "tyrannical interference" or "swinging the stick," whether it is correct or not. In reality, this is no different from doing whatever they please or whatever they are used to an disregarding party leadership and casting off party leadership altogether. Can we look but not see, neither hear nor ask about such a trend of bourgeois liberalization which violates the four basic principles and let it spread unhindered?

Li: But some people think that this tendency of bourgeois liberalization is merely a question among a few people and really nothing serious to warrant our making a fuss about. I think this view is incorrect.

Wang: You are right. Although only a few people exhibit this erroneous tendency, its harm cannot be underestimated. Such an erroneous tendency will dissipate people's fighting will, as it has already produced a centrifugal tendency among some people in respect to the party; among the vast ranks of youths and children, in particular, it is producing a very harmful erosive effect, and it is also being used by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos to destroy the hard-won good political situation of stability and unity.

Of course, the appearance of this trend and tendency of bourgeois liberalization has had its social causes, among which the principal ones are the afternath of the 10 years of internal disturbance and at the same time the erosion by the bourgeois ideology from abroad. Therefore, this is neither strange nor something to be afraid of. The problem lies in whether we dare to handle such an erroneous tendency, whether we dare to grasp it, whether we dare to forthrightly carry out the solemn criticism and necessary struggle against it. If we dare not handle it, grasp it, criticize it, and struggle against it, but let it follow its own course, then it will create very great harm to our socialist cause. The core of bourgeois liberalization is opposition to our party leadership, and our party leadership is in turn the core of the four basic principles and the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations and the successful building of a socialist modern power. Without party leadership there can be no socialist system; without party leadership the country will fall apart and become bogged down in turmoil. Are not the serious consequences created by the practice of "kicking away the party committee to make revolution" during the 10 years of our internal disturbance still fresh in our memory?

Li: Some comrades are afraid that such criticism of the tendency of liberalization might perhaps once again lead to the initiation of some movement and the persecution of people, and hence they worry that it might affect the good situation of stability and unity. Does this kind of worry have any foundation?

Wang: The party Central Committee has already decided that no political movements will be initiated from now on. The practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has proved this point. The forum on problems on the ideological front once again stresses first of all that we are not going to resort to any movement, and second, we are not going to resort to any siege. Therefore, any worry in this regard can be entirely dismissed.

The purpose of using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the erroneous tendency of liberalization is to cure the sickness and save the patient, and to enable comrades who have made mistakes to distinguish right from wrong, sum up their experience, elevate their thinking, and once again return to the correct path. This is fundamentally different from the evil conduct of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in persecuting people under the pretext of criticism; the two should not be confused. Of course, we must accept the lessons of history, and when we launch a criticism we must seek truth from facts; a mistake must be taken precisely as it is, with neither exaggeration nor understatement, much less any simplification or crudeness, or raising it to the level of principle at random. When we proceed with criticism, we must pay attention to methods, we must observe pertinence and precision; but we cannot thereby stop criticizing altogether, or criticize only in a feeble and innocuous way. That would only result in damaging the people's interests and it would also not benefit the mistaken comrades in the speedy correction of their mistakes.

We intend to strengthen unity within and outside the party ranks. But our unity is not the unprincipled kind, nor the kind that deviates from the party's leadership; it is a unity based on the four basic principles. The four basic principles are the political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the people of the whole country. Today there are some people who only allow themselves to express opinions which weaken or deny the four basic principles but do not let others criticize their mistakes. When one criticizes them a little, they immediately say that one is swinging the stick; and there are also some people who sympathize with and support them because of this; this is a rather abnormal phenomenon. If not corrected, this phenomenon will not only impede the strengthening of unity on the basis of the four basic principles, but will also hurt such comrades by allowing their mistakes to develop in a more serious direction. It is our hope that comrades with the tendency of bourgeois liberalization will rectify their attitude, consciously apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to be able to insist on truth, modify their mistakes, implement the spirit of the "resolution" with one heart and one mind, and thereby make new contributions toward the building of a socialist modern power.

9255
CSO: 4005/56

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Li Li Yanko [2621 1484 2688] "Will Criticism of Bourgeois Liberalization Hinder Stability and Unity?"]

[Text] When we mention criticism of bourgeois liberalization, some comrades immediately manifest certain uneasiness; they are afraid that this will hinder stability and unity. The sentiment of such comrades in treasuring stability and unity is understandable, but their skepticism is groundless.

The situation of stability and unity has not been brought about easily, and therefore we must treasure it and protect it: this is beyond doubt. But we should see that the tendency of bourgeois liberalization precisely constitutes a factor of instability. Why do we say this? Because the four basic principles are the common political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the unity of all the people, and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization is inclined precisely to shake and cast off this foundation. The core of the four basic principles is to adhere to party leadership. It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Question in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State": "Without the Communist Party of China there would be no new China; similarly, without the Communist Party of China there would be also no modern socialist China." This is a scientific conclusion tested by history. The Communist Party of China is the core of unity of our people of various nationalities. Without this powerful core force, our stage would bog down in a condition of disunity and incoherence like a patch of sand. The painful history of old China during the past 100 years has long proved this point. During the 10-year period of the "cultural revolution," because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trumpeted "kicking away the party committee in order to make revolution," the party leadership was considerably weakened; consequently an overall civil war resulted and the whole country became shaky and unstable. This lesson is indeed still fresh in our minds to all of us. And yet those who are doing their best to cast off party leadership and resort to bourgeois liberalization completely ignore or forget these historical facts. If things were run according to their propositions, the authority of party leadership would no longer exist, the socialist path would no longer be followed, and then the core and foundation of unity of all people of the country would vanish in thin air. What unity could we still speak of! For this reason, our forthright criticism of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in our resolute effort to eliminate such a negative factor is precisely what we need to protect our stability and unity.

The reason why some comrades are afraid of the possibility that criticism of the tendency of liberalization will hinder our stability and unity is because they have kept in their minds only the historical experience of when our party erroneously launched such criticism, but they forget that our party also has the historical experience of launching such criticism correctly. Such incidents of our party erroneously launching criticism and thereby hindering the unity of the party and the unity of the people have indeed occurred in the history of our party. But apart from such historical experience in mistakes, there has existed in the 60 years of our party history also a great deal of historical experience in launching correct criticism; this should also not be forgotten. Such correct criticism and self-criticism campaigns implemented the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and achieved the goals of both clarifying our thinking and uniting our comrades. The Zunyi conference practiced this kind of criticism and self-criticism; the Yan'an rectification movement also practiced this kind of criticism and self-criticism; in the end, they both resulted in smoothly overcoming leftist and rightist mistakes, considerably promoting the unity and integrity of the whole party politically, ideologically, and organizationally, and creating the indispensable requisite conditions for the victory of the revolutionary wars. It was also precisely because they launched such correct criticism and self-criticism, too, that the Third Plenary Session and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee achieved very great successes, strongly promoted the unity of the party and the unity of the people, and established the foundation for the good situation of stability and unity. Today, our party and our people are becoming mature and wise precisely through summing up such positive and negative aspects of our historical experience. When we criticize the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization at present, we must never allow the kind of historical experience in mistakes to be repeated, but we must inherit the correct historical experience and enrich it, develop it. This means that in launching criticism we must pay attention to methods, put emphasis on results, help the criticized, lay out the facts, and reason in the manner of the gentle breeze and drizzling rain, with meticulous pertinence and propriety, and definitely refrain from crudeness and rashness in such operations, from unrestrained criticism and unrestrained struggle, from staging any seige, or launching any movement. We can rest assured that, under the guidance of such correct principles, our criticism of the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization is bound to achieve the goals of enabling the people of the whole country to distinguish right from wrong, to elevate their thinking, to promote stability and unity, and do a better job in carrying out the construction of the four modernizations.

Some comrades interpret stability and unity as "your being nice to me, my being nice to you, so that everybody is nice" and so that, in the absence of criticism or debate, an atmosphere of affability is forever maintained in a situation like that of a pool of still water: this is biased and also it cannot be achieved in reality. In the process of engaging ourselves in great revolutionary practice, especially at the moment of a historical turning point, people's perception for a while cannot catch up with actual developments and hence they commit this or that mistake: this is unavoidable. Today, after a period of tortuous development in our socialist construction, along with the promotion of the emancipation of our thinking and the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, it is neither surprising nor alarming that some who lack a high socialist consciousness and a strong revolutionary will, especially certain young people who lack political experience, should exhibit the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and other errors. The question is what attitude we should adopt toward such a development. If we insist on temporary, superficial calm and cover up such errors and do nothing about them, then, in their further development they are bound to gradually radicalize our contradictions, turn small mistakes into big mistakes, and ultimately fail to avoid an explosion and hence destroy the situation of stability and unity. Only by exposing erroneous things in time, constantly launching criticism and self-criticism, nipping mistakes in the bud, and preventing the radicalization of contradictions can we really maintain the uniformity of revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically. This is a fundamental platform for long-term order and stability. Engels said: "Unity by no means precludes mutual criticism, without which unity cannot be attained, without which there would be no mutual understanding, and hence there would also be no unity to speak of" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 423). Only by genuinely, and not perfunctorily, launching criticism can we forge the strong cord which strengthens the unity of our revolutionary ranks and continue to inject fresh vitality into the situation of stability and unity. Stability and unity and the launching of criticism are not mutually exclusive or contradictory to each other, but mutually promotive and complementary to each other. At present, by way of correct criticism and self-criticism and overcoming of bourgeois liberalization and similar erroneous tendencies, we are bound to achieve the further consolidation and development of the good situation of stability and unity.

9255
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PARTY AND STATE

THEORIES ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRACTICE, KNOWLEDGE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Cui Wenyu [1508 2429 3768]: "Discussions on the Question of the Source of Knowledge"]

[Text] Discussions on the question of the source of knowledge began in 1980 when Ze Ming [0463 7686], in his article "Refute 'Practice Is the Sole Source of Knowledge'," [published] in the Shanghai journal SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE], No 2, 1980, rejected the viewpoint that practice is the sole source of knowledge. He alleged that by advocating this viewpoint in discussions on the criterion of truth, we would deny that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Then, issue No 5 of the same journal published articles for discussion with Ze Ming which expressed different views on the question of the source of knowledge. Afterward, Shanghai WEN HUI BAO also published a succession of article with different ideas. In ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES], No 9, 1980, an article by Liu Ben [0491 1149]. "The Source of Knowledge and the Criterion of Truth," refuted the viewpoints presented by Ze Ming and upheld the standpoint that practice is the sole source of knowledge. Discussions on the question of the source of knowledge have attracted serious attention throughout the country. Some newspapers and magazines have published a number of opposing articles. Herewith, these arguments are summarized as follows:

The first argument holds that taking practice as the sole source of knowledge is a scientific proposition of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge.

First, according to this argument, we must make clear what practice is. In SHEHUI KEXUE No 6, 1980, articles by Yuan Guiren [5913 6311 0088] and Li Jin [2621 6651] held that, as a motivated, physical activity of man, practice is a complete system of action--that is, people who have a motive use certain material means to bring about a premeditated change in an objective target, and thus achieve objective reality in conformity with their "demand." Practice is such a process of activity. Evidently, practice in the dialectical-materialist sense embodies in its activity all its motives, means, targets, and results. Thus, the meaning of practice as the source of knowledge is twofold: one is the source brought about by knowledge, that is, practical activities playing alternate subjective and objective roles; the other is the origin of the substance of knowledge, being an objective reality as the target of practice. However, both the practical activity and the practical target are the basic factors of practice. Therefore, practice is the sole source of knowledge.

Next, judged by the process of knowledge, only from practice can knowledge emerge. Liu Ben's article [in ZHEXUE YANJIU] held that knowledge is the active reflection of the subject on the object. The establishment of the relationship of knowledge between subject and object is the prerequisite to the emergence of knowledge. However, the relationship between the subject and the objective target is first not a relationship of knowledge but a relationship of practice. The latter is the basis of the former. To achieve knowledge, it is necessary to have an object of knowledge, and this is provided only by practice. Anything that exists objectively cannot directly become the source of knowledge. Only when people take it, in social practice, as the target of practice and bring it into the process of practice can it become an object of knowledge in its direct and practical sense. Furthermore, Liu Ben's article stated that knowledge originates in practice, develops in the process of practice, and finally changes itself physically into the result of practice. At the starting point of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the origin of knowledge; in the process of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the motive force and source of the development of knowledge; and in the end-result of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the criterion for testing truth.

Third, although Marx and Engels never stated clearly that "practice is the sole source of knowledge," many of their writings very definitely embody the idea that practice is the sole source of knowledge. For instance, taking science as an exmaple, Marx and Engels pointed out: "The emergence and the development of science were determined by production right from the beginning," and: "Natural sciences attain their goal and obtain data only due to commerce and industry and due to people's perceptual activities." In WEN HUI BAO on 25 July 1980, articles by Zhang Huajin [1728 5478 6855] and Ma Jihua [7456 4480 5478] held that the "science" mentioned here by the revolutionary teachers--this correct knowledge of mankind--is the crystallization of such practice as mankind's activities in production and commerce, and that social practice (chiefly the practice of production) is the sole source of the emergence and development of science. Comrade Mao Zedong also said that mankind's "correct ideas come from social practice, and from it alone." and that whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it--that is, by living (practicing) in its environment." These statements also clearly and unmistakably explain the fact that practice is the sole source of knowledge.

The second argument holds that practice is not the sole source of knowledge.

First of all, whether in the second article of "On Feuerbach's Outline" by Marx, or in Lenin's remarks that both Marx and Engles "took the criterion of practice as the basis of the materialist theory of knowledge," or in Mao Zedong's statement that "only social practice can be the criterion of truth, and the standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge," should Ze Ming concur, there is no basis to the claim that "practice is the sole criterion of knowledge." From Marx to Lenin, the standpoint of practice always remained in the realm of the theory of knowledge, and practice was taken as the criterion for testing truth and as the basis of the theory of knowledge, but basically they never lumped practice and the "sole source" of knowledge together.

Next, taking practice as the sole source of knowledge means, in fact, eliminating matter from the realm of the theory of knowledge, or epistemology. In WEN HUI BAO 13 June 1980, an article by Wang Zhizhang [3769 0037 3864] held that the primary character of matter is the basic premise of epistemology, they are inseparable, as the former is the basis of the latter; matter is the origin of the world as well as of epistemology. While criticizing (Machists), Lenin said: "They deny matter. This also means that they deny the external, objective source which we perceive, and deny the objective reality which conforms to our perception. This is their answer to the question of epistemology, which everybody knew well long ago." Taking practice as the sole source of knowledge, and believing that the primary character of matter does not come within the scope of the study of epistemology, in fact means eliminating matter from the realm of epistemology.

Third, judging from the mutual relationship between knowledge and practice, practice is not the sole source of knowledge. The article by Ze Ming held that, first, what knowledge depends on is objective reality beyond man's consciousness; second, knowledge depends on practice to test its conformity to objectivity; and third, knowledge depends on practice as a "channel" and a "crossing point" to approach and attain objective reality. Besides these three meanings, describing practice as the sole source of knowledge means using practice to confuse and substitute for objective reality, which is outside of man's consciousness, and thus to sever the relationship of dependence, which is of absolute meaning, between knowledge and objective reality. Ze Ming stated that both knowledge and practice must "turn in the direction of the objective world." This indeed is the true basis on which knowledge and practice are closely integrated and dialectically unified. Only on this basis can we say that knowledge directs practice, and that practice tests knowledge and promotes the development of knowledge. It is wrong to exaggerate the objective aspect of practice as being the entire objective world, or to exaggerate the material aspect of practice as being matter in general.

Among the views which oppose the assertion that "practice is the sole source of knowledge," there are three different views on the question of what the source of knowledge is:

The first view is that matter is the sole source of knowledge. Because man's knowledge is the reflection of the objective external world in the human brain, objective matter, as the target of knowledge, constitutes the sole source of the content of knowledge. The role of practice is to tap the source of knowledge, to promote the development of knowledge, to test the correctness or incorrectness of knowledge, and to achieve correct knowledge.

The second view is that practice is the origin of knowledge, and that matter is the final source of knowledge. The article by Wang Zhizhang stated that the meaning of "final source" is twofold: one admits that knowledge depends on practice, that knowledge originates directly from practice, and that practice is the origin and the motive force of knowledge; and the other is that the root of knowledge, or the essence of knowledge, is not practice but matter, which is the motive force of knowledge's motive force. Some people have approved this wording not only because it distinguishes between the two different roles played by matter and practice toward knowledge, but also because it avoids any confusion in conception.

The third view holds that the objective world revealed by practice is the source of knowledge. The journal SHEHUI KEXUE in its issue No 5, 1980, carried an article by Zhang Lingyun [1728 3249 0061] stating that practice as a subjective material activity with a definite objective in view is not the origin of knowledge but the means of and

and way to knowledge. However, the objective world alone cannot become the origin of knowledge; only as the target of practice can the objective world become the source of knowledge. Some people believe that this view shows not only that the content of knowledge comes from matter, but also that the target of knowledge is not matter in general but matter being re-formed by practice; at the same time, it also demonstrates the role of practice as the source [of knowledge].

9039
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DEVELOPMENT, IMPORTANCE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 1-5

[Article by Lan Ying [5663 3841]: "The New Development in the Ideological Line of Seeking the Truth from the Facts"]

[Text] After following a fighting course of a full 60 years, today our party has begun a new and more arduous long march to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power.

In the 60 years, one basic experience gained by our party is to uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. When it is upheld, the party's cause prospers and develops; otherwise, it suffers setbacks. It is a basic experience which our party has gained at a tremendous cost.

The Formation of the Ideological Line

At the Army-wide Political Work Conference on 2 June 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Seeking the truth from the facts is the starting point of Mao Zedong Thought--the fundamental point." His words incisively explained the important position of seeking the truth from the facts in Mao Zedong Thought.

"Seeking the truth from the facts" was an old saying in our country. First seen in "Biography of Prince Xian of Hejian, History of Han," it was subsequently passed on as a proverb. Its original meaning was to search for knowledge, find the facts and seek the truth. According to the record in the book, Liu De, the third son of Emperor Jing of Han, who was made the Prince of Hejian, with the posthumous title of Xian, read widely and studied diligently. He constantly collected books and checked the authenticity of the material read by him. He always made a complete copy of the rare editions and genuine scripts collected among the people, rewarded the original owners generously, and carefully studied them. Therefore, Ban Gu, in his historical records, praised him for "learning eagerly from the ancients and seeking the truth from the facts." Taking over the phrase, our party gave it a new meaning. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Facts" are all things which exist objectively; "truth" is the internal links of the objective things, viz., the laws; "seek" is when we study, analyze and master the laws of the objective things. The "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made an even clearer summary of its meaning: "Seeking the truth from the facts is to start from reality and link theory with reality; it is to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution." It is our party's ideological line.

However, the formation and development of the ideological line underwent a tortuous and complex process. The manifestation of the essence of the long struggles against leftwing and rightwing opportunist errors waged by our party from its creation until the Zunyi Meeting was whether to uphold this ideological line. Meanwhile, it was after the lessons of failures and setbacks time and time again that our party gradually formed the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. What possessed a decisive significance was the Yanan rectification movement begun in 1942 when rectification of the three styles, i.e., academic, party and writing styles, was proposed, in order to combat dogmatism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing. Its core was to summarize the errors of Wang Ming's leftwing adventurism and the bitter lesson of its serious damage to the party, to criticize the subjectivism of severing theory from practice, and to form the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. Twice Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the inscription "seeking the truth from the facts" for the Yanan Central Party School, which were hung in its new auditorium. Subsequently, the phrase was included in the party constitution of the "Seventh Congress" and formally made the party's ideological line. It was a great achievement of the Yanan rectification movement and the "Seventh Congress."

Considering himself a "hundred percent Bolshevik," Wang Ming placed himself above the party and displayed his arrogance for a time. He held two "talismans" in his hands: Foreign dogmas to intimidate people; a club to promote "cruel struggles and ruthless attacks" in the party and create a patriarchy. Forcefully promoting leftwing opportunism, he once pushed China's revolution to a hopeless situation, reducing the party members in the country from 300,000 to 30,000 and the Red Army from 300,000 men to close to 30,000 and losing all revolutionary bases beyond the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Beginning with the Zunyi Meeting called in January 1935, the party first concentrated on correcting Wang Ming's military errors, established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership position in the Party Central Committee, and saved the party and the revolution at a most critical moment. The further criticism of Wang Ming's leftwing errors in ideology and theory was not completed until the Yanan rectification movement. In 1936 and 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong, in the caves of Yanan, wrote such brilliant articles as "the Strategic Issue of China's revolutionary War," "on Practice," "on Contradiction" and "the Strategic Issue of Guerrilla Warfare against Japan." In 1941, he produced "a Study of Our Reform," "Rectify the Party Style" and "Combat Stereotyped Party Writing." These articles summarized theoretically the experiences of China's revolution and the fight against the erroneous tendencies in the party, scientifically analyzed all leftwing and rightwing opportunist ideas and their theoretical roots, and laid the theoretical foundation for the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. Spreading from Yanan to all base areas, the rectification movement launched in 1942 was a great Marxist ideological educational movement. In the movement, the party further summarized the experiences of success of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles led by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De and made a thorough study of the bitter lessons of Wang Ming's dogmatist errors, thereby enabling the entire party to intensify its understanding of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, learn to start from reality in everything, interpret and reform the world according to its true features, and greatly raise its consciousness in upholding the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. On the foundation of forming this ideological line throughout the party, our party's lines and policies and all items of its work got onto the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary track of integrating theory with reality. In the course of the 28 years of our democratic revolution, the progress in the 14 years prior to the Zunyi Meeting was made in the midst of continuous setbacks. In the 10 years beginning with the Zunyi Meeting, especially after the Yanan rectification movement, from the "7th Congress" to the "8th Congress," a new period of prosperity and development emerged in our party. We won the victory of the new democratic revolution and smoothly accomplished the transition to socialism. One may say that these victories were the victories of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

The Development of the Ideological Line

After entering the socialist period, our party again underwent the severe tests of successes and failures, and the experiential lessons again manifested concentratively in whether the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts was upheld. This ideological line was followed in the 7 years of socialist reform. After the start of the general building of socialism and simultaneous with the successes in the first 10 years, such errors of impetuosity and rashness as the "communist wind" and "boastfulness" had already appeared. In the last 10 years, they developed to the severe disaster of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In the first 2 years after smashing the "gang of four," the error of the "two whatevers" occurred. Not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts restored, basically rectifying the leftwing errors in the guiding ideology, bringing order out of chaos, and carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future. The Third Plenary Session was another great turning point in our party's history; it was the restoration and development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under new historical conditions. The substance in this aspect is extremely rich. We have a relatively deep understanding of the following points:

1. Upholding practice as the only criterion to test truth is an important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

Utilizing the "Great Cultural Revolution" erroneously launched and led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the Lin and Jiang counterrevolutionary cliques usurped the party and seized power, spread idealism and metaphysics, wantonly emasculated the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and turned upside down the dialectic relations between the subjective and the objective and between theory and practice. After smashing the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng followed the long unchanged erroneous policy of the "two whatevers" and seriously blocked the progress of the four modernizations. The nation-wide discussion of the criterion of truth broke down the fetters of the "two whatevers," and a lively atmosphere of diligently studying the new conditions and solving the new problems emerged. The Third Plenary Session made a high appraisal of the discussion of the criterion of truth and established anew the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

Practice as the criterion to test truth was not a new issue, for it had long been brilliantly expounded by the proletarian revolutionary teachers. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out clearly: "The criterion of truth can only be social practice." "Truth is discovered by means of practice, and verified and developed by means of practice." "Practice, understanding, practice again, and understanding again." It is the epistemology of dialectic materialism and the theoretical foundation of the party's ideological line. Theory develops alongside the development of social practice. Under the historical conditions after the downfall of the "gang of four," launching the discussion on the criterion of truth, criticizing the error of the "two whatevers," and proposing anew the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts took on new characteristics and new contents. From the Third to the Sixth Plenary Session, it was under the guidance of this ideological line that our party formulated and implemented a series of correct policies and we won worldwide attention with the achievements in the various items of our work. Seeking the truth from the facts, the Party Central Committee proposed the political line of shifting the emphasis of work to the socialist modernization construction, solved the major historical issues and the right and wrong of the party leaders, refuted the erroneous theory of the "continuous revolution" and the political slogan of "taking the class struggle as the key link," factually analyzed the class situation, and proposed new tasks and new policies on political, economic and cultural constructions. On a nationwide scale, it launched the work of redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases and of implementing the party policies, especially the complete rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, the greatest unjust case in our party history, at the Fifth Plenary Session. Had we failed to take practice as the criterion and start from the objective reality, had we departed from the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, it would have been impossible to rectify all the unjust, false and wrong cases. With a profound significance, the discussion on the criterion of truth armed the entire party and the entire people with the epistemology of dialectic materialism, inspecting work, summarizing experiences, distinguishing the right and wrong, upholding truth and correcting mistakes by means of practice. The discussion laid the foundation for the lines and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session, opened the way for emancipating thinking, overcoming mental ossification and correcting the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers," and provided an objective criterion to bringing order out of chaos and making a complete overhaul.

2. Upholding ideological emancipation and upholding the four basic principles constitute another important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

Looking through history, we find that ideological emancipation always occurred in periods of momentous turns of history, such as the one hundred schools of thought contending during China's Warring States and the "4 May" Movement in its modern history, the "Renaissance" in Europe, etc. All the ideological emancipation movements occurred when history posed brand-new issues while the traditional old concepts fettered man's ideological development and blocked the study and solution of the new issues with new concepts and new ideas. There were two ideological emancipation movements in our party history, viz., the Yanan rectification movement of 1942 and the ideological emancipation proposed by the Third Plenary Session. The point in common of the two movements is to establish the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, unifying theory with practice and the subjective with the objective. The distinction is that the former dealt with emancipation from the ideological fetters of Wang Ming's dogmatic errors and solution of the issue of integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's revolution, while the latter is for the purpose of emancipating our mind from the erroneous ideology of the "two whatevers," purging the influence of the long-standing leftwing guiding ideology and personality cult in the socialist construction, restoring the true features of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and completely and accurately mastering and applying the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to the study and solution of the new conditions and new issues emerging in the course of the four modernizations.

To emancipate the mind, we must break down superstition, respect science, understand things according to their true features, and find the guiding principle to reform the world. Its foundation rests on seeking the truth from the facts. To emancipate the mind, we must combat mental ossification. There were all kinds and all types of mental ossification in history. For a decade or more, the mental ossification in our party also had its special characteristics, such as turning theories into dogmas, idolizing the leaders, "obeying literally" each word and each phrase, etc. Such decadent matters were in fact reflections of the feudal, bourgeois and small production ideologies in our party, resulting in the personality cult, life tenure of the leading cadres and arbitrary decision making by the leaders. They deeply fettered people's thinking, making it impossible to seek the truth from the facts. The Third Plenary Session broke through the layers of "forbidden areas" installed by the "two whatevers," proposed the policy of ideological emancipation, asking us to face reality and understand and solve the issues according to the objective reality, and pushed our party's cause forward.

Emancipating the mind and upholding the four basic principles are consistent with each other. The four basic principles are the starting point and the end-result of ideological emancipation and the common political foundation for the unity of the party and all nationalities in the country. Therefore, apart from them, it will be impossible to correctly implement the policy of ideological emancipation. Ideological emancipation is to free ourselves from the personality cult of the "two whatevers" and from ignorance and superstition. Only thus will we be able to learn, study and realize the four basic principles by seeking the truth from the facts. Therefore, apart from ideological emancipation, we cannot begin to talk about the scientific Marxist-Leninist attitude, and nor will we truly uphold the four basic principles. Today there are two kinds of misunderstandings, placing the four basic principles and ideological emancipation on opposite sides. One misunderstanding is that the four basic principles fetter people's mind and block ideological emancipation. The other is the feeling of apprehension and misgiving about ideological emancipation, even to the extent of fearing that it may become excessive, turning a blind eye to the new conditions, new issues and new things. Misinterpretations of the four basic principles and ideological emancipation, both misunderstandings are extremely harmful.

3. Starting from the national conditions to pursue the socialist modernization construction is yet another important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

When summarizing China's revolutionary experiences, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The course of China's revolution was that of the growing integration of the universal truths of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's revolution. As proved by historical experiences, whether in the period of the democratic revolution or in that of the socialist construction, we must give serious attention to the study of our national conditions, and whether we act accordingly is the key to the success or failure of our cause. To correctly understand the national conditions, we must practice repeatedly. In the democratic revolution period, only after many setbacks did we clarify our national conditions and find the way by surrounding the cities with the villages and armed seizure of political power. In the socialist construction period, we likewise followed a winding path. The main reason for the long existence of the leftwing errors was that we departed from the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts and made subjective deviations in our understanding of the national conditions.

Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] pointed out: "Ours is a country of 1 billion population with 800 million peasants; it is in such a country that we are carrying out construction." These words clearly show that we have a large population, a weak foundation and a low production level, and that we entered socialism from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state without passing through the stage of the high development of capitalism. Under this situation, when pursuing the socialist construction, we must not sever ourselves from reality and be impatient for success, but must act according to our capabilities, plant our feet on solid ground and advance steadily. As pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun, we must "feel the rocks when fording the river." After the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee, in accordance with the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, repeatedly stressed the study of our national conditions and, starting from the national conditions, proposed the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and improving" on the national economy, firmly rectifying the long-standing leftwing errors in economic work. At the same time, it formulated the important policy of "further readjusting the economy and further stabilizing the political situation," preliminarily reversed the stagnant and confused state of the national economy caused by the 10-year calamity, and began to solve the problems of proportionate maladjustment and irrational structure of the national economy left down through many years. However, we are still faced with many problems and difficulties in economic work. To follow a path of the socialist modernization construction adjusted to our national conditions, we must continuously summarize and develop our experiences by means of practice. To start out from our national conditions, while we must recognize the basic fact that the economy and culture of our country are still relatively backward, we must also realize that we have made achievements in our economic and cultural constructions and gained favorable conditions at home and abroad; while guarding against impatience, we must also combat pessimism; we must raise our consciousness and overcome blindness in action. We deeply believe that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we will gradually build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power.

The Immortal Ideological Line

Seeking the truth from the facts is a political quality required of each and every Communist Party member and cadre as well as the ideological line of our party.

Our party shoulders the historical mission of leading the one billion people in the socialist modernization construction. As stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang, "the key for the completion of this task rests with our party." "Today, the people of all nationalities in the country place their hopes on our party, and the people of the whole world are looking attentively at us." How to improve and build our party properly according to the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts reestablished by the Third Plenary Session is a momentous issue linked with the success or failure of our party's cause.

Looking at the party's ideological conditions today, we find that, as the leftwing ideology exercised a deep influence for decades, its elimination will require a tremendous effort. For a long time, some comrades, in particular, have formed such ideas as left is better than right; left is safer than right; rather left than right; left is a question of method and right is a question of standpoint; left is to revolutionize and right is not to revolutionize; left is the petit bourgeois ideology and right is the bourgeois ideology; etc. These erroneous ideas seriously block the implementation of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. In our inner-party struggles, we must adopt the scientific attitude of seeking the truth from the facts on the erroneous ideological tendencies, combating the right when there is right, combating the left when there is left, combating the right while guarding against the left, and combating the left while guarding against the right. However, over a long time, an erroneous guiding ideology has formed in our party: It seems that only rightism is found in a socialist period, not leftism; that we can only combat rightism, not leftism. This ideology has seriously damaged our party's superior tradition of seeking the truth from the facts. Reviewing our party's historical lessons, we find that, in the democratic revolution period, we made leftwing errors three times, each time more serious than the previous one. Why was it so? Here we have a particularly important lesson: What was obviously leftwing was called rightwing, combating the leftwing with the leftwing and becoming ever more leftwing. Wang Ming's leftwing dogmatism called Comrade Li Lisan's leftwing error rightwing and complained that it was not leftwing enough. As a result, Wang Ming's leftwing error developed to the peak. In the late fifties after liberation, there was already the magnification of the class struggle and such leftwing errors as "issuing arbitrary orders," "communist wind" and "boastfulness" which should have been corrected, yet the Lushan Meeting combated the so-called rightwing error and attacked Comrade Peng Dehuai and a large group of good comrades who had the courage to speak the truth and uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts. The situation reached the peak by the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Utilizing the so-called "anti-rightism" and "anti-revisionism," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously attempted to usurp the party and seize power. We must never forget such bitter lessons of history repeated over and over again. As leftwing errors are more deceptive and misleading, it is more difficult to rectify them. We must continue to purge the leftwing poison of long-standing, for only thus will we unify the thinking of the entire party to the lines and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session and to the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session.

To uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, we must further strengthen the democratic life of the entire party, follow democratic centralism and reinforce collective leadership. Our party created an entire set of principles on handling inner-party relations in the Yanan rectification period. Such principles include, for instance, "say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words" and "correct the mistakes if you have made any and guard against them if you have not;" in regard to those making mistakes, there must be no "finishing off with one blow," but "observe and help" and "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the illness to save the patient;" there must be no "cruel struggle and ruthless attack," but the formula of "unity--criticism--unity." The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" passed at the Fifth Plenary Session contain many clear and important provisions on developing inner-party democracy and strengthening the party's democratic system, in order to protect the democratic rights of each and every party member. Meanwhile, they also provide that the party organizations of all levels must uphold the collective leadership and oppose arbitrary decision making by individuals, absolutely banning "one man's words" and patriarchy. All these are important principles to assure organizationally the implementation of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

To uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, it is, in terms of the party members, a test of the political quality, which is not easily attained. Though wishing to act according to the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, some people are unable to do so because of the lack of vision and the failure to distinguish the true and the false. Others, while able to recognize the actual state of affairs, are afraid to uphold the principle because of selfish considerations, the desire to play safe and the fear for their own interest. A small number of people tells lies to deceive others and protect themselves, while some few evil individuals benefit themselves at the expense of others, unscrupulously distorting the facts, turning the black and white around, creating rumors to hurt others, hitting a person when he is down and attacking the good people, caring nothing about the truth. Except the individual evildoers, the problems of the overwhelming majority of the comrades should be solved by ideological education. Each and every party member must vigorously study theories, strengthen the cultivation of their ideology and moral character, and raise their communist ideological awareness of serving the people. The party organizations must enforce discipline and mete out rewards and punishments strictly and fairly. Those who have no fear of attack and retaliation, who have the courage to uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts and who tell the truth in defense of the interests of the party and the people should be commended. Those who falsify and misrepresent, who rely on lies to gain honor and position, or who cause serious losses by conniving with, inducing or coercing their subordinates to tell lies must be handled according to party discipline.

At any time and under any circumstance, we must firmly implement the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, strengthen and improve the party's leadership, raise its fighting power, build it into a firm core more mature in politics, more unanimous in ideology, more consolidated in organization, and able to rally and lead the people of all nationalities in the country in the socialist modernization construction and, with one heart and one mind, undaunted by repeated setbacks, struggle vigorously to make our country into a highly democratic and highly civilized modern socialist power!

Let our party's ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts shine forever!

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PHOTO SHOWS SOLDIERS TRAINING WITH ANTITANK MISSILES

Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI [ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1981 outside back cover

[Photo by Wang Xiao]

Standing in combat readiness

CSO: 4005/193

HUBEI VICE GOVERNOR ADDRESSES PEOPLE'S CONGRESS ON PUBLIC SECURITY

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 2

[Excerpts of Hubei Vice Governor Li Jun's [2621 0193] report to the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress: "Further Strengthen Public Order and Public Security Work"]

[Text] On 24 September, Vice Governor Li Jun delivered a report on further strengthening the social order and public security work to the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress. Excerpts of the report follow:

Since the Ninth Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress, under the unified leadership of the provincial party committee, we have made conscientious efforts to implement the guidelines of the five-metropolitan-city forum and the Hubei provincewide forum on public security. Strong measures have been taken to consolidate the social order in a way that takes into account reality, with initial success. Today, the masses have been further mobilized to deal blows to the arrogant criminals. The result is a reduction in the number of heinous crimes such as murder, robbery, and rape, along with initial improvements in the outlcok of public order in such public places as railway stations, wharves, shopping centers and bustling city streets. But what we have achieved is merely a start; problems still exist in our work. Further measures and efforts will have to be made in order to achieve a complete turnaround in our public security work. At present, specific regulations should be enacted in accordance with the party's policies and the laws of the state in order to solve problems and meet the needs of the struggle.

--Good services in the form of detention and investigation will continue. Services provided in the form of detention and investigation of criminals at large and major suspects of crime will have an important effect on the curbing of crime and the maintenance of social order and public security. Detention and investigation centers should be established in prefectures and municipalities. At the same time, district public security organs in various counties and cities should be delegated temporary authority to track down and investigate crimes. The targets of detention and investigation will include: suspects of misdemeanors, suspects of crimes committed by individuals who have no fixed address, and suspects of repeated and organized crimes who need to be detained and investigated; suspects of misdemeanors who have refused to tell the truth about their names, addresses, and where they come from; suspected criminals caught and sent by the masses and captured by the night patrols who must be detained for interrogation. Upon the completion of investigations, we will deal with each case on its own merits. Except for pending cases awaiting criminal proceedings, those who have committed misdemeanors and who do not have to face criminal charges or other charges levelled by public security organs should be released immediately or sent to the places of their domicile for settlement through the detention and repatriation centers of relevant prefectural and municipal civic affairs departments. Responsible units will have to suggest alternatives in the cases of criminals who need to be rehabilitated through labor and who come from other provinces and cities outside Hubei Province. In principle, public security organs in the places of their domicile should take over such cases. If they cannot be sent back there, labor rehabilitation units in Hubei Province should be responsible for their rehabilitation. As soon as they are rehabilitated, they should be sent to the places of their domicile for settlement. Fugitives from the countryside of this province who need to be rehabilitated through labor should undergo rehabilitation at the local labor rehabilitation units in accordance with the approved regulations. As soon as they are rehabilitated, they should be sent to the places of their domicile for settlement.

--Prostitution should be resolutely banned. During past years, whores and prostitutes have been active in cities and towns of this province. Their appearance has had a serious harmful impact on our social morality and social order, and therefore should be resolutely banned. The major targets of attack are those elements who force, instigate and lure women to engage in prostitution and whorehouse owners who profit from encouraging women to engage in such business. All of them should be severely punished in accordance with the law. Patronizers of whorehouses are punishable by administrative detention, fine and condemnation. They are usually ordered to produce a written agreement not to repeat the same wrongdoing again in the form of an apology. If they are identified as staff members and workers of the state, disciplinary action should be taken against them. Cases of a serious nature, those who refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education, should be committed to labor rehabilitation institutions. Women engaged in prostitution should be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Women without decent jobs who are found guilty of engaging in prostitution and who refuse to correct their wrongdoings regardless of repeated education should be detained and rehabilitated through labor. Women with decent jobs who engage in prostitution and who fail to transform themselves through education should be treated in much the same way. Rural women who engage in prostitution in cities should be sent back to their homes in the countryside, where they should be placed under the strict surveillance of production teams or their families after undergoing rehabilitation. Rural women who refuse to correct their wrongdoings through repeated education and who return to the cities to continue to engage in prostitution should be detained and rehabilitated through labor by authorities in the localities where they commit such crime. Individual education should be made available to those women who engage in prostitution occasionally and sporadically in order to help them correct their wrongdoings and prevent them from sinking deeper into the quagmire of sin.

--Gambling and feudal superstitious practices should be resolutely banned. Gambling and feudal superstitious practices are bad habits left by the old society and should be resolutely banned because of their negative effect on the people's productive activities and daily life as well as on social order and public security. We must educate the cadres and the masses in the socialist legal system and expose the harmful effect of gambling and feudal superstitious practices. The broad masses of cadres and people must be mobilized to help the government resolutely stop the gambling and feudal superstitious practices. Counties and municipalities should be authorized to issue circulars and decrees to this effect, while communes and townships should be authorized to round up currently active gamblers and their sponsors as well as fortunetellers and their followers, give them education in the legal system and insist that they sign a written pledge to abide by law in exchange for lenient treatment. If they relapse, they may be imprisoned, fined and condemned in accordance with an executive order as called for in the "PRC Statute Governing the Administration of Public Security and the Companion Penal Code." Furthermore, their gambling money and equipment used in feudal superstitious practices may be confiscated. For gamblers and their sponsors and fortunetellers and their followers who refuse to correct their wrongdoings regardless of repeated education and who commit crimes of a serious nature, punishment may be meted out in accordance with the law. Severe punishment may be meted out to those identified as state cadres.

--Measures should be taken to safeguard the railways, shipping lines, highways, and communication lines as well as radio, television, postal and telecommunications installations. Public order in some railway stations, bus stops, harbors, wharves and some sections of railways, highways, shipping and communications lines has been disrupted; cargo has been stolen or carried away by cheating. Even worse is the sabotage of the technical installations of radio and television stations, postal and telecommunications offices. We must conscientiously and thoroughly implement the decrees and regulations governing their safe operation issued by the Central Committee, the State Council and the departments concerned. Various localities and units should teach the masses to love the property of the state, while the militia and public security organizations are urged to effectively safeguard the communications and telecommunication installations as a matter of importance. The departments concerned must commend and give cash awards to units and individuals for doing an excellent job in this field. Units and individuals found guilty of stealing and looting cargo and sabotaging various installations should be dealt with in accordance with the law on a case-by-case basis. Cases of serious nature are liable for prosecution in accordance with the provisions of the criminal law. Resolute measures must be taken to retrieve the stolen cargo or loot or to obtain compensation for the economic loss.

--Active efforts must be made to enforce covenants entered into by villagers or civilians. The covenants formulated and enforced by the villagers or civilians are good measures for the masses to exercise self-control. This form of covenants should be adopted and enforced by all villages and cities throughout the province. Brigades in the countryside and the residential committees in cities and townships should be authorized to enact such covenants. The mass line should be followed in developing the covenants, which should take into account actual local conditions and should be couched in simple, clear-cut and easily comprehensible language. The contents of the covenants should in no way conflict with the state laws now in force.

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MAO CONTRIBUTES TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF MARXISM

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/Article by Chen Ruisheng /7115 3843 3932/: "Comrade Mao Zedong Advanced Marxism Through Practice"/

/Text/ "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" which was passed by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, realistically appraised Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution to Marxism. "The Resolution" noted: "His philosophical writings and his many other highly philosophical works provide a penetrating discussion and elaboration of the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics by summing up the experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution. He helped philosophy to truly become a powerful weapon of the proletariat and the masses for understanding and transforming the world. In particular his important writings on the problems of the Chinese revolutionary war provide a shining example of applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics." "The Resolution" correctly interprets and evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, it upholds the correct ideological line set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong and clarifies his important guiding ideology.

1. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, he was also a great proletarian revolutionary, military strategist and thorist. In just over half a century he led the people of China as they embarked on the cause of revolution and construction; he applied dialectal materialism and historical materialism to all aspects of the work of the political party of the proletariat. Furthermore, he scientifically summed up the practical experiences of revolution and construction, he brought together the collective wisdom of the whole party and all the people throughout the nation and he gradually formed the standards, viewpoints and methods that make up the distinctive characteristics of the CCP thereby enriching the developing Marxism.

Mao Zedong's philosophical thought is not a dogmatic armchair philosophy, rather it is a vital philosophy that stems from summarizing practice and is used to guide practice. The linking of philosophical principles with social practice and applying them with flexibility are the remarkable characteristics of Mao Zedong's philosophy. During the process of using Marxism to solve the practical problems of the Chinese revolution, he made Marxist philosophy more concrete and more Chinese. He formed a much admired philosophy that incorporated the Chinese style and the essence of practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works are the generalization and summation of theories on a number of original experiences concerning long-term practice in China. His brilliant philosophical treatises, "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," were written to expose the subjective mistakes of dogmatism and empiricism within the party, particularly dogmatism, from the viewpoint of the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. The publication of these two philosophical works which, from an international perspective, systematically summed up the experiences drawn from inner-party and international communist movements and put into practice the dialectal materialistic theory of knowledge and materialist dialectics, served to eliminate the errors of leftist and rightist opportunism, especially the mistake of leftist dogmatism. It dug up the ideological roots of these two mistaken trends, sought unity of ideology within the party and gave impetus to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. The philosophical works "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" which systematically, concisely and comprehensively set forth and expand on the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics are classics unique in the history of Marxism. Without doubt, these two philosophical works provide new riches to the storehouse of Marxist philosophy.

2. The philosophical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong is not only brought into focus in his philosophical treatises, it also appears throughout his scientific works and it is displayed in his revolutionary activities carried out in leading Chinese communists. In particular, his major works dealing with the problems of the Chinese revolutionary war such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War," "On the Protracted War," "Problems of War and Strategy" and other military works all contain much vital Marxist philosophical thought. In these military writings, he provided the best model on practically applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge, dialectics and historical materialism. These Marxist military works are without equal in Marxist literature.

Comrade Mao Zedong applied Marxism with skill and great proficiency in analyzing and discussing military matters. For example, in the brilliant work "On the Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong skillfully applied the Marxist theory of knowledge, specifically the principle of the law of the unity of opposites. He made an exhaustive and penetrating analysis of the contradiction between China and Japan. He revealed the objective laws governing the development of the War of Resistance Against Japan and he introduced the correct line of persisting in the protracted war and striving for final victory while denouncing the "theory of national subjugation" and the "theory of a quick victory." He also scientifically predicted the three strategic stages in the protracted was against Japan, based on the development of the four fundamental characteristics of the contradiction between China and Japan. The entire course of the history of the War of Resistance Against Japan convincingly proved the correctness of the laws governing the development of this war as revealed by Comrade Mao Zedong. "On the Protracted War" is a brilliant example of how Comrade Mao Zedong made use of materialist dialectics to analyze and solve military problems; he creatively enriched and advanced Marxism. This work is not only of great historical significance, it is also of great immediate significance. Although we are already in a period of socialist construction and the work in which we are engaged differs from that of the War of Resistance Against Japan, nevertheless, the significant philosophical thought contained in "On the Protracted War" is timeless. To renew study of this work would be of great immediate significance for mastering scientific methods of thinking, for learning to put Marxist principles into practice and for refuting the attitude of being impatient for quick results in the establishment of the "four modernizations" and the view of passive pessimism.

3. Comrade Mao Zedong's characteristic of advancing Marxism through application is further expressed in the way he flexibly adapted Marxist philosophy to our party's methods of leadership and work. He summarized the work experiences of vast numbers of cadres and the masses, he applied principles of Marxism and formulated a list of leadership methods and work methods such as investigation and study, the mass line and so forth. Investigation and study are the main ways of understanding the world as well as the basic methods of leadership and work needed to do good work. From an epistemological standpoint, investigation consists of becoming acquainted with the conditions of objective reality, listening attentively to the views of the masses, collecting firsthand data and acquiring perceptual knowledge. Study consists of the material that is investigated, the connecting of thoughts and the acquisition of rational knowledge. Investigation is the premise and foundation of study; study is the continuation and distillation of investigation. The two form a coherent and integrated process. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the importance of investigation and study and he repeatedly stated: "no investigation, no right to speak." He also came up with many fine methods for investigation and study such as "looking at flowers while riding on horseback," "getting off one's horse to examine flowers," "dissecting a sparrow," staying at selected basic units" as well as how to conduct good investigation meetings etc. In addition, he himself did much investigation and study; he wrote "Investigation into Peasant Movements in Hunan," "Rural Survey," "Oppose Book Worship," "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Survey'" and other investigative reports and articles. Comrade Mao Zedong also made use of the principles of dialectal materialism and historical materialism to formulate a complete methodology for leadership and work on the mass line. He noted that when leading the masses to carry on every kind of practical work, it is necessary to have correct guiding ideology; to follow the principle of from the masses, to the masses; to bring together the leadership and the masses; and to combine general directives with specific guidance. That is, to sum up the views of the masses, systematize them and then seek the firm support of the masses and test the correctness of these views through the actions of the masses. This sort of cyclical repetition causes the understanding of the leadership to become even more correct, more vivid and more meaningful. In this way Comrade Mao Zedong united the Marxist theory of knowledge with the mass line. His major contribution to Marxism was to adapt the principles of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the principle that the people are the creators of history to the mass line in addition to using the mass line to enrich and develop epistemology and historical materialism, "Concerning Certain Problems in Methods of Leadership" and other works summed up Comrade Mao Zedong's views on the mass line. The popularization and application of the methods of leadership and methods of work as formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong, signify the ceaseless penetration of Marxism into the realities of life and have become a powerful weapon in the hands of vast numbers of cadres and masses. This will inevitably bring about the enrichment and advancement of philosophy itself.

In summary, the striking characteristic and distinctive symbol of Comrade Mao Zedong's enrichment and advancement of Marxism consists of the linking of the actual practice of China's revolution and construction, applying Marxist philosophy with flexibility and uniting theory and practice. This is the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought. As far as we Chinese communists and the broad masses are concerned, it has long-term guiding significance.

At present, we continue to strive to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought. It is of tremendous use in establishing ideological theory within the party, in the cadres' growth to maturity, in synthesizing experience, in avoiding mistakes, in inspiring revolutionary enthusiasm and in carrying out the "four modernizations." Experience has borne out that once we have studied Mao Zedong Thought there is bound to be a qualitative leap in ideology. Therefore, it is essential to encourage the cadres to further study Mao Zedong Thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

NUCLEUS OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT ANALYZED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81, p 3

[Article by Chen Yi [7115 3085]: " The Nucleus of Mao Zedong Thought: A Combination of the Universal Truths of Marxism-Leninism and the Concrete Experiences of the Chinese Revolution"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh CCP Central Committee is an important document which concerns the political life of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities. The "Resolution" uses the Marxist theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to make a correct summation of the major historical events in the 32 years since the founding of the party, makes a realistic evaluation of the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution and thoroughly states the great importance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology for the party. The most central and primary concern of the "Resolution" is to realistically explain the historical significance of Comrade Mao Zedong and the leadership role of Mao Zedong Thought in party work. The entire "Resolution" is imbued with this spirit. In studying the "Resolution" it is therefore necessary to first study this point.

The "Resolution" points out that Mao Zedong Thought has been, is and will be the guiding ideology of our party. To correctly understand Mao Zedong Thought and to comprehend its formation, development and abundant structure, its great significance and central issues is to realize that Mao Zedong Thought is an integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution. This will continue and there also will be further developments under the new historical conditions found today. Since the Third Plenum, order has been brought out of chaos and the scientific aspects of Mao Zedong Thought have been restored. The application of the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought in leading construction of modernization is a fundamental guarantee of success in our efforts. Lenin has said that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Chairman Mao has said that when the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism reflected in the experiences of the worldwide proletarian struggle were integrated with the concrete practices of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese proletariat and the broad peoples they then became an invincible weapon of the Chinese people. This great accomplishment we are now discussing, this invincible weapon of the Chinese people is none other than the guiding ideology of the party--Mao Zedong Thought.

Is Mao Zedong Thought then without foundation? No, it is not. The "Resolution" clearly points out that in the latter 1920s and the early 1930s when the international communist movement and our party were following the mistaken tendency of making dogma out of Marxism and deifying both the resolutions of the Communist International and the experiences of the Soviet Union the Chinese revolution very nearly fell into a hopeless situation. Mao Zedong Thought struggled against the mistaken tendency and moreover slowly took shape and developed by making profound summations of the process of these historical developments. Mao Zedong Thought is product of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the experiences of the Chinese revolution. Its philosophical foundations are dialectical materialism and historical materialism. These are powerful weapons for observing, analyzing and solving social contradictions. We are now in this same fashion applying the Marxist world view and methodology to analyze the task and sum up historical experiences. Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated and firmly grasped the principle of linking theory with practice and integrated the universal truths of Marxism-leninism with the concrete experiences of the Chinese revolution. If we pay attention only to the aspect of theory and do not integrate it with practice then we are guilty of the dogmatic error of quoting Marxist theories out of context and copying them mechanically in disregard of specific conditions. For example, Marx said that the era of social revolution could come about only when production relationships had changed from a stimulus of production into fetters on production and he moreover said that social revolution must take place in advanced capitalist nations. Some people then believed that because China had not undergone the capitalist stage capitalism should therefore be permitted to develop for a period and socialism should not be practiced. This is an obvious error. Actually, before Lenin rose to power he once engaged in struggle against the Second International. Lenin did not go by the book and smashed the obstructions placed by the theoreticians of the Second International in pointing out that a proletarian revolution could first win victory in a country and then establish socialism. The reason why Lenin was able to reach this conclusion was because he integrated the universal truths of Marxism with the concrete realities existing in Russia and analyzed the various contradictions found throughout the world to realize that Russia was the weakest link of the world's imperialist system. He then bravely led the Russian October Revolution. Chairman Mao and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries also studied China's national situation and integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and formulated correct lines, directions and policies in order to win victory in the Chinese revolution. The Seventh Party Congress unanimously agreed that Mao Zedong Thought was the unified ideology of Marxism-Leninism and China's revolutionary practices and moreover decreed it to be the direction for all party work. It is only because the party took Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding ideology that we won the great victories in the democratic revolution and the socialist transformation and have obtained such great success in socialist construction.

The reason why we want to emphasize the point that Mao Zedong Thought is an integration of the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution is because this is the central issue of Mao Zedong Thought. A look back at the Chinese revolution will verify this point. During the first period of national revolutionary struggle, although the party was still in its early stages, it nonetheless adoped correct policies and was able to unite with the Nationalist Party of Sun Zhongshan to succeed in the Northern Expedition. But because the party was still young, after the success of the Northern Expedition Chen Duxiu then promoted rightist capitulationism in the belief that China should allow the bourgeoisie to assume power and wait until the development of capitalism to implement socialism. The result was the defeat of the first national revolution. Later, the party led the Nanchang Uprising and held the August 7 Conference and decided to carry out armed uprisings. The Nanchang Uprising was the first shot to sound the bell of armed resistance against the Nationalist reactionaries and was the beginning of the party's independent leadership of armed revolution. Because the party then lacked deep understanding of the principles of Marxism and of China's national situation the Nanchang Uprising was finally defeated. At this time Comrade Mao Zedong applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to study China's problems and then proceeded according to China's actual conditions to lead the Autumn Harvest Uprising, ascended Jinggangshan and founded the revolutionary base. Though these were small acts the consequences were great and they resolved the question of the ability of communist governments to exist and the question of the countryside encircling the cities. These are the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong. These contributions were possible because Comrade Mao Zedong grasped the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Therefore, in our study of the "Resolution" when we look back on the 28 years prior to Liberation we must concentrate on studying and researching the fundamental question of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China and the implementation of socialist construction it was also necessary to apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to study the new conditions in China's socialist construction. The Second Plenum of the Seventh Congress decided upon the series of directions and policies which were to shift the work emphasis from the countryside to the cities. We quickly established ourselves in the cities. We confiscated bureaucrat capital, completed land reform in the new areas, repressed counter-revolution, conducted the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, carried out the Resist America Aid Korea Campaign, restored the national economy and victorously completed the Three Great Transformations. In accordance with the new conditions of the founding of the nation, Mao Zedong Thought also underwent new developments. After 1957, however, Chairman Mao in certain areas began to depart from the path of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, eventually leading to such errors as the "Great Cultural Revolution." At this time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made serious distortions of Mao Zedong Thought by exaggerating the errors of his later years into the so-called "theory of continual revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," saying that "each and every word is the absolute truth," and that "one sentence refutes 10,000 sentences." Mao Zedong Thought was not taken as a direction but was made into dogma. It basically is a type of scientific theory and must not be approached with anti-scientific attitudes, which naturally would be counterproductive. We are now summing up the lessons of our experiences and still must integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in order to make a theoretical distinction between right and wrong.

With regard to this fundamental issue, the Third Plenum brought order out of chaos, criticized the "two whatevers" and advocated ideological liberation through correctly and scientifically grasping Mao Zedong Thought in order to eliminate the chaos brought to this topic by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In terms of our ideology, no matter whether we discuss standards of truth or take supplemental courses, even though we have solved the questions of right and wrong in the deification of the individual and in evaluating major historical events, we still have not solved the problem of truly and profoundly understanding Mao Zedong Thought. This is what we must henceforth study and resolve. Mao Zedong Thought was developed in the process of the Chinese revolution and construction and future practice will continue to apply and develop it. We must now correct and prevent two tendencies. One is the error of rejecting the leadership role of Mao Zedong Thought in the Chinese revolution. The other error is to continue to hold the "whatever" viewpoint. Although we must grasp Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party we must also make a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes which Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years, and we must also apply and develop Mao Zedong Thought in our new practice.

How can we completely and correctly grasp Mao Zedong Thought? How can we improve our understanding in integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution? I believe that the following two points should be considered:

1. While we are comprehending the explanations of the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, we must integrate in this creative process a true distinction between the role of collective leadership in the party and the individual role of Comrade Mao Zedong in the party. The "Resolution" on the one hand emphasizes that Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communist party and that many outstanding party leaders made important contributions to its formation and development. At the same time, the "Resolution" points out that Comrade Mao Zedong is the major representative in the process of the creation and summation of these theories. The scientific writings of Comrade Mao Zedong made concentrated generalizations of these theories. If we do not see the efforts

made by the whole party in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, ignore or deny the contributions made by these outstanding party leaders and say that Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the individual genius of Comrade Mao Zedong we will be in error. However, to reduce or even deny the major role of Comrade Mao Zedong in creating these experiences, especially in generalizing about the theories, would also be in error.

2. The explanation of Mao Zedong Thought must scientifically embody the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is both the application of Marxism-Leninism in China and further develops it. The is because any correct application necessarily includes developments. Each and every scientific theory and scientific concept of Mao Zedong Thought is both Marxist and Chinese as well. It is based on the world view and general principles of Marxism and is firmly fixed on a Marxist foundation. It moreover has the special creations made by members of the Chinese Communist Party and distinctly Chinese characteristics. This has been the case ever since the Third Plenum. It is wrong to believe that Mao Zedong Thought is a narrow theory which stands outside Marxism and it is also wrong, considering the Chinese characteristics of these experiences, to make inappropriate claims that these are universal truths which can be applied outside of China.

3. A distinction must be made between the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong which were made in his later years. The "Resolution" says that the mistaken views of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years departed from the path of unifying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and departed from the party's collective experiences and collective wisdom.

To sum up, Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific generalization which expresses the complete and revolutionary theories of our party and which expresses a series of already proven correct theoretical principles and summations of experience regarding the Chinese revolution. We must evaluate the creative contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxism and must also evaluate the real and long-term leadership significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of the entire party. At the same time, we certainly must not implement the policy of the "two whatevers," by which we mean that we cannot take a dogmatic attitude with regard to the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought. In this way, the theoretical level of the party and the party's guiding ideology will and must continue to follow the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in continuing to develop.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE VIEWS OBSTACLES IN CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

/Article by Li Lun /7812 0243/: "The Reasons Behind the Obstacles in the Campaign for Criticism and Self-Criticism"/

/Text/ The practice of criticism and self-criticism is our finest tradition, it is one of the remarkable features that distinguishes our party from all other political parties. However, during the past decade of internal unrest it was seriously misrepresented and became a tool for disciplining and hurting the people. The weapon of correct criticism and self-criticism was by and large discarded. At present it is very difficult to carry out criticism, the obstacles are great. The principle reasons behind this are: (1) Party style and social practices have not improved at all. Those who dare to adhere to the correct line, policies and principles of the Third Plenary Session and those who dare to uphold principles and dare to speak the truth receive no support thereby giving rise to the unsound practice of cultivating more flowers and fewer thorns. (2) The ruthless struggle and merciless blows of the decade of internal unrest have left the people with a scarred spirit, therefore, as soon as party and nonparty members hear that criticism and ideological struggle will be carried out, they become extremely concerned and have lingering fears. The inability to launch sound criticism and self-criticism is the major reason for disorganized and slipshod work on the ideological front. If we want to overcome disorganization and laxity and become strong and vigorous then we must seek unity of ideology and march in step. In order to accomplish this we must launch a campaign of criticism and self-criticism. In a country as large as ours that has undergone a decade of civil strife and has faced all kinds of problems, if we did not carry out criticism and self-criticism, how could we unify our ideology, correct our work style and ensure the healthy development of our cause? We must recognize the extreme importance of launching criticism and self-criticism in terms of the future and destiny of our party and nation.

As for the matter of carrying out criticism, there are some problems at present in ideological understanding that need to be resolved. Some comrades have noted that there are many contradictions and problems in our country, wouldn't criticism serve to intensify these contradictions? They advocate that under the present conditions, it would be best to decrease or eliminate the use of the weapon of criticism. This view is incorrect. The prevailing liberal trends have to do with problems of political principle such as whether we accept party leadership or whether we want a socialist orientation. On the contrary, the contradictions will become more acute if we fail to give instruction or to criticize these mistaken tendencies or if we ignore them, letting them go unchecked. Engaging in active ideological struggle and correct criticism is, in effect, a way of controlling minor disorders so as to avert a major upheaval. Thus, if we want to prevent the intensification of contradictions, we cannot evade them, we should take up the weapon of criticism. Of course, if the methods of criticism are unjust such as engaging in organizational crossfire or criticizing and attacking arbitrarily, this too will create disorder. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said concerning the present tendencies: "If we fail to give instruction and to criticize and refuse to deal with them there will be disorder; if criticism is unjust, instruction inappropriate, this too will lead to disorder."

Some comrades resent criticism, they make mistakes yet they will not accept criticism. As soon as they are criticized they say you are beating them with a bludgeon. Lately, there have been some comrades in literary and art circles who have not been able to comprehend the matter of launching criticism and self-criticism as proposed by the Central Committee. They say that each movement always makes literary and art circles the first target of attack, there are so many problems on other fronts, why aren't they criticized? The existence of this sort of ideological sentiment is understandable. For, in the past 20 years there actually were many movements that began with the "5 circles." Moreover, the literary and art circles frequently were the first to be affected. However, to maintain this viewpoint today is a mistake. It is not in keeping with the spirit of the forum on problems of the national ideological front nor does it conform to the present reality. This forum, convened by the Central Committee, proposed strengthening the party's leadership, launching criticism and self-criticism, correcting the state of disorganization and laxity and overcoming all erroneous trends. This is not only necessary in literary and art circles, it is also needed on the whole ideological front. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his speech that a disorganized and lax leadership is a common problem of the whole party. He emphasized that the whole party must learn to make use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to strengthen unity and improve work. In actual life do we not constantly carry out earnest criticism against mistakes in all aspects of work, against seeking privileges, against engaging in incorrect practices and other phenomena? Therefore that argument of "once more making literary and art circles the first target of attack" is invalid. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that criticism and self-criticism are "the only methods for preventing all kinds of political dirt and germs from contaminating our ideology and the body of our party." Thus we must welcome criticism, promote criticism and encourage criticism. To reject criticism is to assume an attitude of concealing one's faults for fear of criticism. This attitude is detrimental to the development of the cause of literature, the arts, to theory and to other ideological fronts. It must be overcome.

Of course, when engaging in criticism we must pay attention to methodology; we must be fair and just. We must accept the nature of the problem for what it is and not arbitrarily inflate it to a higher plane of principle and partyline. Ideological problems and political problems are frequently intermingled, as are academic viewpoints and political viewpoints. We must be particularly careful and make sure to differentiate between them. We must not arbitrarily exaggerate problems in ideological understanding or erroneous academic and artistic views to a political level so that we may criticize them. Engaging in unlimited exaggeration does not help in solving problems, it may even create new confusion. We certainly must criticize the views, speeches and writings that violate the four basic principles. However, as long as the problems still have to do with the internal contradictions among the people, the manner of criticism must be both earnest and sincere. It must start from the desire for unity, it must be for the good of others and it must be well-reasoned so that those who are criticized feel that our party is truly concerned about them and trying to help them reach a common unity and arrive at unity on the basis of the four basic principles. It should be taken into consideration that literary and artistic creations involve complicated mental activity. Because of this we must use two standards, political and artistic, to make fair analyses. Good works should be commended, inadequate works should be given assistance and poor works should be criticized. Under no circumstances should we make subjective decisions, exaggerate at will or reject them out of hand. This would not be favorable to the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy or to the success of the cause of literature and art. In summary, we must attach great importance to the effectiveness of criticism and pay attention to attitude and methodology. To not criticize mistakes is to forsake one's principles; criticizing mistakes with no regard for methodology and mixing up the two different types of contradiction is also a problem of principle.

When engaging in criticism, we must continue to believe that the majority of people, including those with liberal tendencies, will do as the party says and heed the voice of truth and that they are capable of being remolded. We must combine criticism and praise, education by positive example and enlightenment.

Let us take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and, in good time, surmount all erroneous tendencies in order to ensure the success of the cause of socialist construction.

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IMPORTANCE OF CORRECT CRITICISM STRESSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Wei Li [7614 4009]: "A Prerequisite for Carrying Out Criticism Correctly"]

[Text] On the issue of criticism and self-criticism, our Party has rich experiences of success as well as profound lessons of failure. These experiences and lessons have made clear to us that in order to carry out criticism and self-criticism correctly, we must take a firm and clear-cut stand, adopt proper measures, be able to distinguish right from wrong; that is, to seek truth from facts. Not daring to criticize, or not criticizing at all, of course, is far away from carrying out criticism correctly; on the other hand, will random and irresponsible criticism and attacks lead to good criticism? To confuse right and wrong, even to the extent of reversing them not only cannot unify ideologies and unite the comrades, but will even bring harm to the revolution. To be revolutionary, we should maintain a firm and clear-cut stand; to be scientific, we must adopt correct measures and be able to distinguish right from wrong. In order to carry out criticism correctly, we must achieve unity of the revolutionary and the scientific aspects in our work. To be revolutionary without being scientific is, at best, mere wishful thinking. Hence, to distinguish right from wrong accurately is a core question in carrying out criticism correctly.

To distinguish right from wrong accurately is the basic requirement of our Party's dialectical materialistic ideological line on the issue of criticism; and the embodiment of party nature in our Communist Party on all principles. The term right refers to the correct recognition of objective matters and their laws, the term wrong refers to the distorted reflection of objective matters and their laws. Discrimination of right and wrong means a sound knowledge of objective laws, and to handle affairs in accordance with it. This is precisely the basic reason of correct criticism and self-criticism being a great driving force behind all our improvements. Summing up the 60 years of historical lessons of our Party, there are two phenomena worthy of our notice on the subject of political discrimination of right and wrong. One is regarding "rightist" as right, the other regarding "leftist" as right, both of which have confused right and wrong and have caused grave loss to the revolutionary cause. In the era of the New Democratic Revolution, Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] upheld Right-capitulationism as right, resulting in forfeiting the triumph of the Northern Expedition; Wang Ming [3769 2494], who upheld Left Opportunism as right, almost brought the Chinese Revolution to ruin. During the era of socialism since 1957, there have been increasing cases where "leftist" was upheld as right, and even developed to such an extent as becoming the highest standard measure for right and wrong during the Cultural Revolution. It was only after the Third Plenary Session of the CCP that the topsy-turvied right and wrong were again basically straightened out and that criticism and self-criticism began to return to their original forms and got on the right track. The Party's Third Plenary Session, the Central Work Committee of December last year and the Sixth Plenary Session are all successful examples of correct distinction between right and wrong and correct launching of criticism and self-criticism.

At present, although the Central has achieved the historical task of restoring order out of chaos on guiding ideologies, the phenomenon still exists where some comrades in some units are still regarding "leftist" or "rightist" as right on certain matters, and it is rather serious in some cases. Those who uphold "rightist" as right are making use of the mistakes that are already rectified or in the process of being rectified by our Party to oppose to the four basic principles. Hoisting the banner of "liberalizing ideology" and "reform," they are very deceptive. To them, the four basic principles are wrong and bourgeois liberalization is right. That is the substance of the problem. Failure to see this substance clearly is an important reason for the laxness and weakness on the ideological front and leadership. Of course, there are extremely few people with such erroneous tendencies, yet their influence should not be underestimated. If we let these erroneous tendencies overflow, they will seriously undermine our efforts to purge the "left" mistakes, even to the extent of losing the great achievement of bringing order out of chaos since the Third Plenary Session, causing serious damage to the great undertaking of the four modernizations.

The situation in which "leftist" is upheld as right is still more complicated. There are fewer and fewer people who openly support the "cultural revolution" and the "continuation of the revolutionary theory under proletarian dictatorship." However, we should pay special attention to those who still hold the line, principles and policies expounded by the Third Plenary Session responsible for the hardships, problems and shortcomings encountered in our advancement, reform and our work. On the one hand, they do not find our policies agreeable, and on the other hand, they dare not openly voice their opposition because of the circumstances. Moreover, due to the widespread influence of "leftist" thinking over such a long period of time, those comrades who detested "left" mistakes before, and even those who were victimized cannot help consciously or unconsciously regard issues with "leftist" bias. Hence, eradicating left tendencies and distinguishing right from wrong in our criticism and self-criticism is a tremendous task.

Confusion of right and wrong during the course of criticism is caused by many and varied reasons: some are subjective, such as low standard of criticism and weakness in distinction between right and wrong, poor reform of the world outlook and wrong motives for criticism; some are objective, such as misguidance from the upper levels, and obscure understanding of the situation. Among these reasons, there are two which merit our special attention. One is mistakes caused by misguided ideologies. To use "left" or right as the correct guideline will inevitably render results in which "left" or right is seen as correct. After several years' efforts, the Party central committee has resumed the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, pointing to us a correct line of work. However, "leftist" tendencies are still not completely eradicated, and therefore it is necessary to further eradicate the influences caused by the "continuation of revolutionary theory under proletarian dictatorship" in order to carry out criticism and self-criticism correctly. Another method is to proceed from reality, seeking truth from facts instead of following blindly the prevalent trend. In the past, whenever we criticized an erroneous tendency, we only pursued one demand, followed one pattern, and dealt with it in one blow, regardless of the local circumstances. The result is that rightist elements were arrested and fought against on all levels, representatives were also sought on all levels, bringing harm to many innocent people. Now the Central Committee has conducted criticisms of wrong tendencies without engaging in sieges or campaigns, making sure that various regions criticize according to their own situations and resolving problems according to their particular nature. This is a scientific summation of several decades of experience and the guidance of Marxism. However, some comrades still tend to reverse this guiding principle, i.e., "I've got whatever you are opposed to," just to prove that they have a firm and clear-cut stand. There are still other comrades who do not understand that both "left" and "right" refer to the political issue; the right side and the wrong side. They tend to attach labels of "right" or "left" to whatever is wrong. To them, things are either "left" or right, and there are no other categories of right and wrong. They bring about the inevitable result of exaggerated criticism which confuse right and wrong. The adverse consequences brought about by this in the past 20 years are not completely rectified. This profound lesson should be remembered well by all of us.

In order to distinguish right from wrong correctly, the scientific standard should be insisted upon. This standard is the revolutionary practice of hundreds and thousands of the masses under the guidance of Marxism. This standard of practice in the present historical era is the substantiation of the line, principles and policies expounded by the Third Plenary Session. Those measuring to it are right, and those falling short of it are wrong. Upholding the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session is the same as upholding the four basic principles. The four basic principles are concrete and not abstract. The line, principles and policies are the substantiation and manifestation of the four basic principles in the present historical era. Once we grasp tight the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session, we can then distinguish right from wrong, thereby carrying out correct criticism in the effort of uniting all comrades, the whole Party and accelerate our aim of a high standard of socialist material civilization as well as spiritual civilization.

Criticism and self-criticism is the splendid tradition and workstyle of our Party, and a great driving force in our advancement. We have relied on this weapon to insist on truth and in rectifying errors, bringing forth great victory to the Chinese Revolution. Since the Third Plenary Session, we have relied on this measure to restore order out of chaos, to sum up experiences, rectifying the "left" mistakes in the Party's guiding ideology. At present, it is this measure that we are relying on to overcome erroneous tendencies which deviate from the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session, particularly those erroneous tendencies which deviate from the socialist road and Party leadership and engage in liberalization, thus promoting stability and achieving victories in readjustment of the economy and construction of the four modernizations.

9784
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SUN YATSEN'S EFFORTS TO REUNIFY CHINA LAUDED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Liu Fei [0491 2431]: "Emulate Sun Yatsen's Spirit to Struggle to the End for the Reunification of the Fatherland"]

[Text] The 10th of this October will be the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. Seventy years ago, the great vanguard of the Chinese Revolution, Mr Sun Yatsen, led the entire nation to achieve victory in the 1911 Revolution, overthrowing the feudalist imperialist system which had been in effect for thousands of years. He established a democratic republic for the first time in our country and paved a broad road toward the realization of a thorough democratic revolution and socialist revolution for the Chinese people. This is a great achievement which can never be obliterated from the history of China.

Mr Sun Yatsen founded the Three People's Principles which expressed the revolutionary demands of the sincere advocator of democracy. He was a great revolutionary who devoted his entire life to struggle for national independence and national prosperity. He embodied high patriotic thoughts, unflinching determination to sacrifice and struggle to the end, and the undaunted revolutionary spirit to continue to forge ahead in step with the prevalent trend. He will forever be a model for us to emulate.

During my youth, I saw with my own eyes the corruption of the Qing government which led to the invasions by major powers, causing China to fall increasingly into a half-colonial situation. "When the nation was in a crisis and we lived precariously in fear, many with ideals began to have thoughts of saving the nation; from thence sprouted the seed of revolutionary unrest." ("Where There Is a Will There Is a Way." It was right at the beginning of this revolutionary unrest that Mr Sun Yatsen devoted himself to the revolution, as he claimed, "It was not until the year of defeat during the Yiyou Sino-French War that I decided to overturn the Qing government and establish a Republic." ("Psychological Reconstruction") From then on, he devoted 40 years of work to the Chinese Revolution, spending his entire life's energy and concentrating all his attention on the reform of China. Truly he bent his back to the task until his dying day. What was especially imprinted on the hearts of our older generation of Chinese people was his spirit to struggle to the end for the reunification of the fatherland which led him to go north while he was ill and afflicted with an incurable disease.

On 11 March 1925, Sun signed his will and instructed comrades at his side, saying, "I'm going north to seek for a peaceful reunification and I will advocate the convening of a national conference." "It is my very wish that all of you comrades continue to struggle so that a national conference can soon convene." Even on his deathbed, he was still crying, "Peace, Struggle, Save China." This "Peace, Struggle, Save China" is the summary of Sun's 40 years of revolutionary experience; it is also the valuable experience for people of all colonial and semi-colonial countries who wish to rid themselves of imperialist oppression in order to seek for democratic liberation and national independence.

In his "Speech on Calling a National Conference" written for a press conference at Moli'ai Road in Shanghai, Sun said, "Gentlemen, I have always been an advocate of peace." Not only this, he also said, "If our people want peaceful reunification, we must all be of one heart. All groups in the country should send delegates to the national conference to study the flaws in the present situation and discuss remedies." These knowledged opinions are worthy of our study.

Mr Sun Yatsen "adapted to the trend of the world and met the needs of the masses"; he was always at the head of the trend of the times and progressed along with history, making outstanding contributions to the revolution of the Chinese people. He never considered the 1911 Revolution to be the final goal--he said, "When the revolutionary ideal is not yet in force and the revolutionary goal not yet achieved, we are only a republic in name and not in reality." Because of this, he always encouraged revolution with the fact that the revolution had not been completed; he was always able to confront and carry on a keen battle with the royalists and other reactionary groups on a clear-cut revolutionary democratic stand to protect the banner of democratic revolution. Sun's revolutionary thoughts continued to develop as the Chinese Democratic Revolution progressed further--he developed the new Three People's Principles from the old Three People's Principles. He accepted the help of the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party and resolutely decided to reorganize the KMT, presenting the three policies of Soviet alliance, Communist alliance and support of agriculture and industry which realized the first cooperation between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party, formed the foundation for the victory of the Northern Expedition and enabled China to enter the great new era of new democratic revolution.

After many circuitous roads, Sun finally found the correct revolutionary path of cooperation with the CCP. Sun is the experimenter who most understood why the old Three People's Principles could not work in China. He, therefore, took strides forward and firmly started on the new road to revolution. After Sun's death, the KMT broke off and during the critical moment in the Northern Expedition, the KMT controlling authorities betrayed the revolution, became anticommunist and antipeople, discarded Sun's revolutionary banner of the Three People's Principles, and in the end lost their footing on the Chinese mainland. From this, I came to understand Sun's spirit to struggle to the end for the reunification of the fatherland. On 1 April 1949, I along with Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Zhang Shizhao, Huang Shaoxiaong, and Li Zheng went as representatives of the KMT to Beiping and agreed after consultation on a "National Peace Agreement" with the CCP. But because the KMT government at Nanjing then refused to sign the agreement, the reunification of the fatherland is as yet unrealized.

Thousands upon thousands of kinfolks are separated by the sea with homes they cannot return to and unable to communicate with one another--how can we not be grieved? At present, the authorities on Taiwan, with no regard for the nation's people, including the wishes of those on Taiwan, refused to have postal communication, trade relations and sea and air services. They refuse to realize reunification through peaceful negotiations and yet cry out for a "reunification of China through the Three People's Principles." The refusal for peace based on anti-communist feelings and the continuation of separation to obtain momentary ease through desperate means are fundamentally against Sun Yatsen's revolutionary work. I was reminded of the new year in 1923 when Sun Yatsen pointed out in his speech during the welcoming banquet of the Dian Gui army, "Yuan Shikai declared himself emperor, Zhang Xun restored the dethroned monarch, the supervising army groups rebelled and claimed autonomy on provinces they occupied--these people are tearing the country into pieces, so that the Chinese republic cannot be reunified. This disunity means that the revolution was not a success." His words are still relevant today and should be a useful lesson for the authorities on Taiwan.

The Chinese Communist Party continued and developed the spirit of the 1911 revolution and led the Chinese people, after a long period of revolutionary struggle, to finally overthrow the three huge mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism which were placed on the head of the Chinese people, and established a People's Republic of China. The party completed the mission of Chinese democratic revolution and furthermore pushed it forward into the socialist revolutionary stage, and developed grand scale socialist reconstruction, thus completing the great revolutionary work which Sun Yatsen could not finish during his life time. Recently, from the point of the good of the people on Taiwan and the actuality of the Taiwan authorities, a third cooperation for reunification between the CCP and the KMT was suggested. As early as the new year's 1979, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress had published a "Letter to Compatriots on Taiwan." During the past 2 years, there has been increasingly strong reactions from Chinese overseas and compatriots on Taiwan. Recently, on the eve of the 32nd anniversary of the establishment of the PRC, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, Ye Jianying, made nine proposals on the subject of Taiwan returning to the fatherland and the realization of peaceful reunification. The goal is to achieve a glorious chapter in the history of the Chinese people endorsed by all the people, including compatriots on Taiwan, a chapter which all would strive with one heart and mind to write so as to gain glory for all the ancestors and to provide prosperity for all posterity. These nine proposals are in tune with heaven and mankind and the terms are extremely generous. They are in keeping with the wishes of the people and have great relevancy and fully express the sincerity of the CCP. The proposals are reasonable and have the backing of the people. In my opinion, reciprocal negotiation and the realization of a third cooperation between the CCP and the KMT is the best road open to the authorities on Taiwan. It is time for a third cooperation now, the reunification of the fatherland can be delayed no longer. It is my greatest hope that the Taiwan authorities will be able to value the objective reality and all the efforts of the CCP in the continuation and development of the 1911 Revolutionary spirit and, based on the good of the people and of the nation, make up their minds soon to forget former grudges. Furthermore, after weighing the pros and cons, I hope they will change their course and come up with an appropriate policy. Of the representatives who went to Beiping for the peace consultations, I am the only one surviving. During these past 32 years, I have always cooperated with the CCP and devoted myself to the great task of reunification. I deeply believe that those with vision on Taiwan can make the correct choice between cooperation and separation and furthermore can struggle together with us in the promotion of a third CCP-KMT cooperation for the completion of the reunification of the fatherland and the grand plan for the strengthening of China. "Harmony Is Precious"--we are all sons and daughters of China, the posterity of Yan Huang, why can we not sit down and through peaceful negotiations realize the reunification of the fatherland?

9796
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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DIFFERENTIATES MAO'S MISTAKES, MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Bizhong [1728 1801 1813]: "Mao Zedong Thought and the Mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong During His Later Years Are Different in Nature--Realizations in Studying 'The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Nation'"]

[Text] To continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, we must strictly distinguish the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years from the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. As pointed out by the <<Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Nation>>: "This distinction is very necessary." In order to make the distinction, we must clearly understand what are the differences between the nature of the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years and Mao Zedong Thought.

I. Mao Zedong Thought is the utilization and the development of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is the correct theoretical principle proven by practice and the summary of experience of the Chinese revolution. It is the result of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong made the most outstanding contribution to this. The introduction of Marxism into our nation opened up a new situation in Chinese history. But Marxism is only the fundamental rule that shows historical development and the general principle of revolution; it cannot provide a ready formula for China's revolution. Because of the ignorance of our party at the time of inception, regarding the question of how to treat Marxism, mistakes were made through dogmatism and through regarding foreign experience as sacred, leading the revolution into a hopeless situation. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who successfully combined the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, made a theoretical generalization of the series of creative experiences in the practice of the Chinese revolution, and formed the scientific guiding ideology suited to China's national character--Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, the emergence and formation of Mao Zedong Thought, as the guiding ideology of the Chinese Communist Party to lead the revolution from victory to new victories, does not rely on objective facts of change in any personal will. Using the name of Comrade Mao Zedong for this scientific system of ideological theory is appropriate. At the same time, during the course of the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, many outstanding leaders of our party, such as Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Zhu De, also made outstanding theoretical contributions that enriched the treasurechest of the theory of Mao Zedong Thought.

It can be seen that Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific term has its own specific content. In May 1945, at the seventh national delegates conference of the party, Comrade Liu Shaoqi described the outstanding contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong in his report on revising the party charter, officially proposed the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought," and included it in the party charter of the "Seventh Congress." The general principles of the party charter state: "The Chinese Communist Party takes the ideology that unifies the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution--Mao Zedong Thought--as the guideline of all our work, and opposes any dogmatic or empirical tendencies." It was also at this time that Comrade Mao Zedong himself mentioned that he was not always right in the <<working guideline of the 'seventh congress'>>, and that not all of his views were Marxist; he said: "As a person, I have also made mistakes. In 1927 I wrote an article that contained Marxist views but in economic problems it lacked the Marxist viewpoint; therefore the part on economic problems was wrong. In addition, during the more than 20 years of work, whether in military and political affairs or in party work, I have made many mistakes. These things were not written down, but not writing them down is not negation. According to real history and the real situation, I have been mistaken." This shows that when the party first proposed this scientific concept of Mao Zedong Thought, the personal mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong were not confused with Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong never said that his personal mistakes belonged to Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, although Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought are so closely linked, there is a strict distinction between the two. This is because Comrade Mao Zedong contributed the most to the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, but this does not mean that Comrade Mao Zedong is equal to Mao Zedong Thought. We cannot say that his every work, his every piece of writing and even his personal mistakes all belong to Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought refers to the correct theoretical principles and the summary of the experience of the Chinese revolution; it does not mean the totality of the personal views and thoughts of Comrade Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong Thought is the result of collective wisdom, not the result of his personal struggle.

II. Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes in his later years. These mistakes were mainly manifested by the leftist tendencies in the ideology that guided work and the launching and the leading of the "cultural revolution."

Seeking truth from facts is the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. But Comrade Mao Zedong often violated this principle in his later years. For example, in socialist construction, he sometimes did not have a sufficient understanding of the objective economic patterns and China's national situation: he wanted to produce achievements in a hurry, he wanted to use the methods of "blitzkrieg" and "great leap forward" to change China's backward situation within a relatively short time. Comrade Mao Zedong also erred in his estimate of the political situation in China during his later years: he engaged in "taking class struggle as the key link," insisted that there was a capitalist class headquarters within the party, and insisted that the leading authority of a fairly large number of units was not in the hands of the people. These errors in estimating the actual objective situation caused the tragedy of the "cultural revolution." The other living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is the mass line, coming from the masses and going to the masses. But, the "cultural revolution" went contrary to this correct line, which had been formed over a long period by our party and which had always been advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. As the movement developed, the society became more and more chaotic, the people were extremely disgusted with the situation and symbolically called this "mass movement" the "movement of the masses," and they hoped it would soon end so that there would be a stable environment to carry out socialist construction. This fully demonstrates that the "cultural revolution" and the theory of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are contrary in nature to the people's wishes and do not have any mass foundation.

The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years also directly violated his own correct theories of the past. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the scientific conclusion that conflicts of two different natures must be correctly handled. He pointed out that large-scale, torrential and stormy types of mass class struggle had basically ended. But in his later years, he strongly advocated large-scale class struggle of a mass nature; he even advocated that major chaos such as the "cultural revolution" be launched every few years. Within the party, democratic centralism must be practiced to let people talk and let people criticize, one should not hide one's shortcomings; these have always been the ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong. But during his later years, he engaged in personal dictatorship and would not accept criticism.

Great men, including many great proletarian revolutionaries, unavoidably make some mistakes and have this or that shortcoming. The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years are the mistakes by a great Marxist; compared to the ever living achievements of his life, they are only secondary. Therefore, we cannot negate the mistakes of his later years because of his achievements, nor can we negate his whole life because of the mistakes of his later years and negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought. The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years are different from Mao Zedong Thought in nature. The differences are: the mistakes are wrong, the other is correct; the mistakes brought about losses to the party and the people, the other guided the revolution to victory; the mistakes were caused by personal dictatorship, the other is the result of collective wisdom. They must be strictly distinguished.

III. Distinguishing Mao Zedong Thought from the mistakes of the later years of Comrade Mao Zedong is a scientific distinction. In the history of the development of Marxism, Marxism and Leninism have always been scientific terms with a definite meaning. Is Marxism completely equal to Marx? No. Marx made outstanding contributions to the formation and development of Marxism, but Marxism is not the achievement of Marx alone: it is also the result of collective wisdom. Engels made outstanding contributions. Regarding this point, Marx himself also agreed totally. In history, people do not call Marxism Marx-Engels-ism, but use the name of Marx to name this scientific ideological system, but this does not wipe out the great contributions of Engels. During the course of leading the struggle of the proletariat, Marx also made some mistakes and errors. Marx also severely criticized himself for his own mistakes. Today, as we talk about Marxism, we mean the scientific ideology created together by Marx and Engels, not the complete writings of Marx, and furthermore, not his mistakes. We must never mix together the leader's mistakes with the scientific ideological system named after him, and include the mistakes as part of the scientific system. If we did not make the differentiation and insisted that Marxism also includes his mistakes, then that would be a joke and incomprehensible.

The reason that the viewpoint of "two everythings" is mistaken is that it insists on regarding every statement by Comrade Mao Zedong and even his mistakes as Mao Zedong Thought. This is a mistaken attitude. Conversely, if we see that Comrade Mao Zedong made serious mistakes during his later years and attempt to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought, negate the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought in our nation's revolution and construction, and dare not insist on Mao Zedong Thought with justice on our side, this is also mixing the personal mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong with Mao Zedong Thought, this is also a mistaken attitude. These two mistaken attitudes are not helpful in our endeavors and are not helpful in developing the truth of Marxism.

Marx once ridiculed some people as superficial, saying that they looked only at the surface of problems. Some of our comrades look at problems exactly in this way. They only look at the phenomenon but do not look at the nature and they do not understand the scientific and dialectic method of analysis; they mix together the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years with the Mao Zedong Thought named after him, and they do not distinguish the natures between them. Only by distinguishing the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years from Mao Zedong Thought can truth be sought from facts, and only such a distinction can be called historical materialism; not making the distinction is mistaken and harmful.

9296
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANDONG CALLS FOR WEAPONS REGISTRATION, AIR GUN CONTROL

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Provincial People's Government Issues Notice To Register All Weapons and Ammunition; the Provincial Public Security Department Promulgates Regulations for Air Guns in Shandong Province"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial people's government issued a notice concerning the registration of weapons and ammunition, asking each locality to conscientiously implement and carry out the <<regulations for the control of weapons in the People's Republic of China>>, carry out the work of overall registration of weapons well and concretely strengthen control.

The notice points out that except for military weapons issued to the People's Liberation Army, militia and the people's armed police, all other military handguns, rifles, submachine guns, various types of guns used for shooting in sports events, hunting rifles, shotguns, firelocks, needle guns to paralyze animals, air guns that shoot metallic pellets and BB's and the ammunition for the guns described above (except pellets and BB's for air guns) must all be registered. Therefore, all units and individuals having the guns and ammunition described above, including servicemen and people's armed police that have hunting rifles and air guns that shoot metallic pellets and BB's, regardless of the origin of the guns and the ammunition, regardless of their condition and whether they are usable or not, must register with the local public security organ before 31 August. Those who miss the deadline and do not register will be severely dealt with in accordance with the respective situation.

The notice stipulates that after registration and after review and approval by the county and municipal public security organs, all those who meet the regulations concerning the carrying, assignment and ownership of guns will be issued new gun permits. All those who do not meet the regulations will have to hand over their guns and ammunition to the public security organs above the county and municipal level for processing. Various types of military guns, guns for sports events and their ammunition scattered in the hands of individuals and the various guns and ammunition privately manufactured, regardless of their origin, must all be submitted to the local public security organs. Those who refuse to submit and who continue to privately keep guns and ammunition will be dealt with severely in accordance with the law. Those who actively inform upon others who illegally hide guns and ammunition will be praised or rewarded. Those who hold information regarding such illegal possession but do not report it will be dealt with regarding responsibility in accordance with the respective situation.

The notice says that each unit and each department must concretely strengthen leadership in the work of taking inventory of guns and ammunition, fully mobilize the masses, and investigate and check up thoroughly to assure that the work of taking inventory is done carefully and well.

After approval by the provincial people's government, the provincial public security department recently issued a <<regulation for the control of air guns in Shandong Province>>.

This regulation was established in accordance with related policies and <<the regulation for control of weapons in the People's Republic of China.>> It covers all types of air guns that shoot metallic pellets and BB's. Air guns used by physical education departments in shooting sports events are subjected to control as guns for shooting sports events, those used for hunting by hunting units are subjected to control as hunting guns.

The <<regulation>> stipulates that except for the various air guns manufactured by factories appointed by the state, no unit and no individual are allowed to privately manufacture or assemble them. Stores dealing in air guns must register with the public security organs above the county and municipal level. Purchasing air guns requires a purchase permit issued by the public security organ for purchase at designated stores. Persons carrying and owning air guns must be citizens over 18 years old. Persons holding air guns must register with the public security organ at the place of residence to apply for and obtain a gun permit. Persons carrying guns on outings must carry gun permits for inspection. Persons who own air guns and who move from the original county and city of residence should return and cancel the gun permit at the public security organ that originally issued the permit and exchange it for a shipping permit. After arrival at the destination, they should take the shipping permit to the local public security organ and exchange it for a new gun permit. When transferring ownership of an air gun, a new gun permit must be applied for at the public security agency originally issuing the permit. Air handguns shooting metallic pellets can only be used in shooting sports events organized and led by the physical education departments at various levels. No other units or individuals are allowed to purchase and hold such guns.

The <<regulation>> also strictly prohibits shooting in public places, residential areas, scenic and tourist areas and other places where hunting is prohibited. Foreigners residing in the province will be subjected to the same regulation unless otherwise stipulated. All violators will be severely dealt with according to each case.

9296
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REFORM OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH SYSTEM URGED

Baoding HEBEI DAXUE XUEBAO--Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban [JOURNAL OF HEBEI UNIVERSITY --Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition] in Chinese No 2, 25 Jun 81 pp 6-11

[Article by Zhang Qiang [1728 1730]: "An Important Issue on the Readjustment and Reform of Our Country's Scientific Research System--Also on the Controversy Over 'Whether or Not Universities Should Become Centers of Education and Scientific Research'"]

[Text] At present our country's scientific research system has many drawbacks. The development of modern science and technology changes with each passing day. The mutual infiltration among various departments of science, and the trend that day by day the development of science and technology becomes more and more the development of various departments as a whole, show that there is an urgent need for our scientific research system to carry out readjustment and reform so that it can free itself from the bondage of its drawbacks in order to accelerate the four modernizations, especially the modernization of science and technology. Here, I wish only to analyze and discuss an important issue in our scientific research system. From the standpoint of history and making a comparison with the scientific research systems of developed countries, I will probe into ways of making readjustment and reform, and present my views on the contention "whether or not our universities should become centers of education and scientific research" (the term "university" mentioned in this article, if not specified, means a key university and not a common basic university), a contention brought about by the separation and dislocation of scientific research and education in the past.

I. The Separation and Disconnection of Scientific Research and Education Constitute a Major Drawback of Our Scientific Research System

In the early 1950's, our country copied the method of the Soviet Union of separating and disconnecting scientific research and higher education, letting the academy of sciences undertake scientific research and the universities undertake education, thus separating and disconnecting the scientific research system from the higher education system in China. This improper practice remains unchanged to the present day, bringing about many problems for the development of our science and technology and higher education, and standing in the way of producing results and talent with high efficiency and good quality. It contradicts the trend of development of modern science and technology completely.

At present this major drawback of our scientific research system manifests itself especially in the following ways:

1. Each branch goes its own way and tries to set up a system of its own, which counteracts the superiority our socialist system should have. Under the present system, the scientific research departments (which are divided into four independent branches--the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission, the local scientific research institutes and the industrial departments' scientific research organs) and the institutes of higher education are separated from each other; each is under the vertical leadership of its own branches, with very little or no horizontal contact. On the one hand, a large number of research projects are unnecessarily duplicated; on the other hand, many profound key projects have nobody to tackle them, thus creating an abnormal situation of extreme partiality. For instance, in 1978 one of our provinces, disregarding its more than 20 institutes of higher education, set up independently a provincial academy of sciences with nearly 1,000 personnel, including only one research person who had the qualification of an assistant researcher; meanwhile, the institutes of higher education of this province had 385 specialists with titles of associate professor and higher. In 1979 this provincial academy of sciences invested 2.7 million yuan in the establishment of a new laser research institute which, carried out a project of trying to make laser parts. These parts had been successfully made in China more than 10 years before, but, this laser institute could not make them and was compelled to buy the parts from one of the universities in the province in order to fulfill its research task. This situation of each going its own way, using funds without achieving due results, and making investment only in its own branch will certainly lead to sectarianism, and the results will be fewer, slower, poorer and more wasteful.

2. The separation of the research and education systems has created confusion in recognizing the nature, mission and orientation of universities. The "conflict of slogans" has continued for 30 years, and up to now the responsible persons concerned still contradict one another in their public speeches. In August 1977 Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out clearly that the schools of higher education are not only centers of education but also centers of scientific research. In 1978 this view was formally written into the "60 Rules on Higher Education." Later, however, some responsible persons did not agree with this in their speeches, as seen in the newspapers. They mixed up the fact that in any given period of time education can only concentrate on one thing, and the fact that education and scientific research are two aspects of the basic task of universities, which should supplement each other. This created even greater confusion at the lower levels. Consequently some people blamed college teachers for not doing their job properly by undertaking scientific research, and some universities and colleges asked themselves whether it was necessary to have graduation dissertations. It was even suggested that incompetent personnel in research departments be sent to colleges to teach. Therefore, it can be seen that the separation of the research and education systems for scores of years has become a very strong habit.

3. On the one hand, people clamor against the shortage of scientific and technical personnel; on the other, in universities and colleges many lecturers and persons of higher rank have no definite teaching and research tasks. According

to the statistics of not a few universities and colleges, in almost every semester only about one-third of the lecturers and persons of higher rank have fixed teaching and scientific research tasks. As all branches make investments mainly in their own branch to conduct scientific research, consequently the universities and colleges are badly in need of funds for research. Many people wish to do scientific research, but they lack the necessary material support.

4. The present system does not help in training talent. The history of science and technology shows that outstanding scientists have always stood out early, when they were college students. When education is separated from scientific research, it is very difficult to provide favorable conditions for the rapid growth of such talent.

5. With the separation of research and education, there is little mobility of personnel, it is difficult for the personnel to hold concurrent jobs, and mutual cooperation in conducting frontier scientific courses is beset with difficulties. Some large, advanced laboratory equipment cannot serve its purpose of general use, and it is difficult to arrange common service.

II. The Unification of Scientific Research and Education Is the Natural Trend of Historical Development

From the historical point of view, unifying education and research is the natural trend of the development of scientific technology and higher education.

In foreign countries, with the upsurge of the natural sciences in modern times, the question of integrating scientific research with education has begun to be raised.

As early as 1627, Bacon, whom Marx praised as the true father of English materialism and modern experimental science as a whole, formally suggested the establishment of an academy as a unified organization of scientific research and education.

In 1775, France reorganized the Paris Academy of Sciences into a department of the Academy of France, and also established a "polytechnic institute" with famous scientists as teachers which became the most important center of science and education in France at that time.

In 1809, Germany established Berlin University, laying down clearly the principle of unifying education and scientific research which the university must follow and explaining that if the two were separated it would run counter to the "inherent" nature of scientific research and education. This principle of unifying education and research dominated Germany's higher education as a whole, promoted the development of science and technology, and helped Germany to become the world's center of science and technology since the 19th century. From 1900 to 1945, 59 percent of the Nobel prize winners were trained in Germany. People outside Germany made the appraisal; "All of Germany's achievements in scientific research, which gave impetus to the modernization of Western Europe, were made by relying almost entirely upon its universities."

Since World War II, the unification of education and scientific research has become an important feature of the development of scientific technology and college education in all countries of advanced science and technology and, moreover, has gained remarkable results in accelerating the development of scientific technology in these countries.

Take the United States as an example. Before World War II, American universities and colleges were simply traditional organs of education, the scale of scientific research was fairly small, and there was very little government support for the scientific research activities in universities and colleges. During the war, to mobilize the manpower and material resources of the colleges and universities to serve the war, the American Government made great efforts to assist the universities in the work of scientific research, and began to set up large research centers in the universities. At that time, the University of California had established its Los Alamos Laboratory where the United States developed both its first atomic bomb and first hydrogen bomb. After World War II, especially under the stimulation of the launching of the Soviet man-made satellite in 1957, the U.S. Government continuously increased its appropriations for scientific research in universities and colleges and helped them to expand quickly the scope of their research work. From 1957 to 1967, the research funds for American universities increased at an average rate of 17 percent a year, including those for basic research at an average rate of 20.3 percent a year. At present, the American universities and colleges have gathered 60 percent of the nation's scientists and engineers with doctorate degrees and run thousands of research centers which undertake 60 percent of the nation's basic research. Of American winners of the Nobel Prize, 90 percent are working at universities and colleges. Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1380], Li Zhengdao [2621 2398 6670] and Ding Zhaozhong [0002 5128 0022] are all Chinese-American scholars who have won the Nobel Prize; Yang is working at New York University, Li at Columbia University, and Ding at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At present all famous American universities and colleges have their research institutes, such as the 30 institutes of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 12 of the California Institute of Technology, 48 of Harvard University, 57 of Columbia University, 53 of Cornell University, 38 of Princeton University, and 38 of Chicago University. The University of California has 184 research institutes in various school districts. Most of these institutes are administered by one university, such as the Lincoln Laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the jet propulsion laboratory of the California Institute of Technology. Some institutes are also under the combined administration of many universities, such as the National Atmospheric Research Center, which is under the administration of a committee formed by 45 American and Canadian universities. The Brookhaven Laboratory is under the combined administration of nine universities in the northeastern part of the United States. The research work of some departments of the U.S. Government is carried out almost entirely by means of giving support to the research institutes of the universities, without the departments setting up their own research organs. For instance, the United States is devoting very serious attention to the study of energy resources, and has established the Department of Energy. The outlay for this study was $1 billion in 1975, $2 billion in 1977, and $2.8 billion in 1978. It is one of the most rapidly increasing outlays of funds for scientific research in the United States. However, in its administration of scientific research, the Department of Energy studies are carried out mainly through support given to the research institutes of universities and some corporations, such as the Los Alamos Laboratory and the Lawrence Laboratory of the University of California, the Arkon Laboratory of Chicago University, and the plasma physics laboratory of Princeton University. These laboratories and the Brookhaven Laboratory under the joint administration of nine northeastern universities have all received direct support from the Department of Energy.

In 1973 Japan had 610,000 people engaged in scientific research, including 250,000 --more than 40 percent--working at universities and colleges.

The Soviet Union formerly separated scientific research from education. The organs of the Soviet Academy of Sciences specialized in carrying out scientific research, and the universities and colleges in undertaking education. Later they suffered a great deal and changed their method by integrating scientific research with education. At present the Soviet Union explicitly stipulates that scientific research is one of the principal tasks of the schools of higher education. In the Soviet schools of higher education, the number of scientists constitutes about one-third of the total number of scientists in the entire country, including some 105,000 doctors and assistant doctors, 44 percent of their total number in the country.

There have been many famous cases of achievements in scientific research in universities. For instance, since its establishment over 100 years ago, the Cavendish Laboratory of Cambridge University in England has trained a large number of talented people, including 10 Nobel laureates. At this laboratory, Maxwell formulated the theory of the electromagnetic wave, Thomson discovered the electron, Rutherford smashed the atomic nucleus, Bragg initiated the study of the biological molecular structure, and Mott was the world's pioneer in the study of solid physics. These great scientific achievements wrote magnificent chapters in the history of mankind's development of science. At the beginning of the thirties in this century before Hitler came to power, Gottingen University of Germany had 12 Nobel laureates among its professors, and then became the world famous natural science research center. In 1945 Stanford University in the United States made the first electronic calculator, which has greatly influenced both modern scientific technology and social progress.

Some famous universities in Western countries are even contemplating carrying out the whole work of education on the basis of scientific research.

Such a situation has emerged that many American industrial research organs and companies are being built and developed around the universities. At present many such large scientific and industrial research centers have been formed around universities. For instance, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology established its Lincoln Laboratory in 1951, and now hundreds of industrial research organs and industrial companies are gathered along Highway 128 where the laboratory is situated; the new construction groups extend more than 20 kilometers. For further example, Stanford University has stimulated and given impetus to the electronics industry in the United States; now a region scores of miles north and south of the university is called "Silicon Valley," which has become the center of the semiconductor industry not only of the United States but of the whole world.

As a result of this situation, many scholars abroad believe that "the success and application of scientific research have become the central task of higher education, and we should no longer take only the training of social and political leaders or vocational personnel as the principal task of higher education."

From all this it can be seen that the unification and integration of education and scientific research are already an important feature of the scientific research system in advanced countries.

III. The Unification of Scientific Research and Education Is Essential in the Training of Promising Personnel

The universities and colleges should train highly specialized personnel for the state. At present, the greatest majority of research personnel in our organs of scientific research were trained by our universities and colleges. The scale and speed of the development of modern science and technology are astonishing. According to statistics, of all the scientific achievements upon which mankind's present high civilization has been built, half have been in our hands only in the last 15 years. Moreover, according to the estimate of some people, the total amount of human knowledge will again double in about 10 years. Just imagine, in the developing circumstances of this "knowledge explosion," if we fail to achieve the integration and unification of scientific research and education, the development of our science and technology will certainly be confronted by many serious problems, such as a shortage of trained personnel. The universities also must be guided by a system of integrating research with education before they can continuously provide all quarters with promising specialized personnel.

1. As far as the substance of education is concerned, scientific research is the source, and education is the stream.

Education, in its narrow sense, means generally the systematic teaching of the results of research gained by predecessors. Modern science and technology are developing very rapidly, and the time required for the application of new inventions and discoveries for practical use is becoming shorter and shorter. From the time of invention to application, the steam engine took 80 years, the electric motor 65 years, and the vacuum tube 33 years, but atomic energy took only 6 years, the transistor only 3 years, the the laser only 2 months. In such circumstances, if our universities and colleges do not accord to scientific research its important status, and teachers basically take no part in research but are contented with only teaching what book knowledge we already have, undoubtedly it will make the content of our education fall far behind the daily developing science and technology. Consequently, our universities and colleges will turn out only students of low caliber, and still less will we ever talk about catching up and surpassing the advanced level of the world.

To repeat, scientific research is the source and education is the stream. If we cannot keep scientific research in schools ahead of teaching, then education can only be water without source, and trees without roots. Education can only be backward and of a low standard.

2. Universities should train personnel who can make achievements.

According to the requirement of the four modernizations, specialized personnel trained by the universities should not only inherit knowledge summed up by predecessors, but also make inventions and discoveries to carry forward the development of science and technology in our country. Such personnel will be "quality products" which can meet the requirement of the four modernizations. Precisely because of this requirement, the activity of scientific research is itself an important link in the education of senior students, an important way of learning. According to the "60 Rules" [on higher education], under the current 4-year course college system, the students should prepare their academic year thesis (or course design) during the second semester of the third year, and prepare their graduation thesis (or graduation design) in the fourth year. These links of education help the students to learn as much as possible the new developments of science within the scope of their specialized lines, and are an important guarantee for inculcating in the students the ability to analyze and solve problems. As far as the whole course of college education is concerned, for the purpose of training qualified personnel, such scientific research activities are included in education per se.

3. The participation of teachers in scientific research is an important means to raise the standard of education.

The development of modern science and technology changes with each passing day. To catch up with this ever-changing situation, teachers who teach the knowledge of modern science and technology are required to know of new developments promptly so they can raise the level of teaching. Thus, their participation in scientific research becomes an important means.

The substance of teaching material should be replenished and renewed continuously following the development of modern science and technology; moreover, the compilation of the teaching material itself is one of the important aspects of scientific research in universities and colleges. Without the ability to carry out scientific research and without personal experience, teachers have difficulty in improving their academic level and can only copy indiscriminately obsolete material; not only are they unable to prepare teaching material of a high standard but they also have difficulty in reading and understanding all the newly published teaching materials inside and outside the country. As a result, they will become more and more passive.

4. The training of postgraduates is also an important task of education in universities and colleges. Furthermore, the four modernizations require the universities to gradually increase the proportion of postgraduates for training. At present in the United States, the number of undergraduates and postgraduates is half and half in the universities and colleges.

Recently the "Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China (Draft)" was promulgated. As of 1981, action will be taken to evaluate and examine according to these regulations the different levels which higher education will reach in various stages. The key universities and colleges should actively undertake scientific research, continuously raise their academic level, and keep pace with the development of modern science and technology before they can take responsibility for awarding academic degrees for the state and for training persons qualified for such academic degrees.

In summary, it can be seen that education and scientific research are two complementary aspects. The practical meaning of "taking education as the main factor" should be "taking improvement of the quality of education as the main factor." Moreover, education means the whole course of education; we should not make a metaphysical, one-sided interpretation. In fact, the foundation of training technical personnel is education, and the improvement of the quality of education depends on scientific research. Scientific research per se is an important link and part of education. We must make an effort to conduct scientific research and turn universities into centers of education and scientific research. This is necessary for the universities to accomplish their task of education and train qualified personnel. Talk only about the center of education as it stands is one-sided. Artificially cutting apart education and scientific research and setting them against each other is even more harmful.

IV. There Is Every Facility To Unify Scientific Research and Education

Can we turn universities into centers of education and scientific research to produce both talent and results? Is scientific research an extra task forced upon the universities, or is there any basis for the universities to become centers of education and scientific research? Have the universities the potential to undertake scientific research on a large scale? We believe that the universities truly have adequate favorable conditions. These conditions have the following three aspects:

1. They are comprehensive.

A general feature of the development of modern science and technology is the tendency toward comprehensiveness. In a university, the specialities are often linked up to form a whole course, the subjects are fairly complete, and there are facilities for cooperation in order to break through difficulties in science and technology. At present, this tendency makes the branches of learning highly divided and also highly comprehensive, each infiltrating very much into the other. Frequently many branches are required to carry out joint study before it is possible to recognize and uncover the deeper nature of things. The universities have favorable conditions to facilitate the mutual infiltration of many branches of learning, and to facilitate the study of new science and technology which transcend the branches of learning. For this reason, many of our new techniques were first achieved by the universities and colleges, such as China's first integrated circuit, first electronic computer, first large wind tunnel and first proton electrostatic accelerator, which were all made by the universities.

The development of modern science and technology also continuously strengthens the mutual contact and infiltration among natural sciences, philosophy and social sciences, and has brought about some new cross-frontier branches of science between them. A comprehensive university has both liberal arts and science courses which facilitate the comprehensive study of natural sciences, philosophy and social sciences.

2. They permit mass participation.

Besides full-time research personnel, a university has a large number of teachers, postgraduates and students. As young people are full of vitality and free in their thinking, they constitute a shock brigade and a reinforcement full of creativity. The postgraduates and senior students can work in coordination with the special research organs and teachers of their universities. Moreover, every year there will be new persons to participate in the study, so that the work of research in the universities can always maintain its vigorous and creative spirit.

3. They teach basic theories.

The strongpoint of universities (especially the comprehensive universities) is the study of mainly basic theories, with a fairly good reserve of basic theories. This is a very important advantage.

Basic research is exceedingly important to the scientific and technological development of a country. For instance, the white paper on science and technology prepared by the Japanese Department of Science and Technology states: "There is no way to solve completely some current technical problems by relying simply on accumulated experience and known facts." "...from the development of science in recent scores of years, it may be seen that we always understood the universal law of nature through basic research, and thus broke through the barriers and opened up new territories." The American National Science Foundation submitted a report to the President of the United States, saying: "If a country relies on new basic knowledge imported from abroad, the pace of its industrial development will slow down and its competitive status among nations will also decline."

Facts show that in many studies of new science and technology, only when there is a breakthrough in basic theory can practical research free itself from the shadow of imitation and make a fundamental breakthrough or change. Comprehensive universities give full play to and enhance their strongpoint of being good at providing for the study of basic theories, and can perform a lot of creative work with distinctive features.

In summary, by giving full play to their strongpoints and potentials in these three aspects, it is entirely possible to turn universities into centers of education and scientific research which will produce both talent and results.

Now some people argue that education and scientific research are fighting for personnel. (Here, it means the kind of education which is short of an important link and artificially isolated from scientific research.) What is the real situation? On the one hand, there are still the trammels and pressure of the ultra-left line and the "two whatevers" policy on the people's enthusiams; on the other hand, at present the middle-aged key teachers in the best years of their lives have not yet devoted themselves entirely to teaching and scientific research, many of them even have no particular work to do. Therefore, at this time the crux of the matter still lies in administration and in work to find ways to liberate the productive forces and fully bring out the latent potentialities.

V. A Few Suggestions on Adjustment and Reform

The system of separating and setting apart scientific research and education has been going on for 30 years, and we are afraid that it will not be easy to change the system overnight. We think that to make a start in adjustment and reform right now, the following steps may be taken into consideration:

1. It should be made clear that we should change the current system of separating and setting apart scientific research and education. We should no longer vacillate on the nature and mission of the key universities, and should make it clear that the key universities must truly become the centers of education and scientific research. (The basic universities may undertake only education and conduct no or little scientific research. There are many such universities in China, and still more in foreign countries. When such a university carries the high-sounding name of a "key" university, it is not so in the real sense of the term.)

2. Plans should be drawn up and new organs of scientific research should be set up. The small producers' way of administration should be discarded and there should no longer be an attitude of setting up research organs only in one's own department. I suggest that the present departments should be notified that they should each "submit a tender," and a choice will be made according to various plans. The sites of new organs will be chosen from among those which have the best foundation, require the least amount of money and can produce results quickly. At present, we may first consider and give support to the establishment of a few research organs in some key universities on the basis of their foundations, superiority and features, in order to strengthen the work of scientific research in these universities. The various departments should also increase their investment in the scientific research of these universities.

3. The personnel of all universities and research organs of departments should be allowed to hold posts in each concurrently. For instance, it is perhaps possible to call upon assistant researchers and those of higher rank within 2 years to concurrently teach a half-year course in a university, to give instruction on a university graduation thesis or to give guidance to postgraduate students; and to call upon associate professors and those of higher rank within 2 years to do concurrent work on a research project at a research organ and submit a report on the research. It might also be possible to take the fulfillment of this requirement as an important credit for the assessment of the person's work proficiency, with the exception of those who are old (such as exceeding the age limit for retirement) and physically weak.

4. It might be possible to issue a publication for limited circulation only among various research departments and universities, provided it does not violate security regulations. In this publication, all departments could solicit solutions to their problems and invite applications for certain research projects

from responsible units and personnel. All competent units and personnel could offer their services in competition, by submitting their research plan and investment budget. The departments concerned could then make their choice and sign a contract. At present, each of the departments has very little horizontal contact; they either carry out duplicate projects or leave some fields blank, and cannot make good use of their investments. This open competition would help gradually to change the present situation.

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9039
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SHANXI PARTY COMMITTEE URGES USE OF LAW TO ATTACK CRIME

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 81 p 1

[Article: "Fully Utilize Legal Weapons To Severely and Quickly Attack Crime; the Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanxi Province Issues a Notice Calling Upon the People of the Whole Province To Conscientiously Learn and Implement the Three Legal Documents Passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress"]

[Text] Recently, the Shanxi Province Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a notice calling upon the people of the whole province to conscientiously learn, propagate and implement the <<resolution concerning strengthening the explanation of the law>>, <<the decision concerning the question of approving cases of death penalty>> and the <<decision concerning the handling of convicts serving labor sentences and personnel serving labor and education sentences who have escaped or who have committed new crimes>>.

The notice points out that these three legal documents fully manifest the spirit of severely and quickly dealing with criminals who have seriously damaged social and public security at the present time. These resolutions and decisions are important measures to make sound socialist democracy and rule by law. They are forceful weapons to struggle against criminal activities and activities that violate the law. They are completely appropriate to the benefits and the demands of the broad numbers of people and the masses.

The notice points out that throughout the province at present, and especially in the cities of Taiyuan, Datong, Yangquan, and Changzhi, social and public security still is not good, criminal activities are still rampant, and serious malicious cases frequently occur. Among them, continued criminal activities committed by convicts sentenced to labor reform and personnel sentenced to labor and education who have escaped or who have been released after serving a full sentence are an outstanding problem. The notice calls for:

1. Every level, every department and every unit throughout the province should organize the broad number of cadres, workers, farmers, students and all the masses to conscientiously study, discuss, implement and carry out these three resolutions and decisions; combine, implement and carry out the various measures proposed by the provincial public security conference; widely and profoundly carry out propaganda and education in socialist rule by law in the towns and villages throughout

the province, and especially in cities; further purge the remnant poison of anarchism, beating, destruction, and robbery undermining social convention that were instigated by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing so that the broad number of cadres and masses can gradually understand pertinent laws and regulations and clearly understand that such behavior is illegal and criminal and thus strengthen the concept of rule by law and conscientiously obeying the law; and carry out a determined struggle against the various types of illegal and criminal behavior, develop correct behavior, strike at evil behavior, and promote a rapid improvement of public security and social order throughout the province. In particular, outstanding achievements must be made in the near future in Taiyuan city, Datong city, Yangquan city and Changzhi city.

2. The political and judicial departments at each level must conscientiously learn the law, grasp the utilization of the law and act strictly in accordance with the law. They must use the three resolutions and decisions as weapons to launch a political attack upon elements who violate the law and commit crimes, educate them so that they will admit their guilt and obey the law, confess and inform, accept reform, and change their evil ways and become good citizens. The very few criminals that commit murder, robbery, rape, arson, bombings and other acts that seriously damage social and public security must be attacked in time so that they will receive proper punishment by law; they should be punished severely and quickly in accordance with the law. At the same time, new cases of injustice, trumped up cases and mistaken cases must be prevented. The family dependents of convicts sentenced to labor reform and personnel sentenced to labor and education who have escaped must be lectured on the three resolutions and decisions in order to win them over so that they will inform on and expose the escapees and mobilize those at large to rapidly return to their camps.

9296
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ROMANIAN MODEL OF URBANIZATION WORTHY OF STUDY

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU in Chinese No 3, 81 pp 12-17

[Article by Qin Renshan [4440 0088 1472], of the Central Party School: "Problems of Urbanization of Population"]

[Text] The industrialization of a country always leads to the migration of its people from its villages to its cities. This is a worldwide process [known as] "urbanization of the population." The socialist industrialization and modernization of our country will no doubt attract more people to the cities (both cities and towns). This meets the objective requirement of the development of social productive forces and helps to control the natural growth of population and to improve the quality of population.

This article proposes to analyze five different aspects of the problem of urbanization of the population.

I. Cities

The concept of cities needs careful scrutiny. For instance, there are people who allege that any place with a population of 5,000 or more is a "city."

This is a questionable approach. Although population density is associated with cities, it is not the only earmark to distinguish cities from villages.

Cities are the product of private ownership rather than a concomitant of the human race. "The separation of industrial and commercial labor from farm labor" (according to Marx) set in motion the separation between cities and villages. This distinction will cease to exist in a unitary economy based on public ownership, where residential complexes throughout the country will combine industry and agriculture and cities and villages. Elimination of the distinction between cities and villages "is one of the primary conditions for achieving social unity" (according to Marx). But this will not come to pass until social productive forces reaches a very high level. Consequently, the distinction between cities and villages all over the world will remain for a long time to come. It is clear, then, that cities are a long-term economic reality.

The capitalist concept of a city touches only its appearance. A "city" as defined in English is a "densely populated area, larger than either a village or a town, permanently and well organized with people who are engaged in various trades and occupations. Unable to provide its own food, it normally relies on manufacture and commerce to satisfy the needs of its residents."[1] This explanation does not cover the real substance of capitalist cities. A capitalist city is a place where private capital and accompanying surplus population converge. The surplus city population is both the condition and the result of capital circulation. The more the big industries develop, the greater the fluctuation of their demand for workers. "This fluctuation is the law of capitalist production" (according to Lenin). The circulation of capital would be difficult without a surplus labor market. That is why capitalist cities are overpopulated.

A socialist city is where socialist industry and commerce converge and where the working class lives. It is also a center where the working class guides and assists the peasants in achieving the political, economic, and cultural transformation of the villages. Socialist cities and capitalist cities are basically different. A capitalist city, founded mainly on private ownership, is controlled by private capital; every urban resident works for the capitalists, and the relationship between the city and the villages is one between exploiter and exploited. A socialist city, founded on public ownership, is where the workers are masters, and its relationship with the villages is one of mutual assistance and mutual benefit. In a socialist state, the quality of a city depends on three different things. First, we must examine how well developed are the socialist economy and culture of that city. Second, we must examine how satisfactory are the working, learning, and living conditions of the staff and workers of that city. Third, we must examine the kind of guidance and assistance the city provides for the political, economic, and cultural affairs of the adjacent villages. These three aspects are not on a par with one another, but none can be dispensed with.

Socialist cities and villages, which form a harmonious socialist society, are independent of each other but closely related. They work harmoniously and cooperatively in dividing and sharing the work.

II. Urbanization of the Population

Urban population refers to those who left their sporadic farmwork and settled permanently in the city to engage in various intensive nonfarm labor activities in order to support their families (in some cities, most people still do farm work). Urbanization of the population means that more village people are moving into the city, where the population outnumbers that of the villages. The process involves the following two factors. First, when the size of the urban population of a country exceeds the number of farm workers that the cities need for various nonfarm jobs, the cities will face a scarcity of employment openings and a deterioration in the standard of living. Second, when the increase in the urban population exceeds the farm commodities that the agriculture of a country can provide in order to meet the daily needs of the urban population, agriculture will decline, leading to rising prices, inflation, and a lower standard of living. Urbanization of the population combines the working of these two factors.

This is what Japan has encountered. The unrestrained flow of farm labor into the cities in 1960-1980, according to Professor Kiyoshi Oshima, "has led to such an excessive density of the urban population and excessive sparsity of the farm population, and to such a decisive decline in agricultural production, that the level of self-sufficiency in food has fallen below the 40-percent mark."[2] This means that the demand for labor by industry in Japanese cities far exceeds the marketable grain the villages can provide.

Growing Urbanization of World Population[3]

Year	Urban Population (100 million)	Urban Population as Percentage of Total Population
1925	4.05	21
1950	7.24	29
1975	15.6	39
2000 (Estimate)	32.08	51

The above table shows marked changes in ratio every 25 years, from 8 to 10 percent, 10 to 12 percent, and all the way up. Although this signifies notable progress in agriculture, it also poses a new problem for the human race. Inasmuch as the villages cannot be abandoned altogether, the vast agricultural resources of the world's farms have to be developed and managed. Consequently, a given part of its population must remain in the villages. Since urbanization cannot go on without limit, the ratio between urban and rural population must be well coordinated. The different priorities of economic development in different countries have given rise to different urban-rural population ratios. A new problem confronting all countries is how to decide on the proper size of the urban population or the extent of acceptable urbanization of the population.

In our past studies of economic construction, we focused our attention solely on industrialization and did not consider urbanization. Industrialization and urbanization in a capitalist society are spontaneous and interrelated. Since industrialization in a socialist society is planned, its urbanization must also be planned rather than lopsided.

In a word, the construction of cities is "a great achievement" of mankind (according to Marx). Cities and villages must not be kept separate permanently. The communist ideal is to eliminate step by step the separation of cities and villages by an equitable distribution of industry and population.

III. Urbanization in Capitalist Society

The urbanization of population in capitalist [society, which is based] on private ownership, is determined by the direction in which capital is invested according to the principle of free competition. Trade in larger cities is much easier because there are better transportation, huge markets, and massive aggregates of customers. All these factors help the big industrial cities to grow at surprising speed.[4] Concentration of capital inevitably breeds concentration of population, attracting bankrupt and unemployed people who flock to the big cities to await available employment (or unemployment) opportunities.[5] Thus, capitalist urbanization means essentially big city urbanization in its initial stages.

The United States offers a typical example. Over 150 million people (three-fourths of the total population) live in densely populated cities (1 percent of the area of the whole country). Disenchanted with the "forest" of high-rise buildings, the traffic jams, the smog-filled sky, and the dirty air, "more and more workers have lost interest in the cities" and are willing to move to the countryside in spite of the lower pay.[6] American cities "are so dirty" that life in the country is becoming more and more attractive.[7] Notwithstanding the enormous price the capitalists pay for urban renewal, the deterioration of the cities is still very serious.

The Japanese are very sensitive about this. In view of "the deterioration of European and American cities," they predict that "Japan will face the danger of urban deterioration."[8] Consequently, "there has been an outcry in all the cities for a reassessment of the project to break up the big cities." They believe that "the era of concentration of population in big cities has come to an end," and that the state policy toward big cities ought to be revised.

This shows that urbanization in the developed capitalist countries, which has developed blindly, has gone from the worst expansion to urban deterioration and is forcing the capitalist governments to "disperse" the big city population. This is what the Mexican Government has been doing.[9] In 1978, Japan decided to work out a "balanced development" or large, medium, and small cities.

While capitalist urbanization in the developed countries was ushered in by the development of agriculture, capitalist urbanization in the underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, is due to agricultural stagnation. Urbanization of the population and centralization of the cities go hand in hand in these countries, where the rate of urbanization of the population is two and a half times that of the total world population.[10] If the governments concerned cannot control the expansion of the big cities, the situation will not improve.

The United Nations is aware of the problem, even though it has not spotted the real cause (the capitalist system of private ownership). Describing this as "a tragic population problem,"[11] Ken-du-er hopes the governments will act to bring it under control. Ge-de-si-te-vin said the problem of cities cannot be solved until "the problem of the poverty of the rural population is resolved."[12] They know that the expansion of big cities in the developing countries is due to agricultural stagnation. The governments do not have the kind of financial resources to arrest the trend of migration. Nor is there private investment big enough to get agriculture out of its prolonged stagnation. The good intentions of Ken-du-er and Ge-de-si-te-vin are too big a dose for the developing countries to take.

In a word, capitalist urbanization has taken too many detours and is irrational. Urbanization under socialism must avoid what has been brought about by urbanization under capitalism.

IV. Urbanization in Socialist Society

Urbanization in a socialist [society] takes place according to socialist planning based mainly on public ownership. The permissible size of urban population is determined by the labor requirements of all nonagricultural sectors, on the one hand, and by farm commodity production, on the other. The scale of a socialist city is based on both demand and practicability, both of which are indispensable.

The nature of a socialist city can be seen in two particular areas. First, as a part of the macroeconomy of the state, a city should both serve itself and work for the development of such socialist enterprises as the economic and cultural growth of the surrounding areas. The bigger the city, the greater its role in these major tasks--especially its role as a center of agricultural modernization. Second, the staff and workers of the city, including those of its collective enterprises and a small number of individual workers, are the masters of the city, which should provide them with satisfactory production, working, and living conditions. These two points are based on the socialist nature of the state. Any city which fails to do well in these areas will become lifeless, unattractive to its staff and workers, and unable to provide a guiding influence to the villages.

In a socialist society, urbanization falls generally into two different types.

When Stalin was in power, the Soviet Union favored the development of big cities. Stalin, who frowned on the idea of "combining the city and the country," asked "the villages to look up to the cities." Now there are 1,151 cities in the Soviet Union. Even though they form only a tower on the horizon, these cities are so overpopulated (62 percent) that agricultural development is retarded and grain production has increased only a little over 100 percent in a period of 60 years.[13] Acute fluctuations of grain harvests have led to huge grain imports annually.[14] Because of sharp differences between the cities and the countryside, and because of the mounting migration of people from the countryside to the cities, there is a shortage of labor in the farm regions.[15] The Soviet Union's indiscriminate emphasis on big cities has resulted in huge losses in agricultural production. The Soviet system of relationship between the cities and the country is irrational.

Another type of socialist urbanization is represented by that of Romania, which strives to achieve a rational distribution of its productive forces as it develops agriculture. In 1956, about 66 percent of its industries were in five localities within the capital. Now Romania has 365 cities, 269 of which are small and have a population of less than 30,000 people each. The blending of the industry of each small city with the agriculture of the surrounding countryside within a circumference of 15-20 kilometers helps to stop the exodus of the village population and to improve the economy of backward localities.[16] The difference between the cities and the countryside has shrunk so much that in 1977 the ratio of personal income between industrial workers and peasants was as close as 1.5:1, and per capita income in 1976 was $1,100. Having the advantages of both city and country life, Romanian small cities are neither "monotonous and crude" like the villages nor "crowded and noisy" like the big cities. Many Romanians are seeking "to return to their hometowns to work "because the small cities are "attractive." We must keep this in mind as a frame of reference.[17]

V. Socialist Urbanization in Our Country

The urbanization of population in our country has been rather slow, as the size of our urban population is comparatively small. In 1978, the urban population for the whole country was 120 million, only 12.5 percent of the total population. In spite of the high index of our agricultural production, a rapid population increase has kept the average per capita grain supply quite low. We must see the reality in this particular case and stop entertaining subjective fantasies. The painful lesson of sending 20 million people to the countryside in 1958 is too hard to forget. However, the modernization of both industry and agriculture will inevitably lead to the urbanization of our population.

Our urban population consists mainly of residents in the big cities, expecially those with over 1 million people each. This is contrary to the plans of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. RENMIN RIBAO pointed out 23 years ago: "The principal task of a socialist city is to develop production and provide satisfactory living conditions for the working people." It also criticized the "big-city syndrome in city planning."[18] In 1959, Comrade Chen Yun said that most industrial enterprises "ought to be constructed in mediumsize and small cities or near the site of mineral resources."[19] The National City Construction Planning Conference, held in October 1980, proposed an urban construction program calling for "control over the size of big cities, rational development of medium-size cities, and active development of small cities."[20] In the past 30 years the policy, expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong, to develop more small cities, has not changed. But why is the development of small cities trailing behind that of big cities? Why do small cities fail to emerge? Why are big cities getting out of control? I think the following are some of the crucial reasons.

First of all, in the past we set up agricultural production quotas without setting up any average personal income quotas for the village population. As a result, there has been an ever-widening gap between industry and agriculture and between the cities and the country. Comparing 1979 with 1952, the average per capita income of the staff and workers in 1979 was 425 yuan, an increase of nearly 300 percent. The per capita income of the peasants, including income from household sideline production, was 101 yuan, an increase of only about 100 percent. The income of the nonfarm population, by comparison, was over four times that of the farm population. With economic conditions as they are, people are bound to be disenchanted with country life.[21] In other words, people are drawn toward the cities. This problem deserves our profound consideration.

To enable the peasants to live contentedly in the country, we must follow the Romanian example and help them live practically like city folks. In its resolution on speeding up agricultural development, the Central Committee points out: "The focus of attention should be directed toward speedily constructing small cities and reinforcing them with step-by-step modernization of transportation, modern commercial services, modern education, science, culture and health services so as to turn them into staging grounds for changing the countenance of our villages throughout the country." This is an important strategic decision. We have to visualize that 20 years from now, the problem of employing 300 million farm workers will be far more taxing than the problem today of youths awaiting job openings in the cities. If we were to use these small cities as links between the cities and the countryside, we would have to have not just some 3,000 cities but tens of thousands of small cities. These small cities, once constructed, would make the rural areas so much more attractive that the people would no longer want to rush to the cities. The construction of so many small cities, however, depends on the communes and production brigades. Those countries and communes which can handle the task should take the initiative to do it. Waiting for state investment means falling into a passive position. The state of course ought to offer active assistance as far as possible.

Secondly, we face the contradiction of planned industrialization and (substantially) unplanned urbanization because we did not plan for urban construction. Even as recently as 1978, our long-term planning covered 120 industrial projects, but practically none was for urban planning. I think this is accountable for the failure to keep the big cities under control. Over the past 30 years, a total of 20.7 billion yuan has been invested in capital construction in Shanghai, but only 1.9 billion of the total went for urban construction. The gap between rising industrial investment and declining investment in urban construction has widened so much that the ratio between the two during the Fourth Five-year Plan period was 65.2:6.4.[22] The increase in socialist labor productivity should not rest on the hardships of the staff and workers. The expansion of the big cities is unavoidable unless they are controlled or reorganized. This is true in Shanghai as well as in all the other big cities. At the initial stage of our industrialization, in the 1950's, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced the concept of "serving the people." It runs contrary to Mao Zedong Thought to focus industrial construction only on industrial projects, without considering the daily needs of people living in the cities. Now the party and government organs at all levels are working satisfactorily to resolve this problem.

Furthermore, the state should set aside urban construction funds to invest in the development of medium-size and small cities, with priority placed on those engineering projects which provide the "three basic services" (water, electricity, and roads) required to open up new bases for new industrial projects. It is even more important to have an improved standard of living in all medium-size and small cities, an improved wage scale, better educational and employment opportunities, and equitable retirement and old age benefits so as to attract more enterprises and their staff and workers to settle down in medium-size and small cities.

Finally, we have to comment on the idea that the big cities "cannot be contained." Big industries and big cities are not inherently tied together. Capitalists do not find it absolutely necessary to develop big industries in the big cities. Why can't socialists develop big industries in medium-size and small cities? Luxembourg, Toyota, and Bern are not big cities, but they have flourishing industries. Instead of trying to be "big and all-inclusive," they are "small and special." The major industry of Luxembourg is steel, Toyota manufactures automobiles, and Bern makes watches.[23] In the final analysis, the idea that the big cities cannot be contained is itself an admission of failure to uphold the purpose of socialist production and to draw a lesson from the capitalist experience of urbanization.

The five problems dealt with above may be summed up in four points: We must have a clear concept of both industries and cities; we must know the meaning of state industrialization and urbanization of the population; we must have a rational concept of cities that is derived from comparing capitalist and socialist urbanization; and we must have the resolve to sum up our work and uphold our urban construction policy, based on the actual conditions in our country.

The above is only an initial analysis. Queries, criticisms, and comments are appreciated.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Webster's New International Dictionary" in English, 1961 Edition.

2. "Modernization in China and Modernization in Japan" in MAINICHI SHIMBUN in Japanese, 3 Mar 79.

3. Figures for 1925 are from "World Economy," 1980, No 7, p 34 (remaining figures not quoted here). Figures for 1975 are from "Selected Translations of World Economy," 1980, No 1, p 75. Figures for 1950 and 2000 (estimate) are from "Newsletters on Population," 1979, No 2, p 23.

4. "The Conditions of the English Working Class," a monograph, p 56.

5. Se-nuo-fen said: As there are many buyers in a big city, anybody engaged in any handicraft can easily make a living." (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 23, p 405).

6. "Will Success Ruin the American Villages?" in CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 29 Jul 79.

7. "Americans Are Moving to the Southwest," THE ECONOMIST, 28 Feb-5 Mar 76.

8. Tokyo is "a city of frustrations." In 1975, 27 million people, a quarter of the Japanese population, lived in 3.6 percent of the Japanese territory. The Japanese have been talking about "moving the capital."

9. "International News in Brief," RENMIN RIBAO 10 Jul 79.

10. Ibid Item 3.

11. "A General Decline in the World's Birthrate," Hong Kong JINRI SHIJIE, Oct 80.

12. "Population Newsletter" 1979, No 2, p 25.

13. 86 million tons in 1913; the figure for 1977 as announced by the Soviet Statistical Bureau is 195 million tons.

14. The difference between harvests within 1 year can be as high as 65 percent. Foreign debt in 1976 is at least 10 billion dollars. The state has to

spend an annual sum of nearly 20 billion rubles to cover farm losses and stabilize grain prices. (France, NEW ECONOMIST, No 105, 11 Jul 77).

15. "Life in Soviet Villages," Hong Kong NEW EVENING NEWS, 5 May 76.

16. "Romania Develops Small Cities," JIEFANGJUN BAO, 7 Jul 80.

17. "Turning Villages Into Cities," RENMIN RIBAO, 25 Sep 79.

18. May Day Editorial, "Build Up the Country Through Thrift and Hard Work," RENMIN RIBAO, Editorial, "Urban Construction Must Agree with Principles of Austerity," RENMIN RIBAO, 24 May 57.

19. RED FLAG No 5, 1959.

20. Editorial, "Strengthen City Planning and Do a Good Job of City Construction," RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Oct 80.

21. "How to Overcome Deviation Tendencies in Agriculture," JIEFANGJUN BAO 1 Sep 80.

22. "Do A Good Job of Capital Construction in Shanghai Without Overruns," RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Dec 80.

23. Luxembourg, population 350,000, maximum annual steel production over 6 million tons; Toyota, population 250,000, maximum annual automobile production 270,000 cars: Bern, population 170,000 (or 350,000 according to others), and other cities produce a total of 70 million watches per year. They have not expanded blindly, even though they have been on their own without government intervention.

(Author's Note, 17 April 1981: The viewpoint presented here was that of 1980, when the article was first written. When it is published this time, I have made no substantial changes other than wording and phrasing so as to preserve its original appearance.)

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END

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17 November 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 238

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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR READY TO ASSUME POST

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 p 19

[Article By Dong Wen [2639 2429]: "The New American Ambassador to China, Arthur W. Hummel"]

[Text] The new American ambassador to China who is about to assume his new post, Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., is a professional diplomat, 62 years old this year, born June 1920 in Fengyang in our country's Shanxi Province. He not only speaks Chinese, but also reads and writes it. He has already visited China in 1973 together with Dr Kissinger. It is said that because of his admiration for the famous Song Dynasty politician and literary figure, Wang Anshi, he chose as the Chinese version of his name Heng Anshi.

Hummel has very deep roots in our country. He is an expert in things Chinese, just as was his father, Arthur W. Hummel, Sr., who was a missionary of the American Congregational Church. In 1915 he came to Shanxi and at that time also taught English at a middle school in Fengyang. Later he joined the faculty of history of Yanjing University in Beijing. In 1927 he returned to America and was invited to become the director of the Oriental department in the Library of Congress, where he remained until his retirement in 1954. The elder Hummel was a scholar specialising in Chinese studies. He compiled the "Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period." After his retirement he lectured on Chinese history at various American universities. He was president of the American Oriental Society and the Association for Asian Studies.

When the new ambassador was 7 years old, he returned to America with his parents and continued his education there. After graduating from Antioch College, he returned to China. He studied Chinese at the College of Chinese Studies in Beijing and later also taught English at Furen and Muzhen middle schools. At the outbreak of the Pacific war, he was detained by the Japanese occupation army and held at the interment camp at Weixian in Shandong Province. In 1944 he was liberated by a local armed force of the Kuomintang, with whom he stayed and worked for some time. Following the victory in the war of resistance, he was liaison officer of the UN Relief Agency in Tianjin for a short period. He returned to America in 1946 to study at the University of Chicago, where he obtained an M.A. degree in the field of Chinese literature.

In 1950 Hummel joined the State Department and began his long career as a foreign service officer. He is a taciturn man, a specialist who does not like to be in the limelight. He received two citations from the State Department, in 1959 and 1966, for meritorious services. In 1974 he was promoted to the diplomatic rank of ambassador. He mainly served in Asian countries and was concerned with Asian affairs. He is very familiar with Asian conditions and Chinese problems and is well-known in the State Department as an "expert on Asian problems," and recognized as one of the men of "highest attainments" in the State Department regarding China studies. In his early career he served as public affairs officer in the American consulates at Hong Kong, in Japan and in Burma and as deputy director of the Voice of America" in the U.S. Information Office. During 1963 to 1964 he served as deputy assistant secretary for educational and cultural affairs in the State Department. In 1965 he became deputy head of the U.S. mission in its "embassy" on Taiwan. In 1968 he became ambassador to Burma. From 1972 to 1975 he served as deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs. In 1975 he was appointed ambassador to Ethiopia and the following year became assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. In 1977 he was appointed ambassador to Pakistan, where he worked hard for the restoration and strengthening of U.S. relations with Pakistan, his work in this respect is highly appreciated by the U.S. Government.

Hummel advocates the development of United States-China relations, and he recognizes that the development of these relations is of "great strategic significance." He expressed the opinion that a large country like China must play an extremely important role in Asian and world affairs. In recent years, the development of United States-China relations has reduced the danger of conflicts in Asia and improved the world balance that is needed to preserve peace. He indicated that after he has assumed his post, he will "exert himself to the utmost" to further consolidate and develop United States-China relations. He also thinks that the United States must not meddle in the Chinese problem of Taiwan, which is a problem "to be solved by the Chinese people themselves."

9808
CSO: 4005/57

HAIG ADDRESSES CONGRESS ON STRATEGIC BUILDUP

OW050900 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today that in the strategic environment of the 1980's, the United States has "no alternative but to pursue a comprehensive and balanced program which strengthens our conventional capabilities and, at the same time, modernizes our nuclear forces."

Urging support for President Reagan's strategic force modernization program, he drew attention to the fact that the Soviet Union has built rapidly and relentlessly to become a global military power. "They now have the capability--and have increasingly demonstrated the willingness--to project power and intervene in the affairs of other nations, either directly or through surrogates," he said. "One of the most profound changes in the international environment over the past 15 years has been the growth in the number and quality of Soviet strategic nuclear weapons."

A nuclear balance, Haig went on to say, is a "crucial, if unstated, factor for all those countries who seek stable security arrangements in the face of Soviet expansionism."

"This is particularly the case for our allies, the strategic force modernization we are now undertaking is a key element in the continued health and unity of the Atlantic alliance. For more than 30 years the fate of the United States and its European allies has been inseparable. By correcting the perceptions--and reality--of emerging imbalances in strategic forces, we will underscore our commitment to resist Soviet expansionist goals and reaffirm the credibility of the 'nuclear umbrella' which we extend over our allies."

Haig urged Congress to support President Reagan's strategic force modernization program, his decision to deploy the MX missile, develop the Trident II, and deploy the B-1 bombers. "B-1 and MX--and the degree of Congress' support for them--will make or break our attempt to negotiate a reasonable arms control agreement," he said.

He told the Foreign Relations Committee that U.S.-Soviet negotiations to limit strategic arms could begin next spring. But he warned that "arms control negotiations cannot be conducted in a political vacuum. They must be closely related to the overall state of U.S.-Soviet relations."

CSO: 4000/11

DENG CRITICIZED FOR SUPPORTING U.S. NEUTRON BOMB

OW071355 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 6 Nov 81

[Text] Since U.S. President Reagan ordered the production of neutron bombs the world's people, including the American people, have raised strong protests against Reagan's criminal act. Voices denouncing Reagan reverberate across five continents and four oceans. The indignation, worry and bewilderment of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world are not without grounds.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as the real party, government and army leader of our country, not only has failed to object to Reagan's decision, but has approved and supported it, adding fuel to the flames, lest U.S. production of neutron bombs is not fast enough and not in sufficiently large numbers.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping hastily instructed the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission to step up research on neutron bombs and to start to build accelerators of 30 billion to 50 billion electron-volts to hasten neutron bomb development.

However, the designing and manufacturing of any modern weapon is expensive. Needless to say, this includes neutron bombs. At present, the greatest difficulty of the national economy is the lack of funds. Furthermore, the people's living standard is low. Development of the neutron bomb inevitably will swallow up huge amounts of money and further increase the people's burdens.

It should be pointed out: The small atom bomb dropped by the United States on Hiroshima, Japan, on 6 August 19745, destroyed an entire city and took the lives of almost all the inhabitants. Most of the survivors are still struggling on the verge of death even today. Offsprings of the victims of the atom bomb are in most cases suffering from defective functions. Modern nuclear bombs are far more destructive and cruel than what caused the scene at Hiroshima. The explosion of a single nuclear bomb will be a horrible massacre. The atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima was equivalent to only 130,000 tons of TNT. By contrast, a present-day nuclear bomb is equivalent to 250 million tons of TNT. Therefore, if a nuclear war breaks out, it will be impossible to try to "wath the fire from the other side of the river." It inevitably will mean destruction of our country's 5,000-year-old civilization, disaster to several hundred million people, even extinction of the Chinese nation.

People cannot help asking: We are now working for the four modernizations. Are we to go through innumerable hardships and work hard for many years to achieve something in realizing the four modernizations only to have it destroyed in one single day? Are we enduring hunger and making revolution only to get ourselves, our wives and our children killed in the holocaust of a nuclear war?

Elementary logic points out to us: Despite the fact that the United States regards our country as a potential enemy, and that when former U.S. President Carter was in office he ordered U.S. nuclear missiles aimed at major cities and strategic points of our country and that this order has not been withdrawn to this day, a certain leader on the Party Central Committee has seen fit to approve and support Reagan's order to produce neutron bombs. The Chinese people will not pay the heavy price necessary to enable that certain leader to cater to the Reagan administration's adventurist policy and to fish for fame and compliments in disregard of the national interest. From both a political and a strategic viewpoint, this policy of supporting U.S. production of neutron bombs is unwise and should be denounced.

CSO: 4005/214

BEIJING RADIO ON SAUDI MIDEAST PEACE PLAN

OW070420 Beijing Domestic Service in Chinese 1100 GMT 6 Nov 81

[Commentary from the "International Current Events" program entitled: "Saudi Arabia's Mideast Peace Plan is Taken Seriously"]

[Excerpts] The eight-point proposal put forward by Saudi Crown Prince Fahd in early August for the realization of peace in the Mideast is having an increasing influence on the diplomatic activities aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution to the Mideast issue.

The Saudi plan reflects, in effect, the basic stand of the moderate Arab states and incorporates the rational views of various international formulas for Mideast peace. It is both feasible and practicable. It presents a new hope for the peaceful settlement of the Mideast issue. This is why it was taken seriously by various countries as soon as it was put forward and why it is receiving an increasingly wider support among Arab countries and from the PLO and members of the EEC. The United States, too, has recently made known its stand on the Saudi plan.

The United States is an important partner in the Camp David peace process and a party to the Palestinian autonomy talks. At present the United States has not yet abandoned the Camp David agreement. President Reagan stated that the United States intends to continue the peace process initiated at Camp David. He stressed that the present question is to draw all Arab countries, not just one, to make peace with Israel and to work out together a formula for settling the Palestinian issue. However, because the Camp David peace process has not been able to receive the support from the majority of Arab countries and also because of Israeli stubbornness, the prospect of the talks on Palestinian autonomy scheduled for next April among Egypt, Israel and the United States is not bright. This is why the United States begins to show an interest in the Saudi plan.

U.S. Secretary of State Haig stated recently that some of the points contained in the Saudi eight-point proposal are acceptable and some can be the basis for future negotiations. He pointed out that the Saudi proposal implies the recognition of Israel's right to exist and the recognition of the UN Security Council Resolution No 242. U.S. State Department spokesman Fischer revealed that the United States has discussed the Saudi plan with Saudi Arabia on several occasions. From the above, it is obvious that the Mideast situation is in for certain changes.

However, the Soviet Union and Israel are opposed to the Saudi plan. Israel attacks the Saudi proposal as a formula aimed at eliminating Israel by stages. The Soviet paper IZVESTIYA attacked it as "in the final analysis, an appeal to the Arab countries to recognize Israel." The reason for the Soviet attack is clear: The Soviet Union wants the confrontation between Arabs and Israel to continue so as to provide it with an opportunity to fish in troubled water, sell arms to some Arab countries and carry out infiltration.

The Mideast is an area of rivalry between the two hegemonist powers. The Soviet Union is seeking every opportunity to poke its nose into the area while the United States is strengthening its posture to counter the Soviet Union. Thus, the settlement of the Mideast issue will be a long process. But the Saudi proposal has opened a new prospect for a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

CSO: 4005/214

BEIJING RADIO COMMENTS ON SALE OF AWACS PLANES

OW060101 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Commentary from "International Current Events" program: "Behind the Debates of the Sale of AWACS Planes by the United States"]

[Excerpts] During the past month, the U.S. Congress has experienced sharp debates on whether to approve the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia. On the surface, the U.S. congressional members argued about the advantages and disadvantages of the sale of advanced weapons, but in fact there is a deeper meaning. It has a bearing on whether the Reagan administration could successfully readjust its Mideast policy and carry out its overall foreign policy in a smooth manner.

For many years the United States has been carrying out a Mideast policy in favor of Israel and the relations between the United States and most Arab countries have required a lot of hard work. This has created an opportunity that can be exploited to the Soviet Union's advantage. As the Soviet Union deepens its aggression and expansion in the Mideast, especially following its invasion of Afghanistan by armed forces, not only does the United States face a serious challenge in the Mideast but the Arab countries are now facing a dual threat from both Israel and the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances, the Arab countries urgently desire a reasonable solution to the problems caused as a result of Israel's aggression and expansion and want to have stability and security in the Mideast region. On this basis, the Arab countries want to strengthen their unity in order to jointly resist the Soviet Union's expansion toward the south.

The policy and proposition of the Arab countries are contradictory to the U.S. pro-Israel Mideast policy. Since Reagan took office, the United States has repeatedly stressed that it will give priority to dealing with Soviet expansion in the Mideast and has made some adjustments to its Mideast policy. On the one hand, the United States has continued to support Israel and established a relationship of strategic cooperation with Israel. On the other hand, it has strived to improve its relations with the Arab countries in order to establish another relationship of strategic cooperation. The Reagan administration's decision to sell AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia is precisely a major step in balancing the relations between the United States and Israel and those between the United States and the Arab countries and in readjusting its Mideast policy.

The approval by the U.S. Senate of the sale of the AWACS planes has caused different reactions in the world. Saudi Arabia, Egypt and a number of other countries have welcomed the decision. They are convinced that this is a turning point in the relations between the United States and the Arab countries. Israel has expressed its regret. However, public opinion in the world has pointed out that the sale of the AWACS planes itself does not mean that the United States has already changed its basic stand of siding with Israel. The United States' readjustment of its Mideast policy is merely a beginning. The current U.S. Mideast policy is still far from being able to solve the fundamental crux of the Mideast issue.

CSO: 4005/214

BEIJING VIEWS U.S. ATTITUDE ON SAUDI PEACE PLAN

OW070831 Beijing in English to North America 0000 GMT 7 Nov 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The eight-point Middle East peace proposal made by Saudi Crown Prince Fahd has become a focus of attention in many parts of the word. It has led to extensive discussion in Washington since the U.S. Senate approval of the AWACS radar planes sale to Saudi Arabia. Washington's assessment of the positive aspect of the Saudi plan drew a strong reaction from Israel. U.S. State Department officials were quick in coming out with a clarification, saying that taking note of the Saudi plan does not amount to endorsing it. In spite of this ambiguity, there are signs that the Reagan administration will be giving careful consideration to the Saudi plan, which has brought new positive elements to the volatile Middle East situation.

When the plan was put forward in August, the United States tried to minimize its significance, for fear that it would adversely affect the peace process started by the Camp David accords. However, as more and more Arab, European and other countries indicated their approval of the Saudi plan, the U.S. Government, ranging from President Ronald Reagan to Secretary of State Alexander Haig and other State Department officials, has also changed its attitude and voiced guarded appreciation of the plan. In a statement a few days ago, President Reagan described the plan as a potentially important step, saying it will recognize Israel as a nation to be negotiated with. Many influential American politicians have also expressed flexibility toward the PLO. When asked whether the U.S. Government would eventually involve the PLO in the peace talks, President Reagan said that a solution has to be found for the Palestine problem and that the United States would like Saudi Arabia to bring the PLO into the peace process, provided it was willing to recognize Israel's right to exist.

Obviously, the American position toward the Arab-Israeli conflict is far from fair. It is partial to Israel and insists on the PLO's recognition of Israel's right to exist. However, Reagan's statement expressing readiness to solve the problem and eventually to talk to the PLO shows a sense of realism.

The Reagan administration has made clear its willingness to have more countries taking part in the Middle East peace negotiations, including Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and it regards Saudi Arabia as the key to spreading peace throughout the Middle East. On this score, the Reagan government agrees with some aspects of the Saudi plan. If progress could be made on the question of the PLO, the Saudi proposal might well lead to the solution of the Middle East issue.

What worries the United States now is the impact of the Saudi proposal on the Camp David accords that it has painstakingly helped to bring about. A U.S. State Department spokesman has stressed over and over again that the United States welcomes certain points in the Saudi plan, but that does not mean that the U.S. Government is backing away from the commitment it has made to the Camp David process.

Whenever there is any hope of a settlement of the Middle East conflict, Israel always comes out to thwart it, with subsequent support of the U.S. Government. The same pattern has been repeated many times. Israeli Prime Minister Begin recently wrote to U.S. President Reagan, urging him to reject the Saudi plan. The United States immediately made offers to appease Israel. Despite all that, the United States still showed interest in the Saudi plan and said that it could be talked over. It seems the door is still open, and the initiative is with the U.S. Government. The question now is whether Washington has the sincerity and determination to help solve the Middle East question.

CSO: 4000/11

SAUDI MINISTER URGES U.S. TO ACCEPT PROPOSAL

OW061608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 6 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said in Riyadh yesterday that the Saudi eight-point peace proposal was positive, correct and of considerable importance in maintaining the peace process in the Middle East, according to reports received here.

At a press conference, both Lord Carrington and Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal described their talks as "useful, constructive and encouraging."

Carrington said that there were "common grounds" between the Saudi proposals and the EEC declaration on the Middle East issue, and that the EEC Ministerial Council will meet late this month to discuss the Saudi proposal. However, he predicted that before Israel completely hands back Sinai to Egypt next April, no progress could be achieved towards a Middle East settlement, he added.

He said: "Between the Arab Fes summit and next April all those who are interested in a negotiated settlement will seek to provde the climate and conditions in which that (negotiated settlement) is possible."

Faysal said at the press conference that his discussions with Lord Carrington had centered on the Saudi proposal. He hoped that the Arab summit held in Fes on 25 November would unanimously approve the proposals. This, he said, would provide a "very solid basis" for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East issue. He urged the United States and the Soviet Union to accept the proposal after its adoption at the Arab summit.

He pointed out that if Israel and Palestine do not recognize each other's right to exist, there would be no peace in the Middle East. The reason why Israel rejects the Saudi proposal was that it does not want peace, he said.

Referring to the need for an international conference on the Middle East, Faysal said that it should be decided by the Arab summit whether or not an international conference through the UN Security Council is needed.

As to the EEC's participation in the peacekeeping force to Sinai, Faysal said that Saudi Arabia stands opposed to it just as other Arab countries and PLO have done. He said that the participation of the West in the force means recognition of the Camp David accords.

CSO: 4000/11

SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTS ON PEACE PLAN

OW051948 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Kuwait, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--European Economic Community President and British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrignton ended a 3-day visit here which included talks with Crown Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal about the eight-point Saudi peace proposal and the EEC's Venice declaration of 1980 on the Palestinian problem.

At a joint news conference held before Carrington's departure, Prince Sa'ud answered a question on the seventh point of the Saudi peace plan which deals with the recognition of Israel by Saudi Arabia. He declared that the seventh point is connected with the other points and that the most important point is the one dealing with the recognition of the Palestinian state and holding of negotiations between that state and Israel, and this could not be achieved without mutual recognition.

Prince Sa'ud said that Israel has rejected the Saudi peace plan because it does not want peace in the area.

Prince Sa'ud said that Middle East peace negotiations could be conducted by the United Nations Security Council or during an international conference.

Carrington said at the news conference that the Saudi peace plan announced by Prince Fahd last 7 August does not contradict the Venice declaration, which clearly indicates Europe's position concerning the Middle East. The Venice declaration recognizes the Palestinians' rights and the right of all the region's countries to live peacefully, he added.

He said he hopes the upcoming Arab summit conference will adopt the Saudi peace proposal, which he said will boost efforts toward peace.

CSO: 4000/11

MUBARAK SPEAKS ON AWACS DEAL, SAUDI PROPOSAL

OW071302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 7 Nov 81

[Text] Kuwait, 7 Nov (XINHUA)--"The situation between Egypt and the Arab countries is better now," said Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in Cairo in an exclusive interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper ARAB TIMES which is published here today.

Mubarak said, "I feel the tension between Egypt and Arab countries has decreased since the death of President al-Sadat."

On Saudi Arabia's eight-point proposal, he said: "I hope Prince Fahd's initiative will proceed and that the parties concerned will accept the eight-point Saudi proposal."

Regarding the AWACS aircraft for Saudi Arabia, President Mubarak said he had told America in September that Egypt considered the AWACS deal to Saudi Arabia as a matter of principle. "Saudi Arabia has contributed greatly towards international issues, not to mention its moderate oil policy. This reasonable stance has to be duly appreciated by the U.S.A."

"Saudi Arabia has the right to defend its national security and assume its active role in the area," he added.

The president called on Arabs to consider Egypt's situation and not to allow "this Arab country to be a victim of world powers."

Husni Mubarak said that he had concentrated first on the security question. Since that has been dealt with, his second main point was the economic situation.

"My plan is that the political leadership should not be busy only with foreign affairs, but that it should concentrate on the national economy to turn Egypt from a consumer to a producer." He repeated his affirmation of an open economy and said there would be no objection to developing the laws regarding foreign investments in Egypt.

The Egyptian president said that America was serious in helping his country. "We asked them to aid us more and they have not refused any demand. We still need more."

He said that Egypt was prepared to deal with the Soviet Union "on an equal footing." He added, "I don't like to feel we are a small state in relation to a big one. We are equal members of the United Nations. I don't like anybody to impose anything against our national interests."

CSO: 4000/11

'XINHUA'REPORTS REAGAN MEETS JORDAN'S HUSSEIN

OW030834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0818 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan and King Hussein of Jordan discussed today at the White House the overall situation in the Middle East.

King Hussein arrived here yesterday for a 4-day visit in Washington on the invitation of the U.S. president. The king's visit took place at a time when the U.S. administration is trying to seek increased security cooperation with Arab countries and broaden Arab participation in the Middle East peace process so as to form a "strategic concensus" in the region.

In his welcoming remarks, Reagan told the king that the United States is concerned about outside threats to the Middle East, as well as those issues which most directly affect the people of the Middle East. "When focusing on the internal problems of the region we must never lose sight of the role of external powers in aggravating those problems," he noted. He asked Jordan to work together with the United States to find solutions.

Briefing on the talks, a senior U.S. official said that the king gave the president his own point of view on the general situation of the Middle East and said that one of the most fundamental problems of the region was the solution to the Palestinian problem and the plight of the Palestinians specifically. The king believed "very deeply that the Palestinians in any case, must be involved in that settlement and their participation gives it weight and meaning."

The king critisized the intransigence of Israel and indicated that Jerusalem must remain a symbol of peace in the Middle East. It was a very important question to all Arabs and too important to be left to the sovereignty of Israel, he said.

The official made it clear that despite the United States appearing to look with some favor on the eight-point peace plan put forward by Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, the administration is not drawing away from the Camp David process. He said, the president indicated that there was in the Saudi plan an initiative where none existed before, but "the president did not deviate from the adherence of the United States Government to the Camp David peace process as the framework for achieving peace in the Middle East."

The official added that under ideal circumstances, the opportunity to have additional participants in the Camp David peace process is something that the United States Government would support, "but ovviously there are serious obstacles to the Jordanian participation in the Camp David process."

The king also met with Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger today.

CSO: 4000/11

SYRIA'S KHADDAM ON U.S. MIDEAST INVOLVEMENT

OW021901 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Damascus, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam said Saturday peace in the Middle East will be achieved only by the total withdrawal of Israel from Arab land including Jerusalem and the Israeli recognition of Palestinian rights.

Speaking at a news conference for American journalists on a fact-finding tour of the Middle East, Khaddam also discussed the involvement of the United States in the Middle East.

On the U.S. Senate's approval of the AWACS planes sale to Saudi Arabia, Khaddam said, "We agree that Arab countries should obtain all means of development and all kinds of weapons." However, "we cannot be blind to the immense U.S. military aid to Israel, which is used to reinforce aggression against Arabs and continue its occupation of Arab lands," he said.

"This bargain with Saudi Arabia would have gained more importance if the United States had balanced its relations between the Arab countries and Israel," he explained. "Begin's visit to Washington and the U.S. strategic agreement with Israel have given rise to a complicated and dangerous situation in the region."

Khaddam also pointed out that "the U.S. strategic commitment to Israel has placed American interests and decisions in the service of expansionistic Israeli goals." "In our conclusion...we always take into consideration the Israeli war planes, artillery and tanks which are all American made." He said, "It is Israel which stands in the way of peace. Israel is the obstacle impeding the finding of a lasting peace in the region."

When asked about the massive military aid Syria receives from the Soviet Union and what influence the Soviet aid may have on Syria's policies, Khaddam said, "Syria is an independent state. It makes its national decisions about how to best serve national interests. The decision we take in Syria and all our practices are fully dictated by our national interests. There is no other consideration."

On the subject of future relations with the United States in a Middle East without conflict, Khaddam said, "I believe it would be a good relationship because the major obstacle existing today is America's unreasonable support of Israeli aggression."

"In the past the U.S. Government offered aid and we accepted it," Khaddam said, "and if it offers any help, it will be discussed, considering that the greatest help that the United States might offer is to stop its support of Israel."

CSO: 4000/11

JORDAN'S KING HUSAYN CONCLUDES U.S. VISIT

OW090229 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1545 GMT 6 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--According to a dispatch from a XINHUA reporter, Jordanian King Husayn left Washington today to continue his visit elsewhere after he concluded his 4-day sojourn in the capital.

While in Washington, King Husayn discussed the Middle East peace process with U.S. leaders. Prior to his departure, he said: The door to solving the Middle East issue on the basis of the eight-point proposal put forward by Saudi Arabia remains open. "The United States has not shut the door."

Husayn came to visit the United States at a time when there are rapid changes in the Middle East situation. After Egyptian President al-Sadat was assassinated, many people were worried about the stability of the Middle East situation and actively tried to find a way to achieve peace in the Middle East. As soon as he got off his plane, King Husayn stressed the important meaning of the Saudi plan. During his talks with Reagan, he emphatically pointed out that a basic problem in the Middle East region is that of Palestine and that without the participation of the Palestinian people, the solution of the Middle East issue is out of the question. He believed that the Camp David formula completely fails to satisfy the needs of today's peace process. A high-ranking White House official revealed that Reagan had told Husayn that in the Saudi Arabian plan, there existed an "initial proposal" which was never mentioned before--a recognition of the fact that all Middle East countries have the right to exist. However, Husayn still insisted that the United States fulfill its obligation to the Camp David accords. People have also noted that after the Senate approved the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia, U.S. leaders have more than once said that a certain part of the Saudi Arabian plan was "inspiring" and that it can become a "starting point for negotiations." Later, amid Israel's clamoring, the tone of the open remarks made by U.S. officials has somewhat changed. However, it is understood that issues in this regard remained the topics of discussion when Reagan and Haig met with Husayn. A high-ranking official of the U.S. State Department revealed to a XINHUA reporter this afternoon that Husayn's visit to the United States had mainly scored the following achievements:

The king has established personal friendship with the president. The two nations will strengthen cooperation in security affairs. The United States will try its best to satisfy Jordan's needs in national defense. The two sides have explored the Middle East peace process and agreed to find a joint method to solve problems. Some members of the press circles believed that the U.S. official circles try to avoid excessively stirring up Israel. Therefore, it is unwilling to openly discuss the Saudi Arabian plan. However, they feel in private that it is difficult to carry on the present Camp David process and that certain adjustments are necessary.

Husayn's visit has reflected a trend in the development of the Middle East situation--a trend to find a new way to solve the Middle East issue on the basis of the Saudi Arabian plan. Egypt's new president, Mubarak, has already expressed Egypt's willingness to improve and develop its relations with the Arab nations. PLO Leader 'Arafat praised the Saudi Arabian plan. The 10 nations of the West European community also sent British Foreign Secretary Carrington to Saudi Arabia to hold talks. The United States itself has taken some steps which have attracted public attention such as the approval of the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia, the strengthening of its relations with Egypt and Sudan, the appreciation of the Saudi Arabian plan and the strengthening of its ties with Jordan and so on. However, whether the United States will truly follow the path to improve and develop its relations with the Arab nations and to accelerate the Middle East peace process or whether it will still try to stubbornly cling to Israel is something which remains to be seen.

CSO: 4005/214

REPORTS CITE[illegible] ON U.S. ECONOMIC RECESSION

OW301916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1856 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--The U.S. Commerce Department reported a 2.7 percent drop in the index of leading indicators during September, the biggest in 17 months.

According to western wire services, the Commerce Department reported that of the 10 economic indicators designed to predict economic trends only one improved in September.

Meanwhile, U.S. Labor Department statistics indicated that the productivity of American business fell at an annual rate of 1.9 percent in the third quarter of the year, the largest decline in 3 1/2 years.

The figures for the quarter ending 30 September showed that private business output fell 1.2 percent.

Higher prices for housing, food, transport and other sectors of the economy pushed the U.S. annual inflation rate to 14.8 percent during September, the Labor Department reported on 23 October. This was the third straight month of double-digit inflation.

During the last 3 months, consumer prices have climbed at an annual rate of 13.5 percent, a substantial increase over the 8.5 percent recorded in the first half of the year. Inflation rate was 12.6 percent in 1980.

"The administration has counted on inflation slowing and high interest rates easing to bring the U.S. economy out of its mild recession," a REUTER report commented, "but the surprisingly large rise in prices during September seemed likely to increase uncertainly in the financial markets."

On the other hand, a 27 October U.S. Commerce Department report said the American foreign trade deficit amounted to $2.6 billion in September with the cumulative trade deficit in the first 9 months of 1981 totaling $28.7 billion.

Total losses in auto industry reached $969 million for the third quarter of the year, with General Motors reporting $468 million losses, Ford Motor Co $334 million losses and Chrysler Corp $149.3 million losses.

The current recession in the United States, the eighth since World War II, could drive the government's 1982 budget deficit to a record $100 billion, House Budget Committee Chairman James Jones told a meeting of European investors.

President Ronald Reagan has proposed overall budget cuts and tax savings designed to reduce anticipated budget deficits by $115 billion in a 3-year period to achieve a balanced budget in the 1984 financial year. But Jones told the investors the president's economic assumptions were "wildly unrealistic." The deficits between now and 1984 could total $200 to $300 billion, he warned.

CSO: 4000/11

EGYPT'S GHAZALAH DENIES THREAT TO LIBYA

OW050119 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Cairo, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--Egyptian Defence Minister 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah declared that there is no Egyptian military build-up on the Libyan borders and that the Egyptian forces stationed there are only for defence in face of any foreign contingencies.

In an interview with the Egyptian weekly magazine (AKHER SA'A), the minister reiterated President Husni Mubarak's statement that there is neither build-up on the Libyan borders nor any plans or even intention for attacking Libya.

He said the historical relations between Egypt and the Sudan and the joint defence agreement make his country committed to a battle alongside with the Sudan in case it was exposed to any foreign invasion and this would be done in accordance with a request by the Sudanese Government.

He said there is an Egyptian military mission of officers and warrant officers in the Sudan to train the Sudanese forces on the use of certain weapons and equipment. There are similar missions in Somalia and Oman and a number of Gulf countries, he added.

Ghazalah said the joint Egyptian-U.S. military exercises to be conducted on coming Monday are aimed at introducing a new expertise in tactic and rapid air landing. These manoeuvres do not constitute any threat to the security of any neighboring state nor are they meant for invading Libyan lands as was alleged, he added.

CSO: 4000/11

'XINHUA' COMMENTS ON ISRAELI WEST BANK POLICY

OW031230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 3 Nov 81

["Roundup: Israel's 'New' Policy in West Bank of Jordan River"--by correspondent Yang Shaonan]

[Text] Damascus, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--The Israeli authorities put into effect yesterday a "new" policy in the West Bank of the Jordan River which would transform the military administration functioning since 1967 to a civil one headed by Israeli Professor Menhem Milson.

According to the policy called by the press as "the Sharon plan" as it was put forward by Minister of Defence Ari'el Sharon, a notorious hawk in the Israeli regime, the civil affairs in the West Bank would be handled by a civil administration with the participation of Palestinians as assistants. The Israeli troops stationed in the region would take charge of the security affairs. It can be seen that the reform only means a change of name while the real power is still in the hand of the Israeli Army.

Reaction to this new policy varies. The United States regards it as "a major step toward easing tension in the occupied area." However, almost all the mayors and Arab papers in the West Bank vigorously oppose it. The mayor of Nablus said, "Nobody could see what is new in the plan and Professor Milson is a colonel who has just taken off his uniform. He described the plan as a "desperate and futile attempt to undermine Palestinian unity." "In the final analysis, they want to annex the West Bank," he added.

In Beirut, a Palestinian in the PLO headquarters pointed out, "No one is going to go along with the plan because the real power remains with the Israelis." Even certain Israeli officials expressed doubts privately on the real effect of the reform.

Arab observers here said the real purpose of the plan is to sow discord between the PLO and the Palestinians in the occupied territory in an attempt to perpetuate Israel's domination over the territory. Milson revealed not long ago in an article carried in a U.S. journal that the aim of the plan is "to liberate the population of the territory from the PLO control."

However, the Israelis have underestimated the tenacity of Palestinian nationalism. The Palestinians in the occupied territory persistently oppose the annexation of East Jerusalem and regard the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

To solve the conflict between Israelis and Arab Palestinians, the right thing for the Begin government to do is to stop its expansionist policy and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4000/11

'XINHUA' VIEWS ISRAELI STAND ON SAUDI PEACE PLAN

OW040720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 4 Nov 81

["Commentary: Policy of Suicide"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The PEOPLE'S DAILY today carries a commentary entitled "A Policy of Suicide" which reads as follows:

Increasing attention of the world public is being focused on Saudi Arabia's eight-point proposal on the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. The Palestine Liberation Organization, many Arab states and EEC member states have expressed support for or appreciation of the proposal. Even the U.S. Government held that there is something "positive" in the proposal which can be served as a "starting point" for dialogue.

However, the Israeli authorities categorically rejected the proposal and regarded it as "a plan to eliminate Israel by stages."

The Begin authorities argued that the withdrawal of Israeli troops to the border before the 1967 war as called for by the Saudi proposal would "put the vast majority of the Israeli citizens within the range of enemy fire" and would "mean the suicide of the state of Israel."

It is well known that the root cause of years of turbulence and unrest in the Middle East lies in Israel's intransigence in pursuing an expansionist policy and its refusal to return to the Arabs their territories it has occupied and to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's position has brought disaster to the Palestinian people and jeopardized its own existence. In other words, it is precisely the incorrigible aggressive and expansionist stand of Israel that endangers its own existence.

The Saudi proposal presents a fairly realistic formula as it upholds the national rights of the Palestinian people and recognizes the right of all countries in the region to peaceful coexistence. By stubbornly insisting on basing their "security" on the occupation of the territories of other countries, the Begin authorities are acting like Hitler who based the existence of fascist Germany on the seeking of "Lebensraum" from other countries.

If the Begin regime is really concerned with the interest of the vast majority of the Israeli people, it should pull out from the occupied Arab land and recognize the natinal rights of the Palestinian people, thus bringing lasting peace to the Middle East. Otherwise, it is really committing suicide.

CSO: 4000/11

'XINHUA' ON BEGIN'S 'ATTACKS' ON SAUDI PEACE PLAN

O?041642 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 4 Nov 81

["Commentary: Fantastic Logic by XINHUA Correspondent Yu Kaiyuan"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beirut, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin has recently made unscrupulous attacks on the Saudi Arabian Middle East peace proposals, alleging that the proposals are aimed at "eliminating Israel by stages" and constitute "a large obstacle toward peace." Begin even described Saudi Arabia as a "petrodollar desert state where the darkness of the middle ages reigns."

In addition, Israel today adopted a resolution expressing its determination not to engage in peace talks based on the Saudi proposals.

The eight-point proposal on Middle East peace raised by Saudi Crown Prince Fahd last August embodied the spirit of various UN resolutions. The proposals demand recognition for the existence of various states in the Middle East while guaranteeing the right of the Arab-Palestinians. The proposal has provided a basis of dialogue for a fair settlement of the Middle East problem and has drawn international attention. Even U.S. President Ronald Reagan has stated that the Saudi proposal has positive factors.

On 1 October Begin said Israel opposes Saudi Arabia's proposal because the Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 boundary lines that is urged by the proposal would threaten Israel's security.

But whose security is threatened? Israel occupies Arab lands and threatens Arab security. The Palestinian people's struggle against Israel is for their right to exist and for the right to return to their homeland. Begin's fear for Israel's security is more absurd. As science and technology advance, the range of weapons will become more distant. Someday Israel will be threatened by other countries' weapons no matter where its boundaries exist.

Israel's refusal of the Saudi Arabian peace proposal implies that Israel rejects peace and wants to stick to its policy of expansion.

CSO: 4000/11

UN BEGINS DEBATE ON GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS

OW051351 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] United Nations, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly this afternoon began its debate on launching global negotiations on international economic cooperation and development, with the developing countries favoring the General Assembly as the central forum of such negotiations.

Algeria, speaking for the host of developing countries known as the "Group of 77," was joined by Austria, Sweden and Norway in reaffirming negotiation framework. The General Assembly is where each nation has one vote and the developing countries have a large majority.

The North-South dialogue, Algerian Ambassador Mohamed Bedjaoui declared, was more than ever at a crossroad today. There was need to create a new world to establish the right of all to progress, he noted.

He assured that the Group of 77 had renewed its confidence in the virtues of a dialogue among countries on an equal footing, and deeply believed that it must replace "dogmatism and injunction."

In order to preserve the fundamental characteristics of global negotiations, he stressed, it was essential that the fundamental need for a universal dialogue be recognized; that the General Assembly remain the central forum for all stages of negotiations; and that negotiations form part of the dynamic perspective of the establishment of a new international economic order.

During the general debate of the General Assembly earlier, a very large number of countries expressed their hope that the current session would be able to adopt a decision on the launching of global negotiations. At the Cancun summit in late October, 22 leaders from the North and South also agreed on the "desirability" of such negotiations at the Un on a basis to be agreed upon and in circumstances offering the prospect of progress.

The president of the General Assembly said in his statement today that he had associated himself with those aspirations and hoped that that objective would be realized.

The representative of Austria said during the debate today that Austria realized that the problems related to global negotiations were manifold and extremely complex. They could only be successfully dealt with if the interests of all countries were being given due consideration, for only a mutually acceptable process of global negotiations offered the prospect of concrete and substantive results.

Australian representative declared that Australia had not been a participant at the Cancun summit, but it weclomed the results of the meeting. The summit paved the way for greater understanding between developed and developing countries, he noted.

He said that the world community was looking to the Cancun participants to do their utmost to build the consensus to ensure that global negotiations were launched as soon as possible within an acceptable framework.

That might not be easy, he pointed out, there was a need to ensure the widest participation, including necessarily the full involvement of the United States.

CSO: 4000/11

NATO COMMANDER COMMENTS ON SOVIET STRATEGY

OW080734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 8 Nov 81

[Text] Venice, 7 Nov (XINHUA)--NATO Supreme Commander Bernard Rogers stressed here today that the single most important factor determining the bounds of Soviet behavior will be the degree of resistance she expects to encounter." Rogers was speaking at the closing session of a seminar here on Soviet strategy and the response of the West.

He said that while massing forces periodically to intimidate the Polish people, the Soviets continue their brutal occupation of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, they aid Vietnamese aggression in Southeast Asia. This global expansion of Soviet power now menaces NATO's vital interests, beyond alliance boundaries as well as within them.

Rogers said, "Dominating our considerations must be the increasingly adverse force imbalance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO which has emerged over the last 20 years and which continues to grow."

He said, although the Soviet Union has internal difficulties but "history reminds us that nations with internal problems and excess military might often find a rationale for external excursions."

"As a result of the relentless accumulation of Soviet military power coupled with the inadequate and faltering response to commitments by NATO nations, the very credibility of our deterrent is decreasing and in jeopardy," he said.

"A primary alliance objective must be the fielding of a credible, integrated conventional deterrent during this decade." "Implementing NATO's two-track LRTNF decision and building a credible conventional deterrent are what I believe to be the two principal tasks for allied command Europe in this decade," he noted.

Speaking of "pacifism, neutralism and unilateralism" in the western countries today, Rogers said that "the dialogue will get us nowhere without an adequate and improving deterrent.

Referring to the present peace movement in Europe at a press conference earlier here this morning, Rogers said historical lessons showed that unilateral disarmament could not lead to detente.

Rogers stressed the importance of the southern flank of NATO because of the necessity to protect the flow of western shippings through the Mediterranean. He also stressed the key position of Turkey in the defence of this region and looked forward to the entry of Spain in NATO. He hoped the administration of Greece would decide to remain in the NATO military structure.

The 2-day seminar was sponsored by the Italian "Atlantic Committee." At yesterday's session of the seminar, Chief of Staff of the Italian Armed Forces General Umberto Cappuzzo described the Soviet military apparatus as a pillar of the Soviet power policy. He pointed out that by making good use of detente the Soviet Union has rapidly built up its military strength in recent years to the extent that is beyond defensive needs.

CSO: 4000/11

OPENING OF FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT

OW041903 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Paris, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--The eighth annual Franco-African summit opened here this morning at the International Meeting Center. Speaking at the opening session of the meeting, French President Francois Mitterrand, who presided over the meeting, elaborated France's policy towards Third World countries, African countries in particular.

On East-West relations, Mitterrand said that France favors maintenance of the balance of force between East and West, saying "if the balance of force in the world were not guaranteed, then peace would be threatened." France "will keep a free hand in using its own forces and guarantee its independence in making decisions," he said.

On North-South dialogue, the French president pointed out that his country is in favor of reopening global negotiations in the framework of the United Nations. He said that "urgent discussions should be held on such issues as self-sufficiency in food, energy security and a steady primary products interflow and rapid industrial growth." "France will not wait for the end of global negotiations to act," he added.

Mitterrand pledged support for reform of the international economic order. This reform, he said, should serve to protect the weak and restrain the strong. "Giving free rein to market between the north and the south means allowing the strongest to pass the brunt of the crisis onto the poorest," he noted.

Referring to African questions, Mitterrand said that the object of the African nations "is to prevent Africa from being turned into an arena of rivalry and contradictions for external interests." He warned that in any area of tension in Africa the great powers were tempted to intervene if the problem was not settled quickly by the countries directly concerned.

On the current situation in Chad, the French president called for the creation of a pan-African force in Chad, saying it is the only reasonable way to create the necessary conditions for the legal government and President Oueddei Goukouni to govern the country and reorganise its national army. "France pledges its unconditional aid for Chad to regain its unification and independence," he said.

Turning to the question of Namibia, Mitterrand said that his country is opposed to "interminable negotiations" and hoped to see that a firm schedule on the Namibian issue would be worked out. He said France believes that "Namibia will become independent in 1982."

As the eldest participant at the summit, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast also addressed the meeting after the French president.

Apart from the French president, the meeting was attended by heads of state of 19 African member nations with the exception of Seychelles. They are: Benin, Burundi, Central African Republic, Comores, Congo, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Gabon, Upper-Volta, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Chad, Togo and Zaire. Angola, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan and seven other African nations attended the meeting as observers.

After its first meeting in November 1973, the Franco-African summit was held annually since 1975 for a discussion of vital questions in Africa and issues concerning cooperation between France and Africa.

CSO: 4000/11

SOUTH ASIAN FOREIGN SECRETARIES MEETING HELD

Meeting Opens

OW021629 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Kathmandu, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--The second meeting of the foreign secretaries of South Asian region opened this afternoon at the Tribhuvan Memorial Hall of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, a small town near here.

Foreign secretaries and their assistants from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal participated in the opening ceremony.

Inaugurating the meeting, Nepalese Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Surya Bahadur Thapa said: "Our common allegiance to the policy of non-alignment, mutuality of interests and above all similar problems and purposes of development bind us together in our current quest for further understanding and close cooperation."

Stressing the importance of regional cooperation and interdependence, he said: "We need cooperation and common approach not only to fight the battle against widespread poverty in our respective countries but also to minimize the adverse impact of external factors to our development efforts such as inflation, market uncertainty, resources constraint and difficulty in transfer of appropriate technology."

He said: "Regional cooperation should be based on and, in turn, contribute to mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the national aspirations of the countries of the region, and that such cooperation should also be based on the respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence and non-interference in internal affairs of other states and mutual benefits."

The first meeting of the foreign secretaries of the seven South Asian countries was held in Colombo in April this year, which brought about the formation of the five study groups of agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology, and health and population. Since then group meetings of different fields have been held separately to consider concrete ways and means for regional cooperation.

The 3-day second secretary-level meeting, beginning today will scrutinize the reports of the five study groups and hold discussions on their suggestions and recommendations so as to develop appropriate mechanism for their implementation.

Regional Cooperation Stressed

OW021846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Kathmandu, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--Foreign secretaries of seven South Asian countries stressed the importance of regional cooperation and collective self-reliance through common efforts at the second meeting of the foreign secretaries of the South Asian region in Kathmandu today.

Bishwa Pradhan, special secretary of the Nepalese Foreign Ministry pointed out: "The greatest achievement of the member countries of the South Asia during the past months has been the development of the South Asian spirit which is a spirit of understanding, closeness, tolerance, mutual respect, equality and unity." He said that regional cooperation has now become both desirable and necessary, because it will not only complement bilateral interests but also lead the member countries to adhere to a common collective approach to important global issues such as "North-South dialogue."

Foreign Secretary of India R.D. Sathe said: "Regional cooperation can and indeed should contribute to the progressive attainment of greater national and collective self-reliance in the region through the pooling of our resources and judicious exploitation of the complimentarities that exists in the region."

Riaz Piracha, foreign secretary of Pakistan, suggested that a standing technical committee comprising representatives of all the regional countries in each of the five fields of cooperation, agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology and health and population activities, be constituted to draw up concrete programs of cooperation, arrange their implementation and monitor progress.

Delegates from Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka also made policy statements at the meeting. Jagdish S.J.B. Rana, foreign secretary of Nepal, was elected chairman of the meeting.

CSO: 4000/11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FIFTH OANA GENERAL ASSEMBLY OPENS 3 NOVEMBER

OW031618 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--The Third World can no longer accept the imbalance of information between developed and developing countries, said Malaysia's Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad here today during the opening of the fifth general assembly of the Organization of Asian-Pacific News Agencies (OANA).

"It is my hope that the time will not be long for us to see Asia's image being painted by Asians themselves rather than by outsiders who are neither sensitive to our needs and aspirations nor sympathetic to our cause," the prime minister said.

Referring to the Asian news exchange network which is to be launched during the current assembly, he said: "The time has now come for the Asian news exchange concept to be translated into reality as the first step towards the establishment of a new world information and communication order."

"A just and equitable distribution of information within the region and outside would inevitably help promote regional understanding and in the long run further enhance the cooperative efforts among the countries of the region," Mohammad said.

The Organization of Asian News Agencies was founded in 1961 following a meeting convened by UNESCO in Bangkok. The name was amended to the Organization of Asian-Pacific News Agencies at the current session of the fifth general assembly this morning with a purpose of inviting more news agencies from Asia and the Pacific to join it. At present it has a total of 23 member news agencies in all including XINHUA News Agency.

OANA objectives are to increase and free the flow of news in Asia and the Pacific and to actively participate in the flow of news between developed and developing countries.

The organization is specifically concerned with efforts to overcome poverty, hunger, unemployment and disease. It opposes racism, colonialism and neocolonialism and hopes to strengthen cooperative relationships among Asia-Pacific news agencies and other world agencies.

CSO: 4000/11

SOUTH ASIAN MEETING FURTHERS REGIONAL COOPERATION

OW041625 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Kathmandu, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The 3-day second meeting of foreign secretaries of the South Asian region, which ended here today, has brought cooperation between these countries to a "stage of take-off."

Assuring the press to this effect, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary H.R. Chowdury attributed the success of the meeting to what he called "the spirit of Kathmandu" --a spirit of "accommodation and understanding."

Echoing his Bangladesh counterpart, Indian Foreign Secretary R.D. Sathe said he believed that "the meeting will turn the cooperation into reality."

Addressing the closing ceremony of the meeting, Nepalese Foreign Secretary Jogdish Shamsher Rana, the meeting's chairman, said that the meeting's joint communique on regional cooperation indicates that "all of us have reason to feel satisfied with the outcome of the conference."

The meeting also approved the recommendations of five study groups on agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology and health and population activities. It adopted an action program for the implementation of the recommendations.

In addition, the meeting selected three fields--transportation, postal service and science and technology--for further study.

It also was agreed at the meeting to carry on consultations among the foreign secretaries to review recommendations, monitor progress and lay down guidelines for further action and prepare for a meeting of foreign secretaries in 1982.

CSO: 4000/11

ITALIAN COMMUNIST VIEWS INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

OW090840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 9 Nov 81

[Text] Rome, 8 Nov (XINHUA)—Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, said here today that he had "no hesitation in pointing to the Soviet Union's responsibility for the international detente crisis."

Addressing a rally here, he recalled that the Italian Communist Party had voiced its "resolute condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and other Soviet actions against the policies of dialogue and detente."

Berlinguer continued, "We must also reiterate our alarm and uneasiness over the actions of the American leaders, their actions, attempts and threats which are almost daily dangerously sharpening international relations as a whole."

He noted, "In face of the rivalry and confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, which is objectively the prime reason for sharpened international crisis, all forces that can mediate, ease and halt the arms race should bestir themselves and make their positive contributions to a negotiated settlement."

Referring to the 64th anniversary of the October revolution, Berlinguer said, "We have never forgot that the event opened a new era in the world. Nor have we forgot the historical and invaluable contributions made by the Soviet people with their sacrifices and bloodshed in the war against fascism and Nazism. But we at the same time have come to realize that the time has gone when all organisations of the revolutionary forces had to rally around a single centre."

"All communist parties, all other forces of the workers' movement and all progressive movements, should, more than ever before, use their absolute independent judgement and initiative and act in a new internationalist spirit to accomplish the great task of defending peace and safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of all peoples and nations," he stressed.

CSO: 4000/11

'XINHUA'NOTES POLISH WORKERS RETURN TO WORK

OW040740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--Thousands of Polish workers went back to their posts today as the Solidarity Union's National Commission met in Gdansk to discuss creation of a disciplinary commission that would purge local unionists who defy the national leadership's call for an end to wildcat strikes.

The meeting followed a SEJM (the Polish National Assembly) call for an end to strikes at a meeting last Saturday. The SEJM said if the call was not heeded, it would "consider a proposal to equip the government with extraordinary measures of operation" as the situation required.

In Tarnobrzeg, a center of sulphur mining and heavy equipment production about 120 miles south of Warsaw, 100,000 workers called off a wildcat strike yesterday after Solidarity Union Chairman Lech Walesa urged them to give the National Commission time to negotiate with the government, thus ending a 10-day walkout that had cost the country about $40 million.

But workers in Zyrardow, southwest of Warsaw, and in Zielona Gora, southwest Poland, continued their strikes today in defiance of calls by both the SEJM and the union for an immediate end of all strikes.

About 250 United Workers' Party members were charged today with corruption, the PAP News Agency reported.

PAP said 31 officials charged by the public prosecutor "held executive positions in various offices and agencies of a central level."

These officials were charged with counterfeiting documents, accpeting hard currency bribes, making out false work reports, using state-owned materials for private buildings and the private use of official vehicles, the report said.

CSO: 4000/11

POLISH GOVERNMENT, UNION, CHURCH LEADERS MEET

OW050740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Solidarity Union and the Roman Catholic Curch met for 2 hours here today to discuss a possible "front of national agreement" to solve the country's 16-month-old crises.

Polish News Agency PAP said that the meeting of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Catholic Archbishop Jozef Glemp and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, the first meeting of its kind since the labor unrest in summer last year, was held in a government guest house in central Warsaw.

The communique issued by PAP said the three leaders had exchanged views on how to overcome the crisis which has wrecked the country.

"They also exchanged views on the possibility of setting up a front of national agreement and reconciliation, a permanent platform for dialogue and mutual consultation of political and social forces on the grounds of the constitutional principles of People's Poland," the communique said.

The communique added that all three men had found the meeting useful and saw in it a step to further consultations.

At the end of the meeting, Walesa told newsmen, "We have at last begun talks. I am glad of it."

Observers here believe that the meeting will likely have a favourable influence on reduction of political tension and overcoming of the worsening social-economic crisis.

CSO: 4000/11

'RENMIN RIBAO' DELEGATION REPORT ON ROMANIA VISIT

OW301417 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Report by RENMIN RIBAO delegation: "Do Everything for People"]

[Text] On 23 August, the red banners of the processions to celebrate Romania's National Day were fluttering everywhere. In the huge crowd of people was a large placard which read: Do everything for people. Closely following the crowd were the workers who imposingly held rows after rows of rectangular cream-colored placards. One placard ornamented with flowers read: The new residences built since liberation have housed over two-thirds of Romania's residents! Another placard read: The wages of workers in 1980 increased by 660 percent over 1950! Still another placard read: Romania's commodity sales in 1950-1980 increased by 315 times! These eye-catching figures reminded us what it was like to live in Romania.

In midsummer, it sometimes rains in Romania. When we woke up in the morning and turned on the radio, we heard the announcer's warm voice: It is rainy today. Comrades, please do not forget to carry your umbrellas or raincoats with you when you go to work. After some music, the same warm voice said again: It is still summer vacation for our schoolchildren and motorists must pay special attention to children crossing the streets. After a whole, the announcer said: The festival is drawing near, do not eat too much at banquets. If you revel and sit up late in the night, try to take an afternoon nap on the following day. These exhortative words warmed people's hearts. We felt like we were living in a large united, harmonious family.

We deeply felt that the masses' destiny was taken great care of by Romania's party and government. In Romania, showing concern for people has become an important principle. Wherever we went and whenever local leaders briefed us, they would always zestfully talk about how many new residences, clubs, moviehouses, theaters, nurseries and stores had been built in their areas and how many things concerning the masses' living can still be built this year. They would also confidently say they were certain the plan would be overfulfilled.

In (Suchawa) County, the female secretary of the county party committee said one of the county party committee's major tasks was to improve the residents' living conditions. She said: We must do our best so the working people need not worry about living problems. After a day's work, the working people can comfortably enjoy their rest at home.

With regard to solving the residents' housing problem, the achievements made in the capital city Bucharest was especially prominent. In the initial period after liberation, the city had little more than 100,000 people. Today, the city's population has increased to 2 million. Over the past 30 years and more, the city has opened up and built four large residential districts. The city has built a total of 450,000 units of residences, including those spreading in various places of the city.

Responsible persons of the Capital Urban Design Institute told us that they planned to build an additional 150,000 units of living quarters in the next 5 years to provide comfortable housing for more people, eliminate the sharing of single living quarters by two households and further expand the people's living space. Pointing to some new buildings, the Romanian comrades who accompanied us on a tour of the city of Bucharest told us that they were built or reconstructed over the debris of the 1977 earthquake. These highrises are even more handsome than the original buildings. They also told us that upon hearing of the serious earthquake Comrade Ceausescu, who was paying a state visit to Africa at the time, rushed home immediately to personally take the command of the disaster relief work. They added: "The party has always taught us to constantly bear the people's hardships in mind."

We were deeply impressed by the work style of the leading comrades of some Romanian localities, who maintain close contacts with the masses. As we arrived at Solca, a city in Suceva District that has a population of 5,000, at noon one day for a visit, we were kept waiting outside the city office because the door was locked. After a little while we saw Mayor (Yunarscu), a lady in her 40's, rushing toward us in the distance. As she opened the door she apologized for being late, explaining that she had just attended a wedding. Later on we found out that the city office did not even hire a secretary or janitor and that everything was done by the mayor herself. This capable and energetic female mayor told us that she spent little time in the office and that her daily routine is to take a stroll around the city to inspect the market supply, hospital registration and production at the beer brewery and handicraft cooperatives and then go to the office to study and handle various problems with other leading members of the city government. Later on, as she accompanied us to visit the beer brewery and rug factory, we witnessed the close and harmonious relations between the mayor and the masses. Some female workers even teased her about her nice outfit.

(Amalia), the female mayor of the mountain city (Sangjieros), who was originally a textile worker, maintained the same good work style and close contacts with the masses. Leaving the city office to accompany us on a tour of the city, she was met outside her office by a group of people clad in sheepskin coats. They introduced themselves as individual herdsmen from the mountain who, because of the drop in temperature and snow the day before, had come to request the mayor's assistance in driving the sheep to the pastures at the foot of the mountain to take the shelter from the cold. After instructing other cadres to help the herdsmen, (Amalia) left the office with us. She told us that by law the leaders of all departments must designate a half day per week to receive the masses, listen to their opinions and help them solve their problems. But the people come to her at any time, and she thinks this shows the people's trust in her. While having lunch with us, (Amalia) repeatedly excused herself to answer telephone calls. We said: "You are really busy." She replied with a smile: "Because I am the housekeeper. A mother just called me about arrangements for her child to go to nursery school. Another woman worker asked me to mediate a family quarrel between her and her husband. Could I not care for them?"

In Romania we often saw the slogan "It is the people who build socialism; the building of socialism is for the people." We know that the principle summarized by the slogan is being put into practice in Romania, a prospering socialist country.

CSO: 4005/214

BRIEFS

BELGIAN PAPER ON USSR SUB--Brussels, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--The running aground of a Soviet submarine last week near the Swedish naval base of Karlsrona cannot leave western countries indifferent to their security, the daily bulletin EUROPE said editorially here today. It pointed out that the Soviet submarine's entry into Swedish territorial waters should make all Europeans concerned about their defence. The fact that a high class Soviet submarine was able to penetrate undetected into a secure and off-limits area is extremely worrying. The event, significantly different from most acts of espionage, constitutes an act of aggression, the editorial noted. Neutralists and unilateralists should reflect upon it. Then they may understand clearly that declarations of neutralism and pacifism such as Sweden's cannot always prevent aggression, the editorial said. The only way to discourage aggression, the editorial said, is to make it known unequivocally to an aggressor that the reprimand will be swift and harsh. [Text] [OW051622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 5 Nov 81]

MOSCOW ACKNOWLEDGES SUBMARINE HELD--Moscow, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The official Soviet TASS News Agency reported for the first time a Soviet submarine being held in Swedish territorial waters today. TASS said, "On the night of 27-28 October, a Soviet diesel submarine, Number 137, performing a routine training cruise in the Baltic Sea, as a result of the failure of navigational equipment and errors in location finding in this connection, lost its course in conditions of bad visibility and went aground at the southeastern tip of Sweden." "Negotiations are underway with the Swedish authorities for the removal of the ship from Swedish territorial waters." The TASS explanation is inconsistent and full of loopholes. It did not mention that the submarine had been found near Sweden's large naval base, Karlskrona, and gave no reason why the Soviet submarine with a disorder "in navigational equipment" had run aground just near Sweden's naval base. The Soviet news organ neither made any mention of the Swedish protest against and the Soviet apology for this serious incident, nor did it disclose the interrogation of the submarine captain by the Swedish authorities. [Text] [OW050810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 5 Nov 81]

UN SECRETARY GENERAL VOTING DEADLOCKED--United Nations, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The Security Council today again failed to agree on a recommendation for the appointment of a new UN secretary-general. Two rounds of balloting at the council meeting this afternoon indicated that the situation remained unchanged over the selection of a nominee for the post of the secretary-general from two candidates: Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim and incumbent Secretary-General Waldheim who seeks an unprecedented third term of the office. According to council sources, Salim received 9 and 8 votes respectively, while Waldheim got 10 votes twice, each of them encountering a veto as they did in the previous six rounds of balloting. People expect that if the stalemate continues, some new candidates might be ushered in. The council has decided to conduct private consultations for a way out next Monday. [Text] [OW050742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 5 Nov 81]

BRITISH BOOK EXHIBITION--Beijing, 12 Oct (XINHUA)—A comprehensive book exhibition with 5,000 titles assembled by the British Council opened at the China Art Gallery here today. This is the first British Council book exhibition ever held in China. Zhao Dongwan, vice-minister of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, cut the ribbon at the opening of the exhibition. Ding Bo, general manager of the China National Publications Import and Export Corporation, and Sir Percy Cradock, British ambassador to China, made speeches at the opening ceremony. Sponsored by the China National Publications Import and Export Corporation, the exhibition will last till 21 October. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 12 Oct 81]

AID TO MALI--Beijing, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--A ceremony marking the delivery of 657 cases of medicine and medical instruments given by China to Mali was held in Bamako on 31 October, according to a report from Bamako. The gift totals 82,000 mf. The aid was provided in accordance with a protocol signed by the governments of the two countries last July. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 2 Nov 81]

JAPANESE MEETING DEMANDS ISLANDS RETURN—Tokyo, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--A Japanese national meeting held here today demanded the return of Japan's four northern islands illegally held by the Soviet Union. Among the 1,000 Japanese attending the meeting sponsored by the Committee for the Return of the Northern Territories, were mayor of Nemuro, Hokkaido Prefecture, Isao Terashima; residents who originally lived on the four Kurile Islands; and representatives of political parties. Director General of the prime minister's office Taro Nakayama, said at the meeting that "it is indeed regretful that the four northern islands are now still under the control of the Soviet Union. The Japanese nationals should come out with one voice in the campaign for the recovery of the northern territories." An appeal unanimously voiced at the end of the meeting demanded that the Soviet Union return the northern territories as early as possible. [Text] [OW031602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 3 Nov 81]

INTENSIFIED MILITARY TRAINING URGED--Tokyo, 1 Nov (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki has called on Japan's self-defense forces to intensify military training and to share in the burden of defending the country. Speaking at the 31st military review at the Asaka training ground in Saitama Prefecture, Suzuki said that in view of the present international situation, Japan, while relying on a Japanese—U.S. defense agreement, should strengthen its relations with western countries in America and Europe, and increase its defence planning to help maintain Japan's security. Suzuki observed the military review with the director general of the Defense Agency, Joji Omura. The military review was attended by 5,000 army, navy and air self-defense personnel. Military attaches and diplomats from foreign countries also observed the review. [Text] [OW011604 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 1 Nov 81]

KAMPUCHEAN CALL FOR HELP—Beijing, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean people are making an appeal for international aid to stop Vietnam from using chemical weapons against the Kampuchean people, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. The appeal was addressed on 1 November in an open letter to the United Nations and governments and mass organizations of various countries. The letter says that the Vietnamese occupation troops have stepped up their use of chemical weapons in Kampuchea since its dry season began. Their airplanes have often spread poisonous chemicals over battlefields and villages, over mountain and forest areas and border regions. Poisonous shells have been fired over villages along Highway No 10 in Pailin County and also villages in many other counties. Fifty people were thus killed or poisoned on 5 October in Koh Slap County of Kompot Province, the letter recalls. A heavy toll of village life was taken on 17 October near Sisophon County of Battambang Province. Thirty-five villagers were killed or poisoned on 27 and 30 October in Sout Nikom County of Siemreap Province. The letter urges international institutions to provide food, medicine, poison protection equipment and other forms of humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people. [Text] [OW030830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 3 Nov 81]

IRAQI PRESIDENT PROPOSES CEASE-FIRE—Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn yesterday made a new cease-fire offer on all fronts of the Iraqi-Iranian war in observance of the religious holy month of Muharrah in the Islamic Hijrah year, reported the Iraqi News Agency. Saddam Husayn made this statement when he addressed the ninth conference of the General Confederation of Arab Women. Muharram is the first month of the Moslem Hijrah year which began 29 October. Moslems are required to desist from quarreling among themselves during the holy month. Saddam Husayn said, "A cease-fire during the sacred month is an opportunity for the Iranians to prove their real faith and preparedness for peace and perhaps a cease-fire during this month would be an opportunity to reflect on a lasting peace between Iran and Iraq." The Iranian-Iraqi war has entered its 14th month. Iraq said its forces had occupied 8,000 square miles of Iranian territory and Iran rejected all the cease-fire proposals. Official news agencies of the two countries reported almost every day war communiques of the both sides. [Text] [OW061636 Beijing XINHUA in English 1529 GMT 6 Nov 81]

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT SUPPORTS PACT WITH INDIA--New Delhi, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--"We are very sincere on following a good-neighbourly policy," Pakistan President Ziaul Haq told the INDIAN EXPRESS recently. The INDIAN EXPRESS carried his interview today. In reporting the interview, the INDIAN EXPRESS said that President Ziaul is eager to go beyond a no-war pact if India is willing. He told the Indian newspaper that he was more than prepared to sign a joint declaration stating that India and Pakistan would regard an attack on the territory of the other country as an attack on itself. President Ziaul said, "Here is Pakistan offering—a smaller country offering to a giant in this region--the non-aggression pact...So far we have received no official response." "We are having 80,000 Russians knocking at our doors. And it is just a matter of time, we consider, that the Soviet Union is not going to confine itself to Afghanistan," Ziaul said touching on the Afghan problem. [Text] [OW081250 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 8 Nov 81]

USSR URGED TO RETURN JAPANESE TERRITORIES--Tokyo, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--Over 2,000 people from various parts of Japan met in the city of Fukushima this afternoon to urge the Soviet Union to return to Japan the northern territories at an early date, according to a KYODO report. The meeting, the 13th since 1970, was sponsored by the prime minister's office and mass organizations in Hokkaido and Fukushima for the return of the northern territories. Addressing the meeting, Governor of Hokkaido Naohiro Dogakinai stressed: "The settlement of the issue on the northern territories is a precondition for the establishment of genuine friendly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union." An appeal adopted at the end of the meeting said: "Japan's basic policy is the return of the northern territories and the conclusion of a Japan-Soviet peace and friendship treaty. We strongly hope that the government will hold negotiations with the Soviet Union in light of this policy with the nation's public opinion as its backing." Attending the meeting were Deputy Director-General of the prime minister's office Shinji Sato, Governor of Fukishima Isao Matsudaira and former Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito. [Text] [OW051928 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 5 Nov 81]

POLISH GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES DOMESTIC SITUATION--Warsaw, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--The Polish Government Presidium met today to hear party and government leader Wojciech Jaruzelski's briefing on his meeting with Archbishop Jozef Glemp and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on 4 November, said a government spokesman. The spokesman said the Presidium expressed satisfaction with the tripartite meeting which it said was of great significance and had "created favourable conditions for the formation of a front of national agreement, for improving the social atmosphere, overcoming the crisis and continuing socialist renewal within the framework of constitutional principles." The Presidium meeting also discussed the problem of setting up a social consultation council under the Council of Ministers, the idea of a draft social consultation law and a draft resolution on the employment of scientific advisers in adminstrative organs. The Presidium meeting also examined the production of farming machinery. Considering that it was not enough for 90 factories to turn out farming machines in the country as was the case this year, it decided to assign 400 more factories to make farming machines next year. [Text] [OW070838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 7 Nov 81]

SOLIDARITY READY FOR CONCESSIONS--Warsaw, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--Polish Solidarity Union leader Lech Walesa declared today that the National Committee of the union stands ready to make concessions and compromises in any bilateral talks with the government so as to fulfill the well-being and interest of the whole Polish community, according to a PAP report. These remarks were made in a statement he signed in the name of the Presidium of the National Committee of the Solidarity Union. He also said that Solidarity does not "seek the right to an exclusive representation of the Polish community." In all decisions concerning the Polish society, our union recognizes the necessity of taking into account views of all social forces, he added. In addition, ZYCIE WARSZAWY reported that Poland's Roman Catholic primate Archbishop Jozef Vlemp in Rome yesterday spoke of his talks with party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. He said to reporters, "We are thirsty for social concord, and need authority and work." [Text] [OW071240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 7 Nov 81]

SRV USE OF TOXINS--Bangkok, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea continue to kill Kampuchean civilians and resistance fighters by using toxic chemicals, the Thai paper BAN MUANG reported today, quoting Kampuchean refugees who had fled to the border area in eastern Thailand. Aranyapprathet-based reporters of the newspaper yesterday visited the Kampuchean refugee camps near Nong Chan Village, Ta Phraya District, Prachin Buri Province of Thailand. They witnessed two free Khmer fighters who were seriously poisoned on 1 November when they engaged with Vietnamese troops who launched Soviet-made toxic chemicals with mortars and rockets. A Kampuchean doctor serving in the camps told the reporters that in that battle more than 10 free Khmer fighters were injured with poison. In addition, 19 Kampuchean civilians including old people, women and children had been poisoned by food bought from inland Kampuchea. It was reported that an old Kampuchean who had just fled to Nong Chan Village from Batdambang Province disclosed that the Vietnamese troops had sent a group of Vietnamese youngsters aging from 10 to 15 to infiltrate into Kampuchean settlements in Batdambang, Kampong Chhnang and Pouthisat Provinces and pour toxic chemicals into rivers, ponds and wells there. [Text] [OW081612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 8 Nov 81]

WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY COMMITTEE MEETS—Budapest, 31 Oct (XINHUA)—The Military Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization met here from 28 to 30 October to discuss pressing problems facing the unified armed forces of the organization, according to press reports here today. Relevant proposals were adopted at the 3-day meeting, which was presided over by Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the unified armed forces. AP reported that the latest developments in Poland were one of the major topics discussed at the meeting. Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the Hungarian Government, received the committee members. [Text] [OW311514 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 31 Oct 81]

SAUDI ARABIA WELCOMES U.S. DECISION--Kuwait, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--"The arrival of the (U.S. made) AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia is to be welcomed as a fruitful contribution to the protection of our security and stability," Saudi Defense and Aviation Minister Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al Sa'ud said in an interview published today in the Kuwaiti newspaper THE ARAB TIMES. "The U.S. administration has now demonstrated it is ready to safeguard its interests vis-a-vis the Arab world," al-'Aziz said, "they have not done that in the past. We consider the decision to sell us the AWACS as wise." "In signing the deal with the U.S. we have in no way compromised our dignity and sovereignty," al-'Aziz said. Al-'Aziz also said that Saudi Arabia has always stood for moderation. "Prince Fahd's peace plan is an initiative, a set of proposals, that can be improved upon or amended as the Arabs like them to be," he explained. "The world wants to know what the Arabs want, and here is what we wanted to reply." On Egypt, the prince said Saudi Arabia opposes the Camp David accords and hopes new Egyptian President Husni Mubarak will work for the benefit of his country, its national destiny and for better relations with the Arab countries. Al-'Aziz said his country hopes Mubarak will play a role that is in accordance with the interest of the Arab nations. [Text] [OW041516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 4 Nov 81]

BEIJING DELEGATION TO DPRK--At the invitation of the Pyongyang Municipal Administrative Committee of the DPRK, the Beijing municipal friendship delegation, which comprised eight members with Jiao Ruoyu, second secretary of the municipal CCP Committee and mayor, as the head and Wang Xian, secretary of the municipal CCP Committee as the deputy, left Beijing for Pyongyang by train on the afternoon of 15 October. Duan Junyi, first secretary of the municipal CCP Committee; Jia Tingsan, third secretary of the municipal CCP Committee and chairman of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee; Zhao Pengfei, secretary of the municipal CCP Committee and vice mayor; and Wang Xiaoyi, municipal CCP Committee Standing Committee member and vice mayor, went to see the delegation off at the railway station. [HK290954 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 81]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN HEBEI--On 8 October, the Fukuyama municipal delegation of Japan visited Shijiazhuang Municipality. The same evening, Governor Li Erzheng and Vice Governor Li Feng met the delegation. The hosts and the visitors earnestly held talks on further deepening understanding of each other and strengthening friendship. After the reception, the provincial government gave a banquet for the delegation, which left Shijiazhuang for Xian on 9 October. [HK290954 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 9 Oct 81]

POLISH OFFICIALS ARRESTED--Warsaw, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--PAP reported today: A press spokesman for the Polish prosecutor general circulated a notice saying that as of 31 October, the Polish prosecutor's office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs had conducted preliminary hearing on 218 persons, of whom 99 had been arrested. All these persons had been accused of using the administrative and economic authority of their offices and of the party to acquire goods and materials by illegal means for personal gain. A total of 122 persons were found guilty in 57 cases. These persons included Y. (Kulpinski), former minister of mining and power industry; E. Pacia, former vice minister of food industry and purchases; Radosz, former governor of Leszno Province; H. Stachwiak, former governor of Opole Province; M. Szczepanski, chairman of the Broadcasting and Television Station Committee; and E. Patyk, vice chairman. Also included were former vice governors of Kielce, Gdansk, and Elblag provinces and former important officials of committees and departments under Ostroleka and Konin provinces. According to the PAP report, persons at the preliminary hearing were accused of the following crimes: Acquiring social wealth from labor in construction and maintenance by decree, forging documents, occupying public vehicles for private use, accepting payment of foreign exchange, money and valuables and other benefits; violating current rules and regulations by selling motor vehicle certificates or selling motor vehicles at a profit for personal gain; forging individual documents to buy foreign exchange at the bank; falsifying data on achievements made in economic activities; and engaging in profiteering, speculation and selling commodities at a profit for personal gain, especially building materials. [Text] [OW060121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1320 GMT 3 Nov 81]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN GANSU--On concluding its visit to Lanzhou Municipality and Dunhuang County, Gansu Province, the goodwill delegation from Akita Prefecture, Japan, left Lanzhou by plane on the morning of 15 October. A send-off party was given them by (Wu Qiuliang), mayor of Lanzhou Municipality, and (Li Zhengting), chairman of the Lanzhou Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, at the place where the delegation was staying. Seeing them off at the airport were (He Ying) and (An Jing), deputy mayors of Lanzhou Municipality. A banquet was held on 14 October in Lanzhou. Attending the banquet were Xu Feiqing, deputy governor of Gansu Province, and responsible persons of the Lanzhou Municipal People's Government and People's Congress Standing Committee. [SK170658 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 15 Oct 81]

JIANGSU-OSAKA FRIENDLY EXCHANGES--The minutes of talks on friendly exchanges between Jiangsu Province and Japan's Osaka Prefecture was signed in Nanjing on 2 November. Attending the signing ceremony were Vice Governor of Jiangsu Wang Bingshi and the vice governor of Osaka. Both sides have decided to conduct exchanges in industry, agriculture, public health and other fields. [OW041005 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Nov 81]

SOVIET UNION LAUNCHES SPACECRAFT--Beijing, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--According to a TASS report, the Soviet Union launched a "Venus 13" unmanned interplanetary spacecraft on 30 October. The spacecraft will arrive in the planet's vicinity in March 1982. The basic aim in launching this spacecraft is to continue to carry out scientific study of Venus. In the course of its flight, the spacecraft will carry out a series of outer space observations. Instruments made in the Soviet Union, France and Austria are installed on the spacecraft which has already entered the interplanetary orbit. The first Soviet probe for the study of Venus, "Venus 1," was launched in 1961. The first U.S. spacecraft to probe Venus, "Mariner 2," arrived in the planet's vicinity in 1962. In 1975, Soviet "Venus 9" and "Venus 10" soft-landed on Venus and transmitted the first batch of pictures of the entire planet. In 1978, U.S. "Pioneer Venus 1" and "Pioneer Venus 2" and Soviet "Venus 11" and "Venus 12" spacecrafts arrived separately in the vicinity of Venus and launched landing vehicles on its furface to carry out comprehensive scientific study of the planet. [Text] [OW012041 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0743 GMT 31 Oct 81]

CSO: 4005

CORRECT METHODS FOR CONDUCTING MEETINGS ENCOURAGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Ge Qiong [5514 8825]: "The Correct Way To Hold Meetings"]

[Text] There are some comrades who argue: The way in which meetings are held is an expression of party style. This is perfectly true.

On the morning of 22 September, a plenary session of the committee on Lu Xun's 100th anniversary was held. At 8:30 the secretary-general of the anniversary committee, Comrade Chen Huangmei [7115 5435 3561], arrived at the conference hall. The chairman of the anniversary committee, Comrade Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389], arrived before 9:00, she too was early. She chatted cordially with section committee members then took her seat and announced the opening of the conference. She said that there were two agendas for this meeting, first would be a report by the secretary-general and second, the committee members would be invited to express their opinions. This was immediately followed by a concisely prepared work report given by the secretary-general. At the conclusion of the report Comrade Deng Yingshao invited the committee members to air their views. She took the lead and made specific suggestions on commemorative activities and presented her expectations and requests to committee members. One committee member made a brief speech. After a while Comrade Deng Yingchao asked: "Are there any other comments?" No one else had anything further to say. She then declared: "If there are no other comments then we'll keep it brief and adjourn the meeting." The time was 9:45 a.m. Although the meeting was short nevertheless problems were dealt with.

This meeting was handled well. Various facets are worth encouraging.

First, those in charge of the conference were punctual. In convening a conference there ought to be a vigorous and prompt work style. A starting time should be fixed and observed. There are to be no exceptions among the participants, this includes the leaders presiding over the meeting. The undisciplined and lax habit of arriving at 9:00 when the meeting begins at 8:00 or coming at time A when the meeting is set for time B must be corrected. The tardy work style of those in charge who keep participants waiting must be overcome. If the leadership sets a good example, not only will it be an expression of the mass viewpoint, it will also be of benefit to the good work style of creating unity, alertness, earnestness and activeness among the participants.

Second, the speakers made prepared speeches. Regardless of what meeting is being held, they should all strive for results and excellence. Prior to the meeting it is necessary to make full preparations. If a speaker is not well-prepared he will talk nonsense and ramble on about the Classic of Mountains and Streams during the meeting with the result that the participants miss the point and find it difficult to study and deal with problems. We strongly recommend that leaders make prepared reports. (They should do it themselves rather than making a secretary do it for them."

Third, speeches were brief and the meeting was short. The meeting mentioned above only lasted a short time, in all it lasted less than 1 hour. If people talk at length then the meeting is prolonged; if they come to the point then the meeting will be brief and won't drag on and waste time. We need this kind of work style. At the present time everyone has their hands full, they must hold all kinds of conferences to discuss and study problems. However, they cannot spend excessive time on conferences. Since the content matter of the meetings varies, some require more time than others. In any event, they should all make every effort to keep them brief. Lu Xun stressed being as succinct as possible in talking and in writing. We should learn from Lu Xun and advocate that: It is better to make a long meeting short than to prolong a short meeting.

One thing that must not be neglected in the rectification of party style is the encouragement of correct methods in conducting meetings and the correction of unsound practices in holding meetings.

9864
CSO: 4005/72

PARTY LEADERS URGED TO CORRECT UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "Responsible Party Committee Members Must Stress Party Style and Correct the Flabby, Disorganized Situation."]

[Text] It was reported in the SHENYANG RIBAO that Comrade Li Tao [2621 3447], First Secretary of the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee, spoke at the experience exchange meetings dealing with the question of rectifying evil tendencies in the economic field held at both the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee and the Shenyang Municipal Government.

Comrade Li Tao pointed out that party committees at all levels throughout Shenyang Municipality should continue to bring order out of chaos ideologically, organizationally and in our work. We must alter the flabby and disorganized state and be inspired with enthusiasm in order to build both a spiritual civilization and a material one. In this respect, party committees at all levels throughout Shenyang Municipality have done a lot of work and have achieved successes. However, the flabby and disorganized state still exists in varying degrees ideologically, organizationally and in our work. Ideologically, on the one hand, the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology has not yet been completely eliminated; and on the other hand, the struggle against the tendency of capitalist liberalization has not been effectively carried out and the party's workstyle has not taken a fundamental turn for the better. Organizationally, a phenomenon of anarchism, out-and-out egoism and the lack of organizational discipline is very serious. In our work, there are samples of performing one's duty in a perfunctory manner of irresponsibly. This is incompatible with the consistent traditional style of work of the party and a serious obstacle in implementing the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the conclusion of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CCP Central Committee and in building the "two civilizations."

The reason why issues like this still exist is, aside from the influence of the foreign ideology of capitalist liberalization, mainly attributable to flabby and disorganized party leadership. For this reason, the party is no longer able to correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism, nor can it effectively wage struggles against evil tendencies. In this respect, the Municipal Party Committee should carry out self-criticism.

One of the important tasks of party organizations at all levels throughout Shenyang Municipality is to continue the process of bringing order out of chaos and rectifying the state of flabbiness and disorganization. Leaders at all levels must integrate themselves with reality, study the resolution adopted by the Sixth Plenary

Session of the Eleventh CCP Central Committee and the essence of the forum on problems on the ideological front, and conscientiously sum up experiences and lessons. First, it is necessary to start from the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal Government and from leading cadres at all levels to alter the flabby and disorganized state, to take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to wage struggles against one's own shortcomings and errors, so that we can distinguish clearly between right and wrong and deepen our political understanding. Second, we must pay close attention to encouraging party cadres and party members to study, in order to enhance political understanding of the whole party so that alteration of the flabby and disorganized state will become a conscientious action of the whole party. Third, close attention should also be paid to inner-party activities. At present, one of the most important inner-party activities is to carry out criticism and self-criticism. Fourth, it is necessary to arouse and mobilize the masses to struggle against those who violate the law and discipline. It is impossible to rectify evil tendencies without being subject to the supervision by the masses. We must support and commend comrades who dare to wage struggles. We must also carry out criticism through education and struggles which are necessary for rectifying evil tendencies. It is not permissible to confuse right and wrong or good and bad, or to try to stay on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle.

Comrade Li Tao pointed out, rectifying the style of work of the party is one of the important tasks at present for us to bring order out of chaos. The question of the party's workstyle is in fact a question of party spirit. If the party spirit is not pure, it is impossible to rectify the style of work of the party. In order to rectify the style of work of the party, the first thing to do is to keep in conformity with the CCP Central Committee politically. It is a matter of political discipline, not an issue in general. It is not a matter requiring only lip service, but one that requires action. Second, it is necessary to resolutely correct evil trends in the economic field. At present, evil trends not only prevail in the circulation of commodities, but phenomena such as trying to establish a relationship with somebody or getting in by the back door also can be seen in other areas as well. With the deepening of the movement for rectifying evil tendencies, various grave problems like graft and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, and offering and taking bribes are beginning to be exposed. Party committees at all levels must not lower their guard. The Municipal Party Committee has decided that the "back door" must be firmly blocked and the "front door" must be kept open. Institutionally, some rules and regulations must be formulated. Problems of the past must be examined. From now on, starting from the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal Government, nobody is allowed to make purchases directly from plants. This is considered a disciplinary rule. In order to crack down on activities like speculation and profiteering, graft and embezzlement, and bribery, thorough investigations should be carried out. Severe measures should be adopted to put an end to practices of some departments that take advantage of their official authority to occupy the houses of others. Third, evil tendencies of such as making use of one's authority to seek personal interests, or seeking interests for one's children or relatives, estranging oneself from the masses, must be resolutely checked. In this respect, it is good that the majority of our cadres have set strict demands on themselves. However, the masses have a lot of complaints about a handful of people who make use of their authority to occupy other's houses and try to seek jobs for their children and relatives. Party organizations must take care of housing problems of our senior comrades. However, one cannot occupy more space than what is actually needed. A few leading cadres must think about the fine traditions of the party and return houses which are unnecessary on their own initiative. From now on, regulations dealing with housing for leading cadres should be formulated.

Comrade Li Tao said in conclusion that the whole party must pay close attention to the process of correction in order to rectify the style of work of the party so that we can help the general mood of society take a turn for the better. It is a task of the whole party to implement the "Guiding Principle" in order to do a good job in rectifying the style of work of the party. The party is to be supervised by itself and the leading cadre of a party committee should pay close attention to rectifying the party's workstyle. Whichever unit has an unhealthy workstyle, the secretary of the party committee of that unit should be held responsible. Leading cadres should take the lead to rectify the style of work of the party. Higher levels lead lower levels, and at every level the job must be done. The style of work of the party can be completely rectified through the concerted effort of the whole party. In order to build a spiritual civilization, each cadre of our party must get himself personally involved to keep himself politically pure and healthy so as to restore the fine traditions of the party and to vigorously build a material civilization.

9560
CSO: 4005/29

'RADIO BA YI' HITS DENEGRATION OF LIN BIAO, OTHERS

OW030603 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Following the 6th plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, truth has been restored to some historical facts that had been distorted. For political ends, the highest authority in the party, in particular the gang of four, never hesitated to distort historical truths and unscrupulously attacked and slandered the older-generation revolutionaries of our party and army who had made monumental contributions to the revolution in our country. Now articles are being published to commemorate the founders and leaders of our army. Regretfully, deep-rooted prejudices still prevail in this regard. Attacks are launched against the forerunners of the revolution on isolated points to the neglect of all the other things purely out of personal prejudices and feelings. For instance, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's avoiding the mention of the contributions made by Lin Biao, Gao Gang Rao Shushi and others to the revolution is a case in point.

We should understand that commemorating the revolutionaries of the older generation is not merely commemorating these persons themselves but more importatly the countless revolutionary fighters who fought heroically and desperately and sacrificed their lives for the people. The reason why the exhibitions everywhere on the glorious deeds of Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, He Long and Luo Ruiqing and on the early revolutionary interested so many commanders and fighters is that these exhibitions are paying tribute to the tens of thousands of the older revolutionary fighters and reminding them of the years of the flames of war and hardships. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's banning of the commemoration of Lin Biao, Gao Gang, Rao Shushi and others as well as the commending of the contributions of certain PLA units runs counter to the 6th plenary session's principle of seeking truth from facts and ignores the contributions of thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs who shed blood and sacrificed their lives.

Comrade Mao Zedong committed terribly serious mistakes, victimizing 100 million people throughout the country and causing unjustified deaths of hundreds of thousands of cadres. Today he is being treated from the viewpoint of "one divides in two" and his merits and demerits are both recognized as they are. Why can't we treat others and in particular Marshal Lin Biao objectively and specifically. Like Mao Zedong, Marshal Lin Biao committed mistakes in his later years. However, Lin Biao's mistakes were not as serious as Mao Zedong's. Therefore, the responsibility Lin Biao should shoulder is lighter than Mao Zedong's. Among the 10 marshals in our country, Lin Biao ranks next only to Zhu De and Peng Dehuai.

Nobody in this world can deny the contributions made by the units commanded by Marshal Lin Biao at different times during the periods of the revolutionary civil war, the long march, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. "The first battle fought at Pingxingguan is world renowned," a sentence in a song sung by the eighth route army, exactly states in song the praise of Marshal Lin Biao and the units under his command. Later, the 1 million troops of the fourth field army commanded by Marshal Lin Biao fought battles from the Songhuajiang River all the way to Hainan Island and their exploits have long since been written in the glorious history of our army.

Speaking of Lin Biao as an individual himself, after graduating from the Whampoa Military Academy, he joined the northern expedition and later the Nanchang uprising. At the Gutian meeting, he supported Comrade Mao Zedong's military line and the Zunyi meeting he supported Comrade Mao Zedong as the leader of our party. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only lent credence to the false Lin Biao case concocted by the gang of four, willfully slandered Lin Biao for engineering a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and plotting to murder Chairman Mao and held a public trial of Lin Biao at a special court, but, in the form of the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC," again slandered Comrades Gao Gang and Rao Shushi as careerists who split the party and tried to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and state. In short, no efforts have been spared to erase the historical contributions of the revolutionary forerunners who were unjustifiably victimized.

In effect, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is grossly distorting and tampering with the history of our party and state.

CSO: 4005/215

BRIEFS

ZHEJIANG MEETING ON MEDIATION--The first Zhejiang provincial people's mediation work meeting concluded in Hangzhou on the afternoon of 29 October. As of the end of 1980 Zhejiang had more than 46,800 mediation organizations and over 203,000 mediators. From 1977 to 1980 the province mediated in and handled some 1.31 million cases of disputes, or 15 times the number of civil cases of first instance handled by grassroots courts during the corresponding period. These mediation organizations play an active role in safeguarding social order because they settle disputes among the people in good time, prevent expansion and intensification of contradictions and help reduce the crime rate. At the meeting Chen Zhoulin, secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee and vice governor of the provincial people's government; Liu Zizheng, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee; and Wu Zhichuan, vice governor of the provincial people's government, made speeches. [Excerpts] [OW291341 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1040 GMT 29 Oct 81]

JILIN DEPUTIES INSPECT CHANGCHUN--According to JILIN RIBAO, in line with the proposal adopted by the National People's Congress deputies that, on the eve of the convocation of the fourth session of the fifth National People's Congress, deputies should grasp the situation by carrying out inspections to get well prepared for the session, Jilin Province has organized an inspection group of 21 national-level deputies headed by Zhang Kaijing, with Xu Shouxuan and Chen Zhong as its deputy heads. The group began its inspection activities in Changchun Municipality on 4 November. During their inspection, in Changchun deputies of the National People's Congress will be briefed by responsible persons of the municipal departments concerned on industrial readjustment, agricultural production, labor employment, urban construction, culture and education, public health, finance and trade, commodity prices, public security and ideological work. Then, they will go deep into plants, rural communes, schools, neighborhoods and the second piped water reservoir construction site to conduct inspections. On the morning of 4 November, leading comrades, including Ren Qingyuan, of the Changchun Municipal CCP Committee, the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee and the municipal people's government met these national-level deputies. [Text] [SK050442 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Nov 81]

GUANGDONG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--Guangzhou, 5 Nov (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--The Guangdong Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has decided to hold its third meeting from 12 to 15 November. The main agenda of the meeting will be as follows: 1) To listen to a provincial people's government report on the situation in the special economic zones and to examine and approve the provincial government's five provisional regulations for these zones; 2) to listen to a provincial government report on urban public health work and to examine and approve the provincial government's "provisional regulations for public health management in the province's towns;" 3) to discuss and decide on the date for convening the fourth session of the fifth provincial people's congress; 4) to approve appointments and dismissals. [Text] [HK050217 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0133 GMT 5 Nov 81]

WANG ENMAO CHAIRS FUNERAL COMMITTEE--Zhang Siming, vice chairman of the Xinjiang Regional People's Government, died of heart disease at 1430 hours on 21 October at the age of 46. A funeral committee for him has already been set up with Wang Enmao as its chairman and Gu Jingsheng, Mushayef, Tan Youlin and Ismail Amat as its vice chairmen. Song Zhihe, Zhang Shigong, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin, Li Jiayu, Janabil, Codanoff, Handinniyaz, Hou Liang, Bai Chengming, Yang Huangchang, Ren Gebai, Zhao Yuzheng, Simayi Yashengnuofu, Ba Dai, Tuohudi Shabier, Bodurman, Wang Zhenwen, Tian Zhong, Liu Zimo, Xie Gaozhong, Yiminnuofu Hamidi, Zhang Jifu, Nikamaidi Siminu and Zhou Liming are members of the committee. [Text] [HK310418 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 29 Oct 81]

HUNAN PERSONNEL DIRECTORS MEETING--A provincial meeting of personnel bureau directors ended in Wuchang yesterday. The meeting reviewed the personnel work which has been carried out since last year's meeting of personnel bureau directors. All the participants maintained that various personnel bureaus in our province have achieved marked results in their work, and this has promoted the readjustment of the national economy. The meeting discussed the tasks of various personnel bureaus during the period of economic readjustment and held that, as the province is now carrying out the readjustment of its economic structure and systems and the gradual reorganization of enterprises, personnel bureaus should also accordingly reform the structure of personnel work. During the period of economic readjustment, personnel bureaus should carry out the following tasks: 1) Assist the party committees and organizing committees in selecting excellent young cadres. Through their practical work, personnel bureaus should discover, train and recommend excellent young cadres so as to make cadre corps more revolutionary, professional, younger and more educated as early as possible. 2) Do a good job in serving and supervising cadres who have retired or resigned from office. Personnel bureaus should politically show concern for them and truly help them overcome difficulties in daily life. 3) Actively assign cadres to key departments such as agriculture, light and textile industries, service trades and the judiciary. 4) Do a conscientious job in supervising specialized and technical cadres. Han Ningfu, provincial party secretary and governor, attended the meeting and spoke. [HK201449 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Oct 81]

CSO: 4005/215

'BA YI' ON DENG'S PLA CADRE PROMOTION POLICY

OW300611 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Recent reports submitted to higher authorities by cadre affairs departments of various military regions, PLA arms and services and military academies reveal a number of serious problems in the reshuffle of cadres in PLA units. As everyone knows, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has acted on his subjective point of view after removing Comrade Hua Guofeng from the post of chairman of the military commission. He has said that in the next 2 or 3 years two-thirds of the cadres at and above divisional level should be purged and expressed the determination to get rid of all the so-called problematic persons who have behaved badly and are unreliable. Without doubt, this subjective way of handling PLA cadre affairs is extremely unfair and very detrimental.

Apart from other things, we have to point out that since the principle of selecting young and middle-aged cadres to fill leadership positions was put into effect, cadre policy has not attached importance to the cadre's ability in his field of work, his modern military knowledge or his job performance. The old criteria for selecting cadres have been used, and the primary concern has been whether a cadre has any problems. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said at a military commission meeting: "We cannot say there is no problem at all with the leaders at various levels in our PLA units during the great cultural revolution and with those cadres who took part in the three support's and two military's tasks at that time." Everybody knows that during the great cultural revolution almost all young and middle-aged cadres in PLA units were involved in that political movement. According to what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, the vast number of cadres mentioned above have problems; in other words, to promote them would be a matter of insurmountable difficulty.

Regarding whether a PLA leader of the older generation should be removed or not, the guidance used is still based on the feudal idea--whether he is loyal to the ruler. In consequence, some experienced and energetic cadres have been expelled from PLA units, while those who are old and weak have not only remained in PLA units but have been assigned important responsibilities. Because of the principle of appointing cadres on the basis of their loyalty to the leader and their trustworthiness in the eyes of the leader, a number of aged comrades who have not worked with the armed forces for a long time have been placed at important positions of leadership in our army. These comrades lack modern military knowledge; still less do they have any practical experience in building a modernized army. For example, Comrade Xiao Jingguang left his post of commander of the navy at the age of 77 and was replaced by 72-year-old Comrade Ye Fei. As is known to all, Comrade Ye Fei is not familiar with naval work, still less does he have any knowledge and practical naval experience. As another example, Comrade Xu Xiangqian left his post as minister of national defense at the age of 78, and his successor is Comrade Geng Biao, who is over 50 and has not touched on the work of the armed forces for more than 30 years. A third example is that not long ago Comrade Deng Xiaoping insisted on placing 77-year-old Comrade Yang Shangkun at the position of secretary-general of the military commission, but everyone knows that the latter did political work in the army more than 40 years ago and since then has not been connected with the armed forces. Since Comrade Yang Shangkun has neither modern military knowledge nor sufficient energy, how can he successfully shoulder the heavy and complicated task of building the army?

All in all, Deng Xiaoping's principle of reshuffling the PLA cadres does not agree at all with the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the central authorities on selecting successors as relayed by Comrade Hu Yaobang.

CSO: 4005/216

'BA YI' HITS DENG XIAOPING PLAN TO OUST ARMY CADRES

OW080614 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 6 Nov 81

[Text] The departments in charge of cadres of various branches of service and military academies in various major military districts reported that many serious problems have cropped up in the course of replacing army cadres en masse. Everyone knows that after stripping Comrade Hua Guofeng of his position as the chairman of the military commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that in the next 2 or 3 years, two-thirds of the cadres at and above the divisional level, particularly those in military organs, will be combed out. He also wanted to get rid of all those people who fail to do their jobs well and who are unreliable. It is undoubted that the way he handles the issue of army cadres is not fair. It is extremely harmful. Ever since the implementation of the policy to select and promote young and middle-aged cadres to the leading posts, cadres are still selected and promoted according to the old criteria instead of attaching importance to one's professional competence, knowledge in modern military science and work performance. First of all, it is necessary to determine if the candidate has any problem or not.

In a meeting in September, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: It is hard to say that the leadership at all levels in the army and those army cadres who had participated in the work of "three supports and two militaries" during the cultural revolution have no problems at all. Everyone knows that during the cultural revolution, nearly all the young and middle-aged army cadres were involved in this political movement.

According to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's point of view, half of the army cadres have problems. In other words, it would be extremely difficult to promote them. As for the army leaders of the older generation, whether one should be retained or released is based upon the feudalist concept to see if "the subject is loyal to the monarch." Thus a number of experienced and fairly energetic cadres have been combed out from the army, while some old and infirm cadres are retained in the army and even given important posts. Due to the fact that the promotion of a cadre depends on his loyalty to the leader himself, a number of old comrades who had left the army long ago have been assigned to take important leading posts in our army. These comrades lack knowledge in modern military science as well as the practical experience in building a modern army. For example, Naval Commander Comrade Xiao Jingguang left his post at age 77. He was replaced by 72 year-old Comrade Ye Fei. However, everyone knows that Comrade Ye Fei knows little about the navy. Nor does he have the knowledge and practical experience in naval operation. Here is another example. Comrade Xu Xiangqian, former minister of national defense, left the post when he was 78 years old. But his successor Comrade Geng Biao is already 70 years old. In addition, he has not worked in the army for more than 30 years.

Also, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is bent on assigning 77 year old Comrade Yang Shangkun to work as the secretary general of the military commission. However, it is known to all that Comrade Yang Shangkun was doing political work in the army 40 some years ago, and later left the army. Let us ask one question: Comrade Yang Shangkun is devoid of knowledge in modern military science. Nor does he have enough energy to carry out his work. How can he possibly fulfill this arduous and complex task of army building? In short, the principle for replacing army cadres put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping fundamentally runs counter to the guidelines laid down by the resolution of the CCP Central Committee on successors as conveyed by Comrade Hu Yaobang.

CSO: 4005/216

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION JOURNAL--Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--The Propaganda Department of the PLA General Political Department recently issued a circular urging all units to use materials of the journal XINGHUO LIAOYUAN [Spark-generated prairie fire] for education in revolutionary traditions. Edited and published by the Fighers Publishing House, the journal carries revolutionary memoirs and materials on the history of the party and the army aimed at portraying the deeds of revolutionaries of the older generation and depicting major events of the party and the army. The journal started publication in August 1980 and has thus far published six issues. Beijing [stated] next year it will be published as a quarterly and distributed throughout the country. [OW261425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0129 GMT 25 Oct 81]

GUANGDONG EX-ARMYMEN SETTLEMENT CIRCULAR--On 6 October, the provincial people's government issued a circular on doing a good job of the reception and settlement of retired armymen this coming winter, urging the people's governments at all levels to strengthen leadership, constantly study and examine the situation regarding the livelihood and settlement of retired armymen and help them overcome difficulties. All departments concerned should actively render support and work in close coordination. Beginning this October, a large number of armymen will retire and return to their native villages. The circular urged the people's governments at all levels to set up offices to handle the work of receiving these retired armymen and help them adjust themselves to civilian life. Special attention should be given to the maimed and disabled and they should be encouraged to undertake household sideline production to improve their livelihood. [HK160859 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 6 Oct 81]

LANZHOU PLA LEADER--(Chen Hong), deputy commander of the Lanzhou PLA units, worked at grassroots units for over 200 days to help train soldiers and solve their problems. He is highly praised for displaying the lofty ideals and moral character of prospering China. [SK010945 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 30 Oct 81]

CSO: 4005/216

SHANXI MEETING ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK040500 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Summary] The Shanxi Provincial Military District recently held a meeting of progressive representatives in building spiritual civilization in Taiyuan. More than 200 representatives of the PLA units, the militiamen, staff and workers and dependents of armymen attended the meeting. The meeting summed up experiences in launching the campaign of building spiritual civilization, commended the progressive units and individuals and called on the subordinate units and militia organizations to persistently launch the campaign of building spiritual civilization. After reviewing the situation in the initial period of launching the campaign of building spiritual civilization, the meeting held: "The provincial military district has seriously implemented the instructions of the CCP Central Committee and the Military Affairs Commission and has scored fruitful results in extensively launching the campaign of building spiritual civilization among the PLA soldiers and militiamen throughout the province. The flower of spiritual civilization has bloomed inside and outside the barracks."

In accordance with various experiences obtained in the course of building spiritual civilization, the meeting demanded that the following tasks should be done: 1) It is necessary to study revolutionary theories and apply appropriate theories to guide and lead the masses; 2) it is necessary to grasp education in the lofty ideal of communism in order to lay a solid foundation for building spiritual civilization; 3) all leaders must be bold in supporting and popularizing advanced models and push forward the launching of the building of spiritual civilization; and 4) it is necessary to seriously train advanced models and popularize their advanced experience in order to get better results.

"Principal leaders of the provincial military district attended the meeting and delivered speeches. They awarded prizes and citations to 34 advanced units and 189 advanced individuals. In conclusion, the meeting decided to organize a mobile report group to popularize advanced experience and deeds in various units and areas in order to further push forward launching of the building of spiritual civilization."

CSO: 4005/217

REGULATIONS TO INCREASE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL RELICS ADOPTED

OW071310 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 7 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 7 Nov (XINHUA)--Beijing has adopted new regulations to preserve its ancient buildings and cultural relics. The regulations, proposed by the Beijing Municipal Government, were approved at the 16th session of the Standing Committee of the 7th Municipal People's Congress which closed here this morning.

The regulations urge that more places of historical interest, ancient buildings, gardens, tombs, temples, and inscriptions in the city be put under state and municipal protection. So far, 78 sites in the Beijing area--including the Great Wall, the Palace Museum and the Ming tombs--have been listed as monuments and relics to be preserved.

The new regulations stipulate that no ancient structure or cultural relic is to be dismantled, destroyed or rebuilt, and no new construction projects can be started within the protection areas for the relics. The regulations also say new buildings to be put up around protection areas must be in harmony with nearby ancient buildings in style, size and color.

The regulations stipulate that all relics underground are state owned. "No units or individuals are allowed to unearth relics without authorization, to take forcible possession of them, or to illicitly transfer them." The regulations also say that no precious relic is to be exported.

Under the regulations, a committee composed of officials, specialists and scholars, will be established for the preservation of cultural sites and relics.

The regulations say the municipal government will work out stipulations for awarding units or individuals who make contributions to the preservation and discovery of relics or donate relics to the state, and for penalizing those who steal or smuggle relics or engage in speculation.

The municipal government appropriated 70 million yuan (RMB) in the last 3 years to the municipal bureau of parks and woods for the repair of cultural sites and relics.

CSO: 4000/12

BRIEFS

QINGHAI IDEOLOGICAL FORUM--In Qinghai Province, Xining Municipal Party Committee recently held a forum on problems on the ideological front to discuss ways to strengthen party leadership over ideological and political work and change lax and weak leadership. The forum urged efforts to criticize bourgeois liberalization, conduct education in upholding the four basic principles and combining economic methods with political and ideological work so as to lead the masses of workers to correctly handle the relations between the state, the collective and the individual. (Tang Jianhua), first secretary of the municipal party committee, conducted self-criticism at the forum. He said that the municipal party committee had not attached adequate importance to political and ideological work, had taken a laissez-faire attitude toward unhealthy and evil trends and had not properly handled law and discipline violators. [SK250359 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 21 Oct 81]

GANSU LITERARY MEETINGS--The Writers Association, the Musicians Association, the Dramatists Association and the Artists Association subordinate to the Gansu Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles held meetings recently to study and discuss the guidelines of the national forum on problems on the ideological front and discuss ways to further make our province's literary and artistic creation flourish. (Wu Jian), director of the Propaganda Department of the provincial CCP Committee, said at a meeting: Writers and artists should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, adhere to the four basic principles, smash the bondage of old and left ideas and eliminate formulism and generalities in art and literature. Writers and artists should be allowed to commit mistakes, but such mistakes must be corrected through criticism. In addition, literary and art criticism and commentary should be strengthened. [SK190657 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 16 Oct 81]

NORTHWEST REGION ISLAMIC SEMINAR--The five northwest provinces and autonomous regions sponsored an Islamic religious seminar in Lanzhou 13 October. Attending the seminar were social scientific workers engaged in Islamic research and workers engaged in national and religious work--over 150 persons in all. The seminar has received 65 religious research papers and reference materials. Also attending the seminar were representatives from the national and religious institutes under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Central Academy of Nationalities Affairs and the Chinese People's University, as well as national and religious research workers from Heilongjiang provincial, Shanghai municipal and Yangzhou City religious schools. Present at the seminar were Yang Zhilin, adviser of the

Gansu Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee; Wu Hongbin, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee; Huang Zhengqing, deputy governor of the province; and (Yang Hanzhang), chief of the National Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Yang Zhilin and Huang Zhengqing addressed the seminar, and (Yang Hanzhang) made an academic report. [SK152300 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 14 Oct 81]

JIANGXI WRITERS FORUM--The Jiangxi Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the provincial Writers Association recently held a provincial writers forum in Yichun. The forum was attended by over 30 writers from various localities in Jiangxi. (Yu Lin), deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles, presided over the forum. The forum noted that although works containing serious political errors like "Unrequited Love" have not appeared in the province, the phenomenon of bourgeois liberalization still exists. [OW231015 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Oct 81]

NEW PUBLICATION--Beijing, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--The first issue of RENSHENG [LIFE] journal, sponsored by the China Family Planning Association, came off the press recently. The first issue contains messages and articles by Wang Shoudan, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles; and well-known writers, Cao Yu, Ai Qing, Zang Kejia and Yang Mo. [OW041017 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0048 GMT 4 Nov 81]

YOUTH NEWSPAPERS--Beijing, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--The number of newspapers and periodicals directed toward China's young people is on the increase, according to an official of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League. At the end of July, there were 24 such journals throughout the country with a total circulation of 8.25 million. CHINA YOUTH NEWS, a national paper published 3 times a week, sells 2.75 million copies. Some go to Hong Kong, Macao and foreign countries. Many of the youth journals printed in the provinces are the most popular of the local papers. The SHANGHAI YOUTH NEWS and SHANXI YOUTH enjoy a circulation of nearly 1 million each. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 26 Oct 81]

FAST, SLOW CLASSES BANNED--According to our sources, the Provincial Education Bureau recently issued a circular forbidding all middle and elementary schools to classify students into fast and slow classes based on their academic scores. The circular states: In the past few years, middle and elementary schools have been readjusted and consolidated, and a normal and correct education system has been established and improved in our province. Since all middle and elementary schools have adopted a competitive grading system, the cultural levels of students at the same grade level and of the same age are relatively the same. This is advantageous to classroom instruction. Therefore, further grading of students into fast and slow classes is harmful to considering students as a whole and implementing the party's educational policy in an all-round manner. The circular states: The classification of fast and slow classes will be completely banned in all middle and elementary schools beginning in the 1982 autumn semester. Existing fast and slow classes should be reorganized if conditions permit. Efforts should be made to strengthen leadership, if problems exist in such work, and do a good job in the reorganization. Education administrative departments at all levels and all middle and elementary schools must strictly enact the spirit of the circular. Those who insist on classifying students into fast and slow classes will be dealt with in a timely manner. [Text] [SK300920 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Oct 81]

CSO: 4000/12

SHANGHAI MAYOR VISITS HONG KONG AFTER UK TRIP

HK020651 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 2 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Donald Cheung]

[Text] The people of Hong Kong and their property will be protected no matter what becomes of Hong Kong, the mayor of Shanghai, Mr Wang Daohan, said last night.

Mr Wang arrived earlier in the day after a 1-week official visit to the United Kingdom.

"You (the people of Hong Kong) should know China's policy towards Hong Kong," Mr Wang told reporters before having dinner with Hong Kong's shipping magnate, Sir Yue-kong Pao. He did not elaborate on what exactly this policy is and neither did he mention the new territories, the lease on which expires in 1997.

Mr Wang will pay a courtesy call on the governor, Sir Murray Maclehose, today at Government House and will "exchange opinions" on various issues.

He said his recent visit to the UK had nothing to do with Hong Kong. It centered mainly on better relations and cooperation between the two countries, he said. "We hope that through the visit, we could bolster our economic relationship with the UK Government and some of its cities, such as London and Liverpool. "We have also done some research on industry and commerce," he said.

Although the visit did not yield any major results, Mr Wang said his delegation had successfully concluded a joint venture with a British manufacturer on the making of glass.

During his 3-day stay, Mr Wang and his seven-member group are expected to visit local housing projects, shipyards and the mass transit railway.

It is understood that Shanghai, which has a long shipbuilding history, plans to expand the industry.

Mr Wang is the second high-ranking Chinese official to visit Hong Kong in the past week. Last week the first secretary of Guangdong Province, Mr Ren Zhongyi, spent a few days here before going on to Macao.

CSO: 4000/14

LIU TA-JEN SCORES 'PEIPING REGIME'S TRICKS'

OW301431 Taipei CNA in English 1341 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Taipei, 30 Oct (CNA)--Liu Ta-jen, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said Friday that the Peiping regime was attempting to play the "Soviet card" against the United States when it expressed its intention recently to negotiate with the Russians on the border disputes.

Speaking at the news conference, Liu said, "We are confident that the U.S. has seen through the Chinese communist tricks."

He pointed out that the recent commemoration of the Hsin Hai revolution and united front peace talks launched by the Chinese communists will never achieve their calculated purposes because the Republic of China and other nations of the free world are fully aware of the Peiping regime's tricks.

Commenting on the report that one million copies of the bible had been smuggled into mainland China recently, Liu said this clearly indicates the lack of religious freedom on the mainland. He called on leaders of the world religious circles to take note of the Chinese communist atheism. "Only when the communists are eliminated from mainland China, can the Chinese people enjoy true religious freedom," he said.

He also highly praised Prime Minister Lee Kuan-yew of Singapore for his remarks at the recent commonwealth conference that the Chinese communists continue to support the communist movement in Singapore and Malaysia, and that the improvement of relations between the U.S. and Red China will only aggravate the uncertainty of the situation in Southeast Asia.

CSO: 4000/13

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ROK--Taipei, 30 Oct (CNA)--Economics Minister Chang Kwang-shih said Thursday that to further strengthen economic cooperation between the Republic of China and South Korea, the private sectors of the two nations should continue to exchange visits and data on trade and technology. The 14th joint conference of the Council for Sino-Korean Economic Cooperation opened at the Grand Hotel with C.F. Koo, president of the Chinese Council, and Pak Yong-hak, chief Korean delegate, jointly presiding. Speaking at the meeting, Chang said that in the first three quarters of this year, the Sino-Korean trade reached U.S.$436.4 million. He also praised South Korea for its economic development and fast increase in exports. "I earnestly hope that this meeting will promote better understanding and cooperation between the business sectors of our two nations," Chang stressed. The Korean delegation also visited the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Board of Foreign Trade and Industrial Development Bureau Thursday. The meeting is scheduled to close Friday afternoon after 2 days of discussions on matters of mutual concern by delegates of the two nations. [Text] [OW300317 Taipei CNA in English 0238 GMT 30 Oct 81]

MILITARY STRATEGY SYMPOSIUM--Tokyo, 31 Oct (CNA)--A symposium on military strategy, sponsored by the Japan-ROC Cultural Association, was held Saturday noon in Tokyo with the participation of 10 Chinese experts on military strategy from Taipei and 10 former Japanese military leaders. Teing Chung-Chiang delivered a speech, dubbed "The Spirit of Kinmen," at the meeting. The ROC and Japanese attendants exchanged views on the current international situation centering on the triangular relations between the U.S., Soviet Union and Red China from the stragegic viewpoint. As regards the current peace proposals from Peiping, the ROC experts made the Japanese experts well understand that the ROC will never make negotiations with Peiping regime. Prior to the sumposium, a 12-member Chinese group, led by Ting Chung-Chiang, attended a 3-day international conference on the security of the Pacific region which ended Friday in Tokyo. The conference, sponsored by the Japan Strategy Research Center, was attended by some 80 parliamentarians and scholars from 12 countries, including the ROC, the U.S., South Korea, five member countries of ASEAN and Japan. [Text] [OW311023 Taipei CNA in English 1005 GMT 31 Oct 81]

SPORTS BODY ADMITS TAIPEI GROUP--Tokyo, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--The International Volleyball Federation has decided to admit the Chinese Taipei Volleyball Association as a provisional member. The decision was adopted by the federation's Administrative Committee at a 2-day regular meeting ending today in the city of Yokohama. The decision was made after the Chinese Taipei Volleyball Association had submitted its application and promised to revise its regulations, banner, insignia and song in accordance with the regulations of the International Olympic Committee. It also agreed to use the name of "Chinese Taipei Volleyball Association" both in Chinese and in foreign languages. Formal membership will be accorded to the Chinese Taipei Volleyball Association at the 1982 plenary meeting of the International Volleyball Federation. The regular meeting also approved the use of the "locomotive"-brand volleyball made in Shanghai, China, as in international games. President Pall Libaud of the federation announced at the meeting that the Chinese Volleyball Association will hold an international men's volleyball tournament in the Chinese cities of Shanghai and Nanjing next June. [Text] [OW051936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 5 Nov 81]

ENGINEERS INVITED TO DAM FORUM--Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--The Chinese Hydraulic Engineering Society today invited Taiwan experts on hydraulic engineering to a forum on the building of the Gezhouba Dam project, China's largest. The forum will be held before the end of the year. The invitation was contained in a letter from the engineering society to technicians and engineers of hydraulic engineering in Taiwan. The letter says that hydraulic engineering technicians and engineers from Taiwan are welcome to sightsee, visit relatives, lecture, and conduct academic exchanges. It says, "The society is ready to establish ties with colleagues in Taiwan at any time so that they can exchange information and scientific achievements for the common aim of furthering China's hydraulic science and technology." The forum, to be held at the site of Gezhouba, China's largest hydraulic engineering project, will be attended by 300 specialists and professors from hydraulic engineering, power and communications institutions and colleges. [Text] [OW060716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 6 Nov 81]

CSO: 4000/13 END

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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 239

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PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL PURIFICATION THROUGH CRITICISM URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Chen Qingwen [7115 0615 2629]: "It Is Desirable To Purify Our Political Quality"]

[Text] In his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We must be good at keeping ourselves politically pure and healthy, and under all circumstances maintain our revolutionary vigor as members of the party in power." This is one of our important missions in building the party during this new historical period.

Then how can successful efforts be made to constantly make ourselves politically pure and healthy? I feel that in this connection, stress should be put on the term "political consciousness," and that the daring spirit of self-criticism should be treasured. During the past several years, our emphasis on the liquidation of the errors that surfaced in connection with the excessive struggles within the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" has led some comrades to come up with a misunderstanding. To them, it appears that the contradiction between the correct and erroneous ideologies within the party has ceased to exist, so that the party members are no longer required to sweep away the dust that dirties their faces; at least the demand in this respect is not so great as it once was. This is not true. In the past, the people were punished by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" under the pretext of ideological struggle and transformation. This despicable trick, designed to undermine our party's traditions and workstyle, should be resolutely repudiated. But when we profess to oppose and correct our past erroneous approaches, we have nothing else in mind but the objective of summing up experiences and seeking better ways to consciously clean away the dust that has contaminated the healthy organizations of our party, in the hope that our party organizations and their members will always maintain their firm revolutionary stand, uphold an excellent workstyle, and work enthusiastically and energetically in order to meet the needs of the socialist modernization program.

As the political party of the working class whose only purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly, our party requires that its members be able to consciously make themselves politically pure and healthy and, in this regard, put stress on the term "consciousness." This nature of the party empowers its members to consciously liquidate everything that dirties their faces. As the political party in power, our party has many members working in leadership positions with the state organs at all levels, economic and cultural groups and mass organizations. This has placed the party in a position that requires its members, especially its leading cadres at all levels, more consciously to get rid of various nonproletarian ideologies, bureaucratic lifestyles, and special privileges that have contaminated their minds. Particularly during this new historical period, in order to enable our party to fulfill the difficult mission assigned by history, this type of political consciousness appears more necessary than ever. "Unless one can correct one's own mistakes, one will never be able to correct mistakes made by others." Only by consciously getting rid of everything that has contaminated their minds--including capitalism, feudalism, and all forms of tendencies toward small production--can our party members uphold the party's line, principles, and policies and lead the masses to carry the socialist modernization program to a successful conclusion. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out: "The so-called leadership is neither a slogan to be shouted by the people every day nor a bully wanting them to follow us. It must persuade and educate them with the party's correct policies and exemplary performance in order to induce them willingly to accept our suggestions."

Of course, our emphasis on political consciousness does not exclude necessary criticism and self-criticism. If one wants to overcome one's shortcomings and correct one's mistakes, criticism and help is particularly necessary at a time when one remains unaware of one's problems. Nevertheless, to a person desiring progress, this is not a matter of prime importance. Criticism and help are external factors, while the conscious desire to liquidate something dirty resides in one's heart. The external factors are the conditions of change, while the internal factors are the basis of change. The external factors will become operative through the interaction of the internal factors. In real life, we often witness something like this: The same criticism and help provided by the same comrades will often produce diametrically opposite results. Some well-disciplined comrades appear delighted at being informed of their mistakes. They often accept criticism with a humble mind, examine their mistakes with courage, and go on to correct them in a sincere and conscientious manner. They can ignore the unfriendly attitude of other comrades in the course of being criticized. They can take a correct attitude toward criticism that is inconsistent with facts, by pursuing the maxim: "Correct mistakes when you have committed them, and guard against them when you have not." However, other comrades often act differently. They love being praised but hate being criticized. Once they are criticized, they fly into a rage. They often spare no effort to resist criticism, while rejecting any suggestions that they correct their mistakes. Faced with criticism based on facts, they dismiss it as "an attempt to deny their achievements and to touch one side of a coin and forget the other." As for exposing them to education full of reasoning, they accuse their critics of "exaggerating their minor faults to the utmost, nitpicking, and wielding the stick." They often mistake friendly help for a "trick with ulterior motives." Or else, they can listen to criticism only from those at the top, while rejecting criticism from those at the bottom or the masses. If anyone at the bottom criticizes them, they counter it with measures of attack, suppression, and retribution. These two diametrically opposed examples indicate that the role of self-consciousness is important to the transformation of oneself.

The most basic objective of being self-conscious is the call to firmly foster the idea of serving the people. The reason is that the desire to liquidate the dirty ideas that have affected someone is not just a general struggle between correct and incorrect ideologies, but may involve struggles between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies and between individual and collective interests. Only by consistently doing everything possible for the interests of the party and the state can we, in the people's interests, consciously uphold what is right and correct what is wrong. The two diametrically opposed attitudes toward criticism that I mentioned earlier may have something to do with these fundamental facts. Now let me recite the brilliant example of self-criticism set by Comrade Chen Yi: During the war of liberation, while embarking on a military march, Comrade Chen Yi looked up a cadre in order to have a talk with him as soon as he heard that the cadre had committed a breach of discipline. The cadre presented a report to Comrade Chen Yi. Because the war was well underway at that time, Comrade Chen Yi did not pursue the case further and dropped it, after having verbally instructed the cadre to pay attention to his behavior in the future. Several years later, the masses exposed the cadre for the same problem. When an investigation initiated by an appropriate party organization proved it to be true, the [investigatory body] wrote a report to Comrade Chen Yi. After going over the report, Comrade Chen Yi knew that his original decision [not to pursue the matter] had been wrong, and he returned the report with a note saying: "I want to take this special opportunity to report to the commission for inspection of discipline that my abrupt decision to drop the case without investigation and without any effort to understand the situation was wrong. I also demand that disciplinary action be taken against me." This episode tells us that Comrade Chen Yi was an open-minded man who was able to discipline himself strictly, to uphold the truth, and to correct his mistakes. Did this reflect the noble qualities and farsightedness of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation devoted to serving the interests of the party and the people?

In his "Principles of Self-Cultivation," Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "As a matter of principle, we must resolutely struggle against our own and other people's incorrect ideologies." This should be regarded as a "permanent reminder" to every Communist Party member. As long as everyone follows this example and constantly and consciouly concentrates his attention on cleaning away the dust that contaminates his mind, we can certainly revitalize our party organization and make our socialist modernization program develop vigorously and continuously.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF WESTERN IDEAS IN OPENING UP CHINA, JAPAN

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 15 Jun 81 pp 18-30

[Article by Lu Wanhe [0712 8001 0735] and Luo Shuwei [5012 3412 0251]: "Western Learning in China and Japan at the End of the Feudal Period"]

[Excerpts] The Western colonialists started the Opium War against China in 1840 and used force to compel Japan "to open the country" in 1853. At that time both China and Japan faced a very grave national crisis which, viewed as an international issue, represents a contradiction between the feudalist nations on the one hand and the capitalist nations on the other. The victims of aggression had no way of overcoming their national crisis unless they themselves became capitalist nations. Otherwise, they were bound to be reduced to colonies or semicolonies. Japan took the first option, while China stuck to the second.

Why did two countries, which started from the same point at the beginning of modern history, differ so much in their subsequent development? Why was Japan capable of launching the "Meiji Reform" only 15 years after being forced to open the country, while China's short-lived "1898 Reform" did not come about until 58 years after the Opium War? The difference in the modern history of China and Japan has become a focal point of interest for both Chinese and foreign scholars. We believe that what accounts for success on the one hand and failure on the other is neither the unwillingness of the Western aggressors to let China take the capitalist road (because it is inconceivable that they were more lenient toward Japan) nor the naivete of the Chinese capitalists (because the Japanese capitalists prior to the Meiji Reform were not any better). A more penetrating and extensive study of the history of these two countries, especially the history of 200-300 years prior to the "opening of the country," is required before we can arrive at a more profound and realistic understanding of the problem. After a cursory comparison of the two, we think the differences in the dissemination of Western learning in these two countries constitute an important factor to be reckoned with. This article is an attempt to offer some explanations.

I.

So-called "Western leaning" simply means modern European science and culture since the 16th century. The arrival of Matteo Ricci in China in 1581 marked the beginning of the dissemination of Western learning in China, although the Chinese people on Macao had already had some contact with modern European culture. Matteo Ricci came to China to preach Christianity (Catholicism). In order to adapt to the highly developed feudalist Chinese culture and to win over Chinese intellectuals and officials, he mastered the Chinese language and classics and brought to China modern European science and technology. In 1605 Matteo Ricci recommended to the Holy See that it dispatch to China more learned missionaries who carried weight (Pei Huaxing [5952 0553 5887]: "Priest Matteo Ricci and Contemporary Chinese Society, Dongfang Xueyisha [2639 2455 1331 5669 4357], 1943, Vol 2, p 227). Consequently, most of the priests who came to China during that particular period were both religious leaders and scientists. Matteo Ricci himself was a student of Ge-la-wei [2706 2139 4850] (1537-1612), also known as Father Ding, a famous mathematician at the Rome Academy. Jean Terrenz, who came to China in 1621, was a well-known European scholar versed in medicine, mathematics, biology, and a number of languages. He and Galileo, both members of the Lincei Institute, were close friends. Others, like Didaco de Pantoja, Ginleo Aleni, Sabbathino de Ursis, and Adam Schall von Bell Johann, were all prominent scholars. The fact that these missionaries won the respect of such Ming Dynasty scientists as Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao is due primarily to their academic achievements. If we were to rank them, we would no doubt reaffirm their academic contributions. A total of 19 Jesuit missionaries came to China within a stretch of 62 years between 1583 and 1644. By themselves, or working with Chinese scholars, they compiled and translated 62 masterpieces of European works which, though limited in quantity, played an active role in transfusing new blood into Chinese culture. For example, the translation by Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi of the six volumes of "The Elements" introduced Euclid's plane geometry to China. In his introduction to the translation, Xu Guangqi spoke highly of the geometric method of reasoning as "an approach which proceeds from the obvious to the subtle, deriving affirmation from uncertainty and serving as a basis for all practical applications, even though it is not meant for direct practical application." Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] described the book as "store of exquisite treasures" (An Academic History of China in the Past 300 Years," Zhonghua Book Company, 1937, p 9). In 1584, Matteo Ricci drew the first world map for China. The "Zhifang Waiji" [5120 2455 1120 4764] prepared by Guileo Aleni in 1623 was China's first book of geography. In 1613 Li Zhizao translated the "Hungai Tongxian Tushuo" [3268 5556 6639 2009 0956 6141] to introduce modern European astronomy to China. In 1615, Emmanuel Diaz wrote a book called "Tianwen Lue" [1131 0795 3970] to introduce Galileo's telescope, which had been invented only 6 years earlier than the book. Jean Terrenz brought a telescope to China in 1621. "Yuanjing Shuo," [6678 6975 6141] written by Adam Schall von Bell Johann in 1626, was China's first exposure to modern optics. In 1634 Jean Terrenz and Wang Zheng [3769 1767] translated the "Yuanxi Qiqi Tushuo" [6678 6007 1142 0892 0956 6141], the latest book on physics at that time, which dealt with the modern theory of mechanics and Galileo's inventions. In their pursuit of Western learning, Chinese scholars such as Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao, and Wang Zheng wanted their own contributions to blend Western learning with the reality in China, because they believed that "one must comprehend and apply what one learns in order to excel" (Xu Guangqi). Take astronomy, for instance. The official forecast of a solar eclipse before the Sung Dynasty often missed by a whole day. The range of error was reduced to about 1 hour during the Yuan and Qing dynasties. After the introduction of Western learning to China, Xu Guangqi, who blended the best of both Chinese and Western methods of calendar reckoning, was able to reduce the range of error to about 10 minutes (Zhu Kezhen [4555 0668 2823]: "Xu Guangqi, Pioneer of Modern Science" in "A Symposium of Writings Commemorating the Death of Xu Guangqi 300 Years Ago," edited by Xu Zongze [1776 1350 3419], 1933). Having selected Western water-conservancy techniques which could be used in China and testing them with the equipment he prepared, Xu in 1612 compiled a six-volume work called "Taixi Shuifa" [3141 6007 3055 3127], which became part of "Nongzheng Quanshu" [6593 2398 0356 2579]. His intense interest in militia peasantry led him to apply Western learning to military affairs and farming. He set up an experimental farm in Tainjin to try out new methods of plant breeding. Many Chinese intellectuals at that time were preoccupied with "speculative discussions of human nature and Buddhist theology," and they despised science and technology. Notwithstanding this decadent tradition, the progressive intellectuals in the final years of the Ming Dynasty, represented by Xu Guangqi, directed their attention to blending together Chinese and Western learning, the study of science and scientific experimentation, and assimilation of advanced foreign culture to raise the level of science and technology in China and to improve the material well-being of both the country and the people. Their praiseworthy patriotic endeavor is vouched for by their contributions to mathematics, astronomy, calendar reckoning, agronomy, water conservancy, national defense, geography, machinery, and economics.

In the second year of the reign of Chungzhen (1629), Xu Guangqi memorialized the emperor on "the application of degrees and numbers to 10 different things," on the grounds that "everything which has shape and substance is amenable to degrees and numbers." This meant applying "degrees and numbers" (calendar reckoning and surveying) to 10 different areas of scientific endeavor, such as astronomy and meteorology, water conservancy, surveying, music, arms manufacture, accounting, architecture, geographic surveying, medicine, and chronometers ("Tiaoyi Lifa Xiu-zheng Suicha Shu" [2742 6231 2479 3127 0208 2973 2978 1567 3990], "Collected Works of Xu Guangqi," Vol 7, Zhonghua Book Company, 1963, pp 337-338). This is a superb idea, quite close to the modern scientific approach. The scientists of our country value Xu Guangqi's scientific thought and practice and rank him as high as Isaac Newton of England (Zhu Kezhen, ibid).

"Western learning," known in Japanese history as "foreign learning," reached Japan roughly at the same time it reached China. In 1543 (1542 as alleged by some), a Portuguese ship drifted to Tanegashima off the coast of Japan. The shipowner carried firearms. That was Japan's first exposure to Western culture. In 1549, when St. Francis Xavier came to Japan to preach Christianity, Western culture began to reach Japan with the missionaries. Since the missionary traveled by way of Southeast Asia and Macao, it was also called "southern barbarian culture." It dealt mostly with matters relating to Christianity (Catholicism), such as Western painting, carving, technical crafts, music, printing, theology, philosophy, and Latin. It also covered nonreligious matters such as medicine, navigation, astronomy, geography, and firearms. The influx of southern bararian culture did not last very long, but it spread fast and exerted a great influence on Japanese society.

Even though "Western learning" spread fast in Japan, it was not as sophisticated as it was in China. The rapid development of missionary work in Japan involved more missionaries than learned scholars such as Matteo Ricci and Jean Terrenz. "Southern barbarian culture" was mainly practical technology and had very little which was as profound as the translation of "The Elements." Moreover, Japan did not have such learned scholars as Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao, who were versed in both Chinese and Western learning. So these Chinese scholars and their translations of Western works played an extremely important role in the early exchange of Japanese and European culture. According to research, Shuangyugang [7175 1546 3263] off the shores of Ningbo (there were also other ports) was a huge hideout of Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese smugglers as well as a center of exchange of Chinese and Western learning.

The fact that "southern barbarian culture" spread fast in Japan is attributable to the then existing social conditions. At that time Japan, dominated by warring feudal lords, was experiencing a transition from the rule of the Muromachi Bakufu (1338-1573) to that of the Edo Bakufu (1603-1867). Many of the rival feudal lords (especially those of Kyushu) were competing for foreign trade and advanced technology to strengthen their positions. This was true of the early years of Ieyasu Tokugawa (founder of the Edo Bakufu). When a Dutch merchant ship, the Liefde, drifted to the coast of Japan in 1600, Tokugawa hired its captain, Will Adams (known in Japanese as Miura Anjin) as his foreign affairs adviser and instructor in Western learning, and studied algebra and geometry under him; this is a widely known episode in Japanese history. He also gave British and Dutch ships permission to call at any Japanese port. During this period, there were more than 10,000 overseas Japanese in Southeast Asia. At least 355 "vermillion seal ships" were authorized between 1604 and 1635, an average of about 10 a year, to engage in foreign trade. (Seiichi Iwao: "Zhuyinchuan yu Ribending," [2612 0603 5307 5280 2480 2609 3957] Zhiwendang, 1962, p 32). According to "Nagasaki Anecdotes," at this time "the merchants were trading with nearly 20 different countries, a number never before achieved in our country." The widespread dissemination of the "southern barbarian culture" was closely tied to such an aggressive open-door policy.

A gradual change began to set in during Tokugawa's later years. Some of the feudal lords of western Japan (Seikoku Daimyo), the traditional opponents of Tokugawa, were converted to Christianity and became financially powerful through foreign trade, posing a great threat to Tokugawa. Moreover, popular discontent also began to find support in Christianity. According to data of 1605, there were 750,000 Christian converts in Japan at that time. Alarmed and panicky, Tokugawa in 1613 placed a complete ban on Christianity and extended it between 1633 and 1641 to cover overseas travel and trade, setting up a "closed-door" system. The ban was further extended in 1630 (the 7th year of the reign of Kanai) to cover foreign books, including 32 books translated by European missionaries such as Matteo Ricci, and especially 12 scientific books which formed a set known as "Tianxue Chuhan" [1131 1331 0443 0428]. The ban on foreign books was extended and reinforced in 1685. The book inspectors (known as Shomotsu Mokuri) stationed at the port of Nagasaki were authorized to confiscate (or destroy, obliterate, or reject) books on military art, Christian teachings, and rare editions of Chinese books (Yasuhiko Kimiya: "History of Cultural Exchanges Between Japan and China," translated by Hu Xinian [5170 6932 1628], Commercial Press, 1980, p 637). Since works on Western learning were often related to the missionaries, they were also banned. The ignorant officials, preoccupied with self-preservation, actually pushed the ban to such an extent of absurdity that any books in which Jesus or Matteo Ricci was mentioned were classified as banned. For instance, "Dijing Jingwulue" [1593 0079 2529 3670 3970], which described the Catholic churches and the tomb of Mateo Ricci in Beijing; "XITANG QUANJI" [6007 1016 0356 7162], which contained European sonnets, and "MINGJIA SHIGUAN" [0682 1367 6108 6034], which contained poems exchanged between early Qing Dynasty Chinese scholars and Westerners, were all confiscated (Osamu Oba: "Secrets in Japan and China During the Edo Era," Toho Book Company, 1980, pp 50-65). This brought an end to Western learning in Japan. Lots of historical data on the "southern barbarian culture" were lost during such brutal persecutions and destruction. The heroic voyage across the two oceans made by Tsunenaga Hasakura in 1613 did not become known in Japan until after the Meiji Reform, when the Iwakura delegation, on its way to visit Europe and America, heard about it in Venice.

While Japan was "closing the country" and "banning books," Western learning went on in China uninterrupted for 80-90 more years. This was due to the social conditions of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the endeavor of the Chinese scholars, and the enterprising, nonrestrictive attitude of the early Qing rulers. Emperor Kangxi was especially fond of Western learning, and he personally participated in various fields of scientific activities. Works on scientific subjects flourished during this period. For instance, in 1674 Ferdinandus Virbiest completed the "Kunyu Quantu" [0981 6559 0356 0956] and two volumes of "Kunyu Tushuo" [0981 6559 0956 6141] which described the physical and economic geography of various countries. In 1719, Chinese and Western scholars jointly prepared from actual surveys a 1:400,000-scale "Kangxi Huangyu Quantu." It was the most accurate map of the day, not only in Asia but also in Europe. "Shuli Jingyun" [2422 3810 4737 5686], a symposium of the mathematical achievements of Chinese and Western scholars since the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, was prepared under the auspices of Emperor Kangxi. In spite of ups and downs, the dissemination of Western learning in China flourished for about 140 years, from the latter part of the Ming Dynasty to the early years of the Qing Dynasty. It was not only ahead of Japan, but it also helped the development of foreign learning in Japan. What set the dissemination of Western learning in China and Japan far apart were the changes which took place after 1720.

II.

Kangxi, who had both an enlightened and a restrictive outlook, became increasingly conservative in his advanced years. The "restrictions on the sea" which had been in force had been lifted by him in 1684 (23rd year of the reign of Kangxi) but were reimposed in 1717 (56th year of the reign of Kangxi). In 1720 (59th year of the reign of Kangxi), the Qing Empire and the Holy See were at odds over "religious rites." Kangxi, who valued Western learning more than Christianity, tried to keep the two separate--a statesmanlike attitude. However, when the Holy See delegate insisted on the "religious rites," Kangxi was forced to impose a "religious ban," which, unlike one issued 7 days previously, did not expressly separate Christianity from academic studies. It "banned Christianity" but did not expressly "ban Western learning." Nor did it classify academic works on Western learning as "banned books." The touble was that he did not encourage further exploration of Western learning. Had his successors upheld his policy of separating Christianity from Western learning, it would still have been possible to continue the dissemination of Western learning in spite of the "ban on Christianity." But the Qing rulers, including Yongzheng and his successors, became increasingly tilted toward seclusion and literary autocracy. The ban on Christianity was finally extended in practice to cover Western learning. After 1720, although there were still individual missionaries working on the Board of Astronomy, they were restricted to technicial work insteand of promoting Western learning. Since they lived in secluded government quarters, they had very little influence in Chinese academic circles. The death of Jiang-you-ren [5592 0645 0088], a learned European missionary in China, in 1774 marked the end of the pursuit of Western learning in China. The enthusiasm of Chinese scholars in science that had been generated since the final years of the Ming Dynasty died out quickly, in the wake of the return of the decadent academic practices which once again gained control over Chinese culture. Confronted with foolish, arrogant feudal rulers, many intellectuals were forced back to the old classics. Ruan Yuan, a veteran Confucianist of the Qianlong-Jiajing period, attacked Western learning violently in his book entitled "Chouren Zhuan" [3985 0086 0278]. He said the Copernican theory "must not be taught, because it changes the positions of the high and the low, turns around the static and the dynamic," and "deviates from the classics and the Confucian Way." At that time, there were a few patriotic intellectuals and overseas Chinese who, alarmed by the intrusion of the Western aggressors in the East, had studied and written about the West. "Yingyi Shuo" [5391 1138 6141] is one those books describing the intention of the British to head for the south. Done by private individuals, these books did not carry enough weight to be noted.

In 1793, a British delegation led by McCartney came to China both to open the China market and to test the water for aggression. To display the military might of Britain, the presents they brought to the Chinese court were machines representing the most up-to-date technological wonders, including celestial telescopes, Mauser rifles and machineguns [as published], and a warship with 110 artillery pieces. In his letter to Qianlong, the King of England expressed his willingness to provide China with technical personnel. Emperor Qianlong was impressed and interested to know more about the war vessel and artillery pieces. Knowing very well that the English were far ahead of China, he should have realized the need for a new policy to catch up with them, to study their technology while resisting their aggressive demands. But he did nothing of the kind. Instead, he declared: "We have everything in this heavenly empire and are not after novelties." At that time, England was in the heyday of her industrial revolution, 40 years after Watt had invented the steam engine (1756) and 14 years before the invention of the steamship (1807). Those were the years of rapid advance of science and technology in the capitalist world. Yet the Chinese feudal rulers were as ignorant and conceited as ever. In fact, China was confronted with a very grave national crisis, but how many of the Qing rulers were aware of the danger?

At the time Kangxi imposed a ban on Christianity in China, Yoshimune Tokugawa (1683-1751), the eighth Shogun of the Tokugawa Bakufu, decreed in 1720 a lifting of the ban on Chinese translations of Western books not related to Christianity. We must add that even during the time of the strict "ban on books" (1630-1720), the Tokugawa Shogunate was not as intransigent as the mid-Qing era rulers who banned Christianity in China. Unlike the "sea restrictions" imposed by the Qing government, the "closed-door" policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was meant to "strengthen the trunk and clip the twigs." "To clip the twigs" meant to prohibit the local feudal lords from secretly establishing foreign contacts. "To strengthen the trunk" meant that all foreign trade and foreign intelligence reports had to remain exclusively in the hands of the Tokugawa Bakufu. Unlike the Qing rulers, they were eager to understand the West. The Shogunate even required the Dutch ships to submit "Helanfeng Shuoshu" [0735 5695 7364 6141 2579] and supply foreign intelligence reports. By 1609 the head of the Dutch trading house began to call on the Shogun at Edo (this was known as the Edo audience). These visits became an annual event after 1633. By 1661, specific dates were scheduled for the "audience." Every year the visitors were to get to Nagasaki on the 15th day of the first month and have audience on the 1st day of the third month with the Shogun, who accepted the greetings behind a screen. The Shogunate was keenly interested in importing books. Scientific books were not banned. The banned Chinese translations of books on Western learning were often brought in by smugglers. All confiscated books were surrendered to the Shogunate. In a word, Nagasaki was an opening to let in fresh air from overseas. The ruling clique and a small number of intellectuals were still able to absorb foreign knowledge, even though the people were barred from it. This kept the roots of Western learning alive.

The enlightened policy of Yoshimune Tokugawa practically resurrected the disrupted dissemination of Western learning in Japan. Instead of the "southern barbarian culture," the Western learning newly brought in by the Dutch was called "Dutch learning." When the head of a Dutch trading house came for an "audience" in 1717, Yoshimune removed the screen to receive the visitor. Later, he dispatched his courtiers to visit foreign countries and buy books, machinery, and selected breeds of animals and plants. At about the same time, Hakuseki Arai (1657-1725) had written a book entitled "Siyang Jiwen" [6007 3152 4764 5113] based on information he had gathered while interrogating Italian missionaries. (He began writing it in 1715 and finished in 1724.) In his description of conditions in foreign countries, the author stressed the need to distinguish Western learning from Christianity. He said that even though Christian teachings were simple and shallow, the missionaries deserved respect for their knowledge of astronomy and geography. He favored banning their religion but not their science. The enlightened foreign policy of the later Edo Bakufu period was based on "banning Christianity" without banning Western learning, because they wanted to use West European science to supplement Japanese "theology" and sustain the feudal regime of the Shogunate. The idea later developed into a program of Eastern morality and Western technology" promoted by the advocates of an open-door policy.

Why were those progressive intellectuals so eager to learn? A Japanese scholar attributes it to their concern about their national crisis--thus implying patriotism. Japan is an insular country separated from the rest of the world by the sea--a natural barrier in defense of national seclusion. The emergence of armed warships had turned the barrier into sealanes of aggression from abroad. Unless it had a coastal defense, Japan would be exposed to assault and conquered at any time. Japan's national crisis at that time was in the north. Peter the Great had planned to expand southward via Japan. The Russian "exploration parties" which had been moving southward reached the first of the Kurile Islands in 1711. As their southward thrust began to threaten Japan proper and its territorial waters, the "northern crisis" loomed large in the minds of the patriotic Japanese leaders. By the mid-18th century, the Western colonialists began to break into Japan. Within a 90-year period between 1764 and 1854, there were 52 attempts by the Western powers to gain entry into Japan--17 of them by Russia, 19 by Britain, 14 by the United States, and 2 by France. Motivated by a patriotic resolve to defend Japan against foreign aggression, the progressive Japanese turned their attention to studying the West and absorbing new knowledge from abroad. In his book entitled "Cailan Yiyan" [2231 6031 3976 6056], Hakuseki Arai described the "material wealth" and "military might" of the European countries. He said the English "were skilled in manning ships, brave and rugged, and good at naval warfare;" that Holland "looks like a great power by virtue of its military superiority"; and that Denmark "enjoys the respect of many Western countries for the excellent cannons it makes." He was motivated by his concern about Japan's national defense and the danger of its being isolated from the rest of the world. The same concern had motivated a host of others to write about the West, including "Chixiayi Fengshukou" [6375 5802 1138 7364 6141 5072] by Heisuke Kudo (in 1783); "Sanguotonglan Tushuo" [0005 0948 6639 6031 0956 6o141] and "Haiguo Bingtan" [3189 0948 0365 6151] by Shihei Hayashi (in 1786 and 1787-1791, respectively); "Luxiya (Russia) Zhi" [7627 6007 0068 6125] by Hoshu Katsuragawa (in 1793); and "Huanhai Yiwen" [3883 3189 3976 5113] by Gentaku Otsuki (in 1807). Many of these progressive people were imprisoned, banished, or killed for opposing those ignorant villains preoccupied with xenophobic conservatism detrimental to national security. For instance, the conservatives in the Shogunate put Shihei Hayashi in prison in 1828 and destroyed the typeset of "Haiguo Bingtan" on the grounds that "the outrageous commentaries by a private individual undermine public morale." Kageyasu Takahashi, an official in charge of astronomy, was arrested in 1828 and put in prison for giving a map to Xi-bo-er-de [6007 0590 1422 1795], a German scholar who was about to return home. Xi-bo-er-de was deported the following year. This is known as the "Xi-bo-er-de Incident." In 1839, Kazan Watanabe and Choei Takano,both specialists in foreign learning, were persecuted and killed for their opposition to the "closed-door" policy. This was known as the Barbarian Culture Club litigation.

Persecution by the reactionary forces did not succeed in uprooting the new reformist tide. The Japanese progressive elements were undergoing a new ideological orientation as they broadened their view of the world. They were seeking to free themselves from the blind worship of "Chinese culture."

It is easy to see how the different pattern of dissemination of Western learning in the more than 100 years after 1720 led China and Japan to different ideological paths in facing the armed aggression of the Western colonialists.

III.

By the mid-19th century, both China and Japan were engulfed in extremely grave crises involving their nations and their own feudal ruling regimes. Capitalism and the capitalists in both countries were so immature that it was impossible to expect a capitalist-led revolution to emerge. Such being the case, should they defer all social reforms until the capitalists had matured? Given the existing historical conditions, such a course was no longer affordable, because capitalism had already gained control over the whole world. The Western capitalists, armed with military might and merchandise, could "crush all the Great Walls" and "force every nation fighting for its survival to adopt the capitalist method of production." Under such historical conditions, the ability of a backward country to adapt to the world situation and launch capitalist reforms to defend its national independence depended on how quickly a guiding reformist group could emerge from the feudalist camp to learn from the West and change the old system. It so happened that the samurai were such a group which emerged not long after Japan had "opened up the country." China, however, trailed behind in producing such a group after the Opium War. The difference is attributable to the dissemination of Western learning during that period of more than 100 years.

After the outbreak of the first Opium War, Lin Zexu, a patriotic Chinese leader, immediately began, while he was resisting the British aggressors, to translate Western books, which were published in 1841 as "Sizhouzhi" [0934 3166 1807]. By placing China's national crisis in a broader world perspective, Lin showed his foresight and wisdom. He turned the work over to Wei Yuan when he was removed from office by the Qing ruler under pressure from the aggressors. After gathering more information, Wei expanded the "Sizhouzhi" in 1842 into a 50-volume "Haiguo Tuzhi" [3189 0948 0956 1807]. It was expanded in 1847 to 60 volumes and finally to 100 volumes in 1852. Wei Yuan's book and his project "to use superior foreign technology to contain the foreigners" had a far-reaching impact on China and won strong support in Japan.

At that time, China and Japan were confronted with identical national crises. China's defeat in the first Opium War made Japan feel not only more exposed to assault but also shocked by that fact that China, the venerable Confucian empire which Japan had held in awe, had been defeated by a small "barbarian" insular country. Many Japanese intellectuals immediately began to sound the alarm in comments and poems. The "Haiguo Tuzhi" began to appear in Japan between 1851 and 1852.

Comparing the response it received in Japan, the impact of "Haiguo Tuzhi" was felt in China practically 10 years later than in Japan. Before 1860, very few people paid any attention to the book Wei Yuan had prepared. He was only a Xian magistrate when he finished the book, and was promoted to the position of a Zhou magistrate for 3 years only when the Taiping forces were approaching his territory. The Qing rulers were so ignorant of the world situation that, according to Wei Yuan, they wondered: "Where are those insular barbarians who have been trading with us for 200 years?" They had no idea where England was. When war broke out, they asked: "How far is the capital of the English barbarians from that of the Russian barbarians, and do the English barbarians have an access road to the Muslim countries?" In 1858, Wang Maoying, senior vice minister of the Board of War, memorialized the throne to reprint the "Haiguo Tuzhi" and "give a copy to every royal prince and minister and order all royal descendants and bannermen to study it...." This was a wise recommendation, but nothing was done to implement it. Why was China's response to "Haiguo Tuzhi" so far behind that of Japan? It cannot be denied that this was due to different ideological orientations in the two countries, brought about by different patterns of dissemination of Western learning. Not long after the completion of the "Haiguo Tuzhi," someone pointed out that the book, which dealt exclusively with conditions overseas, "had offended the dignitaries." This meant the feudal rulers in power did not appreciate Wei Yuan's efforts. It is clear that the way China and Japan responded to "Haiguo Tuzhi" was by no means accidental but was due to the differing ideological orientation in these two countries. When confronted by aggressive Western colonialists, the dispatch with which each of the two reacted and the way their reform forces gathered were also different. This can be shown by a brief chronology of events:

The first Opium War broke out in 1840. In 1841, Shuran Takashima, a Japanese military leader, began using foreign drill methods to train Japanese troops, trial-manufactured guns, and attempted to reorganize the military structure. In 1843 the observatory of the Shogunate translated the "Handbook of Naval Gunnery." Shuran Sukuma in 1846 manufactured telecommunication machines. Genpo Mitsukuri translated "An Outline Account of Steamships" in 1849. A high-temperature smelting furnace (reverberatory furnace) was built in 1850. A refining plant was set up in 1851 by the Satsuma Han to make scientific instruments. The Satsuma Han shipyard was built in 1854. A naval training center was set up at Nagasaki in 1855 by the Shogunate. The "Office for Japanese Annotation of Barbarian Books" was changed in 1856 to the "Barbarian Book Processing Office" (a translation research agency for foreign learning). In 1860 a Japanese delegation traveled to the United States on board the SS Xian Maru, a warship purchased in 1857. The "Barbarian Book Processing Office" was expanded in 1862 and renamed the "Western Book Processing Office." In that same year, the Shogunate dispatched the first group of Japanese students to study abroad. In 1863 the "Western Book Processing Office" became the "Teaching Institute" (the predecessor of Tokyo University), and by 1866 it had 11 professors and 29 lecturers.

The courses it offered included various foreign languages and natural sciences. None of these measures taken by Japan had any impact on China until the establishment of the Tongwenguan in 1862. According to "A Biography of Yukichi Fukuzawa," when Fukuzawa in 1862 ran into a Chinese in London, they started talking about the need to study modern European culture in order to make both China and Japan strong. The Chinese asked Fukuzawa about the number of Japanese who could read and teach foreign books. Fukuzawa said there were about 500 of them in Japan. When he asked the Chinese how many China had, the Chinese hesitated and said there were only 11. Even though the figures are not necessarily accurate, the incident helps illustrate the gap between the two countries.

Although the Japanese feudal rulers were apparently forced by circumstances to implement these measures, they also needed them to strengthen their own position. Once these measures were set in motion, however, it was no longer possible to contain the growth of new reform ideology and new drives for reform. The Japanese pursuit of Western learning after 1853 was noted for its expanding to cover both natural and social sciences, which involved intellectuals as well as political activists. This means Western learning had outgrown [merely] academic pursuits and joined the forces for reform. Dejected samuria, who had become disenchanted with the feudal system and the powerful families, also opted to take up foreign learning as a means to free themselves from the fetters of the powerful clans. Some of them had actually become restive in thought. The leaders of the anti-Shogunate group, such as Shinsaku Takasugi, Masujiro Omu, Hirobumi Ito, and Kaoru Inoue, were either samurai or scholars of foreign learning who were known for their political and military talent. Their slogan was "Make the country rich and build a strong army." The leading group working to "make the country rich" was in the departments of industry and finance. Its leaders were versed in foreign learning. Those working "to build a strong army" were in the Department of War, led by Masujiro Omu, who was later assassinated by terrorists in 1869. The senior aides of Aritomo Yamagata, who succeeded Omu, were new military officers educated in Germany and France and versed in foreign learning. The new government also hired a number of scholars of foreign learning who were not members of the anti-Shogunate group. According to a study, 27 noted scholars of foreign learning who had taught at the "Teaching Institute" or had served under the old Shogunate were hired by the new government. They played an important role in policymaking and government reform. Takahira Kanda's proposal to abolish the system of annual tributes and "land tax reform" was one of their outstanding contributions. Kakuseri Arai himself did not hold government position, but his writings carried a great deal of weight. The Keio Gijuku he founded, the JIJI SHIMPO run by him, and the "Meiji Six Club" headed by him were instrumental in promoting education, shaping public opinion, and making policy recommendations to the Meiji government. But China did not have such an influential group, even at the time of the 1898 Reform. The reformist group headed by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao never had the kind of following, experience, or public backing to match those [of the Japanese].

The dissemination of Western learning no doubt provided ideological ground for the Meiji Reform, but it did not provide a strong material incentive for a thorough reorganization of the feudal system. Japanese scholars of Western learning were not completely free of feudalist influences. Western learning, a product of capitalist society, has its historical and class limitations. Likewise, the Japanese scholars who opted to absorb Western learning were not completely above their own limitations.

Many of them who became the representatives of the privileged big Japanese capitalists often sided with the conservatives and reactionaries and tailored their selection of Western learning to serve the interests of the ruling Meiji autocracy.

The above is a simple comparison of the dissemination of Western learning in China and Japan toward the end of the feudal period. What lessons can we draw from such a comparative analysis?

First, while patriotism provides the motivation to assimilate advanced foreign culture, it is the ability of a nation to make use of it that contributes to its creativity. The history of China and Japan demonstrates that a nation which knows how to assimilate advanced foreign culture always prospers. On the other hand, exclusion and isolation retard national growth and breed conservatism and backwardness. During the Han Dynasty, China had such emissaries such Zhang Qian to bridge the East and the West. Xian was the receptacle of various European and Asian cultures during the most prosperous years of the Tang Dynasty. The Ming Dynasty was known for its overseas explorations, led by Chinese navigator Zheng He Even in the final years of the feudal period, China was still ahead of all other Asian countries in receiving Western culture for about 140 years out of the of 260-year period between Matteo Ricci's arrival in China and the first Opium War. It was during that 100-year period, beginning with the reign of Qianlong and of Jiajing, that China's time-honored tradition of assimilating advanced foreign cultures suffered a disastrous setback, perpetrated by the exclusionary policy of the feudalist Qing rulers. As attested by the history of China and Japan, the reception of foreign culture promotes the development of one's own culture, the prosperity of the motherland, and the defense of one's land against foreign aggression. This patriotic urge proved to be a tremendous motivating force behind the national development [of China and Japan].

Second, we must pay close attention to the propelling influence of advanced ideology and science on the progress of history. This is an important principle of historical materialism that has been eloquently confirmed by the dissemination and influence of Western learning in China and Japan. The level of economic development was about the same in China and Japan by the mid-19th century. However, the rapid expansion of world capitalism led all backward countries to try to change their faces. The difference in the assimilation of Western learning in these two countries under such historical conditions was reflected in their ability to adapt to the world situation and to bring about social changes.

Third, we must reject national arrogance and national abasement. Historically, Japan respected China as a "nation of decorum" and accepted Confucianism as "the Chinese way." To accept modern European culture, it had to shake off its national abasement and the bondage of Confucianism. This kind of "national abasement" often leads to "national arrogance." Many Confucian scholars often invoked Confucian classics to oppose modern science and technology. For a long time throughout her history, China was ahead of others, and there is bound to be a certain degree of national arrogance. However, we are opposed to national abasement, which leads to capitulation. Modern history shows that an arrogant nation often develops national abasement once it is defeated by a powerful enemy. These are two sides of the same coin and should be abandoned altogether.

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5360
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THOSE WHO WOULD ABOLISH SOCIALISM, PARTY LEADERSHIP HIT

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological Commentary by Qian Tang [6929 1048]: "On the 'Relationship' Between 'Officials' and 'Private Citizens'"]

[Text] A few people with a laissez-faire tendency often like to call the leaders of the party "officials," while addressing themselves as representatives of the "private citizens." They also like to address the "officials" as "you" and themselves as "we." They have even taken pride in keeping their distance from the party and in taking a stand in opposition to it. The people will not find it difficult to expose this allegation as an attempt to cover up a centrifugal tendency to move away from the party.

Originally, the term "officials" was an old name and a reference to the state power which stood above the masses and which was antagonistic to and aloof from them. Today, this tendency is address [the leaders of[our party as "officials" and to put the party on a par with that old state power is actually an attempt to get across to the public this viewpoint: Since becoming the ruling political party, our party has changed its position and hence its relationship with the people. In that position, it can no longer represent the people. This viewpoint is clearly a gross distortion of the nature of our party and its relationship with the people.

Since capturing national political power, our party has become the political party in power. Can we put our ruling party on a par with the old state power and call it [leaders] "officials" not qualified to represent the people? Certainly not. The Marxist theory of the state tells us that the key to the state lies in which class holds political power, and that class is represented by a political party. In our country, the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, is exercised by the proletarian working people through the medium of their vanguard--the leadership of the Communist Party. The fact that our party is now the political party in power indicates that the state power is exercised and the country is managed by the working people under the leadership of the proletariat. Furthermore, only by putting ourselves under the leadership of the party can we make our political system move in a socialist direction and can we constantly improve it in order to ensure that the overwhelming majority of people are able to participate directly in the management of the affairs of state and the enterprises. If we call [the leaders of] our party "officials" standing above the masses of people, in an attempt to split with and abolish its leadership, we will virtually end up taking the old road toward democracy in abstract and general terms, as called for by the bourgeoisie.

To address [the leaders of] our party in power as "officials" aloof from the masses of people is an allegation that is inconsistent with reality. Today, as in the past, our party always considers its objective to be its devotion to serving the people wholeheartedly. In pursuit of this objective, our party has come up with a political line on work which calls for fully trusting and relying on the masses and encouraging them to demonstrate their enthusiasm and creative power; a series of principles and policies which have been formulated in conformity with the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of people and which, as an obligation to the people, are consistent with their interests; the party's three styles of work, one of which calls for forging close ties with the masses; and the party's method of work, which calls for coordation between the leadership and the masses and calls for those "who come from the masses to go back to the masses." In this way, our party's promise always to stand close behind the masses of people can be guaranteed forever. In China, who can truly represent the people's interests and untiringly work for this purpose? Only the Chinese Communist Party. Except for our party, no political parties or forces or individuals deserve to be called the genuine representatives of the people's interests. This was verified long ago by the historical facts of the Chinese revolution. We need not go back too far for a review of such facts. Merely a review of the series of the party's principles, policies, decisions, and measures adopted since the Third Plenum and designed to benefit the people and eliminate unhealthy practices will enable us to give a negative response to this question: Can anyone name any of them that was not formulated by the Party Central Committee? Every unprejudiced person will deeply understand that our party is a party sincerely devoted to the happiness of the people—a party worthy of complete popular trust rather than [made up] of "officials" who allegedly stand above the masses.

Some self-styled representatives of "private citizens"—who profess to stand behind the masses of people, represent their interests, and speak on their behalf—have tried to convince the people that they are the only ones who can understand the plight of the masses, can dare to "take up the cudgel" for them, and can safeguard their interests. Actually, this allegation that they represent the people's will and speak on their behalf needs to be analyzed in specific terms. What does the people's will imply? From the Marxist point of view, it refers in social practice to the aspirations and demands of the masses of people which essentially and comprehensively reflect the direction in which history develops. Undoubtedly, the Communist Party has to respect and conform to such a will. But this does not mean that any move made by the masses, any aspiration, demand, or sentiment expressed by them, is correct and justified. For various reasons, including differences in their social existence, their limited knowledge, and their subjection to the influence of old ideas, what they have reflected is probably only a simple aspiration or a short-term, local interest. In response to those incorrect, unreasonable, and unrealistic aspirations and demands of the masses, we should patiently give them education and guidance instead of blindly endorsing and accommodating them and giving them encouragement. This is the correct attitude which takes into account their basic interests. Otherwise, it should be called a lack of party character. Departing from the principle of party character will make the people lose sight of their human character. Deviating from Marxism has led some of our comrades to observe real life in a simple, one-sided way or even with emotion. For this reason, they cannot come up with correct conclusions. As a matter of fact, they are able to represent only the negative aspirations of a minority or only their own aspirations. With regard to the tendencies to adopt one method or another of spreading erroneous statements with the aim of negating and opposing the four basic principles, and to interpret them as "a reflection of the people's will" or "speeches on their behalf," we should come to view them as an intentional or unintentional reflection of the will of a minority intent on making trouble and as an attempt [by that minority] to speak for themselves and nobody else. The reason is that the broad masses of people have demonstrated their sincere support for the leadership of the party and have displayed a determination to take the socialist road. On this basic issue, the views of the said minority are at variance with the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Some self-styled representatives of the "private citizens" often contend that their active campaign against "special privileges" qualifies them to be spokesmen for masses. As a matter of fact, bureaucratic practices, special privileges, and other unhealthy tendencies have never been legalized by the Communist Party, because they are inconsistent with the basic purpose of the party and the fundamental interests of the people. During the past several years, our party has consistently made efforts to rectify the unhealthy workstyles as a matter of prime importance to the ideological building of the party. It is our party that has formulated and put into effect the "Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" designed to control the statements and conduct of its members. It is our party that has reactivated the commissions for inspection of discipline at all levels to handle the cases of violations of law and discipline by those in the ranks of the party. It is our party that has taken the lead in implementing the election system and in reforming the cadre system, with the aim of systematically solving problems. It is our party that has spared no effort to support the masses inside and outside the party in exposing and combating unhealthy tendencies. Our current problem is that, under the pretext of struggling against bureaucratic practices and special privileges, some people have slung mud at socialism and the leadership of the party. They have explicitly and implicitly advocated the abolition of the leadership of the party and socialism. Can all this be construed as "statements made on behalf of the masses?"

The so-called problem of the relationship between "officials" and "private citizens" is actually a problem of the relationship between the leadership of the party and the people as masters of their own country. This problem has been frequently presented in a biased way or even misinterpreted. Some people maintain that since democracy means entitling the people to take care of their own country, the leadership of the party cannot extend its tentacles into this business; perfect democracy can be realized only on the premise that the leadership of the party will refrain from intervening. This view of effecting a split between the people and the party and between the people as masters of their own country and their allegiance to the leadership of the party appears to be terribly wrong. In our view, the key to socialist democracy lies in making the people masters of their own country under the leadership of the Communist Party. For this reason, the concept of the leadership of the party is a theme that is indispensable to socialist democracy. Allegiance to this principle is extremely important. Any departure from this principle will cause us to steer democracy away from the socialist course and toward the road ending in abolition of the leadership of the party. This is a truth we should always remember.

9374
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EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO CURB SMUGGLING, CONTRABAND TRADE

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Niu Hongrui [3662 7703 3843]: "Smuggling and Contraband Trade Are Criminal Activities Harmful to the Country and People"]

[Text] Over the past 2 years, the implementation of our open-door economic policy and the development of the work of enlivening the economy and the markets have provided some unlawful elements at home and abroad with opportunities for smuggling and contraband trade on a massive scale. They have adopted various unlawful tactics to smuggle into our country through various channels one shipload after another of surplus daily necessities, poor quality goods, and imitation commodities produced in the capitalist countries which have escaped inspection, control, and examination by customs officials. Meanwhile, by cheating they have shipped out of the country large quantities of gold, silver, precious artifacts, jewelry, and medicinal herbs. In this way they have seriously undermined our national sovereignty, disrupted the development of some of our national industries and commodity circulation, caused fluctuations in market prices, adversely affected social stability and unity, and jeopardized the development of the four modernizations. Smuggling and contraband trade are criminal activities harmful to the country and people.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that smuggling and contraband trade still exist in our own midst to a serious degree. A few government institutions, other organizations, enterprises, establishments, and members of state organs, having their own selfish interests in mind, have taken direct part in smuggling and contraband trade in violation of our national dignity, law, and discipline. With the support and connivance of certain leaders, and with state funds at their disposal, they have relied on their own authority and have taken advantage of their official positions to smuggle and supply the markets with contraband goods. Their capacity in this connection is far greater than that of the smugglers and their sales agents in society. For example, after signing a contract with a foreign firm for processing imported materials into finished apparel, a commune-operated plant in a certain county, under the pretext of "processing imported materials," has ganged up with its foreign counterpart to falsify reports to the extent that imported materials are often deliberately figured less and exported finished products are figured more than their actual quantities, so that they can illegally sell large quantities of nylon textiles and finished apparel to the local markets. In a specific short period of more than 2 months, their profits from such contraband trade have exceeded 250,000 yuan. In another example, when a purchasing agent of a department store and an assistant trade manager in a supply and marketing cooperative in a certain county were sent to Guangdong on a mission to purchase imported merchandise, they went to the communes and brigades in search of goods smuggled in from abroad, instead of placing orders with authorized units for supplies, this action violates state regulations. Before closing the purchase deal, they accepted bribes from a speculator and then decided to buy from him more than 2,200 wristwatches, contraband goods smuggled in from abroad, on terms entirely favorable to the seller. An inspection by an authoritative department revealed that some 40 percent of the wristwatches were either unwanted, poor quality products or counterfeited timepieces with cases filled with iron and plastic materials. This caused the state to suffer a loss of over 70,000 yuan. Moreover, some units, thirsty for profits, have provided the smugglers and their sales agents with capital, bank accounts in their names, transportation, letters of recommendation, invoices, certificates of outbound shipment, and other forms of assistance in their attempts to support, shield, and protect such contraband trade. Some law enforcement officials have knowingly broken the law by setting smugglers free without authorization, in exchange for bribes and to get directly involved in smuggling. This is one of the major reasons why the smugglers and their sales agents have been so active these days. This being the case, efforts must be made to clean out the smugglers and their sales agents from our own house so as to deal blows to their activities. This is a matter of prime importance in our efforts to maintain the sovereignty of our socialist country, to uphold the four basic principles, to protect the development of our national industry and foreign trade, to rectify the workstyle of the party and the government, and to purify the organizations of the party and state.

Why are some units so interested in smuggling and contraband trade? One reason is that they often desire to make small profits from their departmentalist point of view, which leads them to ignore the larger interests, to seek to fatten their private purses at the expense of the public interest, and to jump at any opportunity for this purpose. They have done so on the wrong assumption that there is nothing wrong with buying and selling contraband goods for a profit, which then can be used to finance their local construction and thus help solve the problem of unemployment and problems concerning the workers' welfare. What they do not realize is that smuggling poses a grave danger to the interests of the state, and that reliance on smuggling and contraband trade to open new sources of revenue, increase income and bonuses, and improve the material well-being of workers of specific units is an approach that is extremely harmful to everyone. The aim of the enforcement of the incentive system in our country is to stimulate the broad masses of cadres and people to work hard to promote production, [to stimulate] the enterprises to improve their management, to encourage workers to raise the level of their professional skills and their labor productivity, and to develop production. The income level and the material well-being of the workers can be raised only on the basis of increased production and output, which will bring additional revenue to the state. The adoption of the indecent strategy of smuggling and selling contraband goods in order to increase the source of bonuses will make it impossible to achieve our intended objectives of stimulating the enthusiasm of the workers for production, of improving the management of enterprises, of promoting production, and of improving the quality of products and lowering production costs. On the contrary, it will have the effect of demoralizing cadres and workers to a serious degree, disrupting the development of the socialist economy, and, finally, impeding the development of enterprises themselves and impairing the endeavor to raise welfare benefits for the workers. Ours is a socialist country where the people have no alternative but to work hard to develop production as a means of creating wealth. On no account can we depart from the socialist road to engage in this indecent business of smuggling and speculation.

Efforts must be made to strengthen the education of cadres and workers as to the necessity of stopping the tendency, which still exists in our midst, to smuggle and sell contraband goods. No sovereign state will allow smuggling to exist. Nor can smuggling and contraband trade be allowed to exist in a socialist country like ours. We must foster a social climate in which everyone will take pride in boycotting contraband goods and will feel ashamed to profit from such business, even in a small way. Cadres and workers in government institutions and other organizations, enterprises, and establishments should consciously resist the temptation to smuggle and sell contraband goods and to seek personal gain at the expense of the national interest, in violation of law and discipline. A smuggler once said: "I never fear being caught. The thing I fear most is that I can find no buyers for my contraband merchandise." As long as those in our midst refuse to smuggle and to sell and buy contraband merchandise, and as long as they decide not to condone and protect smuggling and contraband trade, it will not prove too difficult to bring this activity under control. We must strengthen the socialist legal system, which calls for investigating cases of smuggling and contraband trade thoroughly and for handling each case on its own merits and in a stern manner consistent with the provisions of party discipline and state laws, which do not permit anyone to tolerate or condone such activity for any reason whatsoever.

9574
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BAI HUA REFLECTS ON HIS WORK

Beijing XIN GUAN CHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 14, 1981 p 21

[Article by Bai Hua [4101 2901]: "Springtime Gives Me Such Great Joy"]

[Text] In Wuhan, March had gone and the fragrance of the drizzle-soaked lilacs had spread into April. In early April I sat before a window, the spring rain pattering, writing a movie script, "Dream Bridge" asked for by comrades in a film shooting team. In a hamlet south of the Yangtze in old China, an old stone bridge is obscured in the mists, and several kindhearted, hardworking ordinary folk, among them an odd-jobs man, a man who blows candy figurines, a bamboo basket weaver, a cotton cloth weaver...Under the hypocritical, feudal regime, they struggle for their food and clothing, dreaming that they will one day shatter...During 1962 and 1963, I lived for a year in the rural village of Shaoxing, Mr Lu Xun's old hometown. I wrote the stories I heard there into a script. Writing the script went along very smoothly, and on 10 April I mailed a preliminary draft to Guangzhou, because some of the comrades from the film shooting team were shooting some additional scenes. In mid-April, the sky in Wuhan unexpectedly began to clear little by little, and after the 18th there was finally bright and sunny weather such as had been a rarity in earlier years. I dropped everything and went off to East Lake to take a day's vacation. The fragrant grass beside the lake was like a carpet, and I lay on the ground with the rays of the sun as a cover. For many years I had scarcely been able to get this close to the earth and have a day long chat with springtime. I brought a few lively Wuchang fish, which I took back home to cook by myself. My hands had been busy during the past few years with holding pens, so they were not accustomed to picking up the handles of a wok. But the comrades who dines with me acknowledged that my manual skill had not become rusty, and the dishes, which looked as though they had been licked clean by cats, demonstrated incontravertably that they had not been merely flattering me. After the 20th, I again bent over my desk to write. Twenty years earlier the Beijing People's Arts Theater had asked me for a draft, but I had never found a suitable theme or favorable opportunity for writing anything. For the past several years, writing a lively play had become increasingly difficult, and numerous playwrights had switched over to writing novels of for the movies. But I never abandoned the dream of working together with these familiar artists and of sitting in a theatre in the capital watching the performers, whom I had so much loved in my youth, bringing to life the characters from my pen. Whenever I imagined this scene, I became too excited to contain myself. I would like to speak more about Shaoxing too. During the 1960's not only did I eat fermented bean curd and dried, pickled vegetable for a year in Shaoxing, but I also read books about Shaoxing for a year and came to be acquainted with quite a few runtu [7032 0960] children and grandchildren as well as becoming acquainted with quite a few ancients. Some examples were the great Emperor Yu who saved the Chinese people from a turtle's fate lie drowning; Go Qian, the King of Yue during the Spring and Autumn Times, and the great ministers of the Kingdom of Yue, Fan Li and Wen Zhong; the old poet of the Southern Song, Lu You; the master artist of the Ming dynasty, Xu Wenchang; the painters Chen Laolian and Ren Bonian of the Qing dynasty; the woman knight errant, Qiu Jin of Jianhu, and the literary craftsman, Lu Xun, both of whom I particularly respected and admired...I was very dissatisfied with existing depictions of the literary masterpieces of these historical figures, the characters written about seemingly rather remote from the persons themselves. Could I depict them in a true to life way? Clearly I could not, and inevitably there were also the limitations of many times. But I could depict them in a way and with an understanding that differed from what had been done in the past. Life changes as fast as the scenery on a stage, and in the twinkling of an eye another 20 years has gone. The manuscript I had written had been destroyed, but fortunately what I had not written still remained in my memory. The spirtual wealth, but the descendants have not used it well to build a road of progress, but instead have moved back and for several thousand years over a bumpy road. In the spring of 1981, the trend of my thought flew back to the spring of 491 B.C. when Go Qian, the King of Yue and his queen, and Fan Li were released after 3 years as prisoners and slaves in the Kingdom of Wu to return to their own kingdom. The first act of the historical play that I wrote, "The King of Wu's Gold Dagger-Axe and the King of Yue's Sword" began with this. I had just finished the initial draft on 1 May when on 6 May the film shooting team arrived in Wuhan from Guangzhou. Their work had not gone at all smoothly because of day after day of rainy and overcast weather in Lingnan and because of man-made obstacles, which delayed work for many days. They arrived just at the time that I was looking into revisions to "Dream Bridge," about which we talked for a whole week long. Next, Comrade Lan Tianye [5663 1131 6851], representing Beijing artists, arrived from Beijing wanting to know what plays I had written for their theater, and what was the status of them? I could only tell him that I had written some old material that they had already performed. I watched him carefully, but it was hard to discern whether he was disappointed or glad. All my initial drafts looked like scrawls, and no one but myself, the devil included, could read them, so I could not ask him to take a look at them. Lan Tianye, who spoke so incisively on the stage, had little to say in real life, but he knew very well that by staying with me, he would hurt my work, so only remained overnight and returned to the north. Around this same time, I received an old comrade in arms from my youth, Comrade Peng Jingfeng [1756 5427 7364] and some college students who had come from Kunming especially to see me. After having seen my guests off, I sent the finished draft of "Dream Bridge" to the Changchun Film Studio, and then went on to transcribe the stage play. I thought that I might be able to take advantage of a trip to Beijing to accept a poetry prize to turn the stage play over to the theater, but my expectation did not materialize. The poets who got the prizes collectively sent me a long letter brimming with enthusiasm. I supposed I might be able to take it easy, but beginning in early April, I received almost 1,000 letters and telegrams, which were staring me in the face. I frequently received letters from readers, but never as many as during this time. Every evening, Little Wang the postman would grinningly deliver me a big stack. I carefully read the letters and telegrams from these strangers, trying to imagine their occupations, temperaments and what they looked like, and I selected the important one for replies. I was frequently choked with tears of emotion and lost track of time....

In mid-June, I received a notice from the film shooting team, calling me to the Changchun Film Studio to view the edited rushes. As I boarded the train to leave Wuhan, I realized that the continuous nice weather in Wuhan had not made the temperature climb to 30 degrees. Really strange! Sprintime in Wuhan never lasted this long! Was I chasing springtime around? Or did springtime partitularly like me? On the 17th I reached Changchun where the fragrance of the lilacs again assailed my nostrils, and the peas in flats and looking like jadeite astounded me. Wasn't this like the area south of the Yangtze in March! The young grass in the white birch forests had just begun to poke its tender shoots through the damp soil.... After seeing the revised rushes, I again revised the play, "Dream Bridge." On the 26th, I worked all day long, and hurriedly stole the time to make a lightning visit to Haerbin, which I had long desired to visit. The wind from the Songjiang River forced me to put my woolen sweater back on....I couldn't help being secretly happy that I had been able to sojourn for so long a time this year with springtime, and though there had been wing and rain, it was the wind of springtime and the rain of springtime....Everywhere was a sea of new greeness. "Fragrant grass extended as far as the eye could see," the tender and multitudinous young grasses! It is only you who are the symbol of spring....

In order to consolidate the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and the conclusion of the Sixth Party Central Committee, the train I boarded raced toward the capital, Beijing, quicker than the wind and as quickly as lightning.

9432
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PARTY AND STATE

LI JIAN NOVEL CRITICIZED FOR ERRING IDEOLOGY

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Xue Si [1331 1835]: "Do Not Be a Detached Bystander in Life, Plus a Critique of the Novel NUER QIAO [Girl Bridge]"]

[Text] Recently in an article titled "Whose Bitter Wine," Comrade Li Jian [2621 0494] made a countercriticism of those who had criticized his work. He said that the characters in his novel "are all the inevitable products of their representative envireonment." He asked that readers not reproach them for their failings, but rather to blame the times!" Because we have gone through a dark age of 'not very high literary style' and 'things disgusting to the eyes'."

It is self-evident that the "dark age" that Comrade Li Jian wants to "blame" is the 10 years of the so-called "Great Cultural Revolution," and is not, nor can it be, any revolutionary or social progress in any sense of the terms." It "was a mistake made by the leaders that was used by counterrevolutionary blocs, which brought the serious calamity of chaos to the party, the country, and all nationalities in the country. However, the "Great Cultural Revolution was, after all, the countercurrent of an historical stage that was not a normal historical state of affairs, much less able to reflect the nature of socialist China. We cannot, nor should we, rashly make of it an "age" designated or crowned with the term "dark." Even during the days of rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our society was by no means a dark tract with no hope of the light of dawn. Among revolutionary cadres, among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and among intellectuals, aside from the unbridled, despicable, and frightening, outrages of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that caused people to rise in indictment, there was also righteousness, warmth, kindheartedness, and help, and there was active struggle and obstinate resistance. The people were not isolated and in helpless despair. Did not the film, "Rainy Night on Ba Mountain" fully depict this righteousness and friendliness? It must be said that the righteousness, sympathy, warmth, kindheartedness and help that fermented among the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and the people at that time, as well as thier unity in taking flexible and diverse action to resist Lin Biao and the "gang of four," was a reflection of the representativeness of this socialist environment, and a representation of the overall trend of development of life in our age. However, Comrade Li Jian's work did not depict this representative environment and even though he himself continually professes that the characters in his work are "inevitable products of the representative society," in fact, the impression conveyed is one of utter darkness. It is like a "trade fair" in which every effort is made to display to the reader the filth and gloominess of life, thus producing a social result that is not good.

Let us look at Du Ruomei and the 10 women and their husbands from Kangzhuang depicted in his novel, "Child Bridge," and how they suffered cruel persecution by "Black Five Donkey," boss of the "counter-rebel to the end" military unit, a tragic story in which the husbands are cruelly beaten to death after which the women are molested until they kill themselves. Such a theme may be written, of course, and handled well, and it can also achieve a positive social result. But the writer has to have the correct standpoint and used correct methods. Regretfully the reader cannot realize from this work the righteousness, the sympathy, the warmth of the people, nor can he see hope, light, and a future. It is as though all of Kangzhuang, or even the entire world, would come to an end. "Mankinds final days have arrived," "all the people of the world have died." In the novel, Du Ruomei and the 10 women are bullied and humiliated like "rare animals," and "female donkeys with human faces." The author has "Black Five Donkey" entirely shamelessly and obscenely ravish and torment Du Ruomei and the other women, and these scenes have been portrayed in a revolting manner. In the face of these atrocities by "Black Five Donkey," which should cause people to rise up, not a single person among all the commune members in the billage step forward to stop them, nor do they say a single word of opposition; instead they "walk along facing forward," or stand beside the highway bridge looking on. After the 10 women drown themselves in the river, no one tries to save them; instead, "people slowly back away." Fairmindedness, courage, struggle, and resistance are not a part of the make-up of any of the peasants. Some are merely vulgar, selfish, doltish, superstitious....When a novel presents such a depiction, how can it be said to have been written from life or reflect real events in life (essential aspects)?

In a congratulatory speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping begore the Fourth National Literature Congress, he said: "Our socialist literature and art must be vivid and moving, truly reflecting the wealth of social life, reflecting the nature of various social relationships, and revealing the requirements for progress of the times and the trend of historical development. It must also strive to use socialist ideology to instruct the people and imbue in them an indominatable spirit of forging ahead and self exertion." This is the sacred social responsibility that the party has bestowed upon our workers in literature and art. We hope that Comrade Li Jian will be able to summarize well the lessions of experience in writing, intensify his study of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Zedong Thought, probe life, correctly observe life, and understand life, and not be a detached bystander in life; that he will not give up obligation spurred on by himself to develop new material, and truly capsulize the nature and characteristics of life's phenomena. In that way, not only will he be able to divest himself of passive, and downhearted sentiments to write rather positive and beneficial works, but he will also, as a result of experience in study and creation, surmount petit bourgeois vacillation to make himself truly worthy of the glorious title of "engineer of the soul of mankind."

9432
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANXI MILITARY DISTRICT COMMANDER ON STRENGTHENING MILITIA

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Geng Shuming [5105 3219 2429], commander of the Shanxi Military District: "Strengthening the Buildup of Militia in a Big Way Under the Guidance of the Spirit of the Sixth Plenum"]

[Text] This year, the glorious day of the People's Liberation Army, "1 August," the anniversary of the founding of the PLA, is arriving while the whole party, the entire armed forces, all nationalities of the whole nation are learning to implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenum and are using the fundamental conclusion of the "resolution" to unite the ideology of the masses of cadres, at a time of great confidence and unity in carrying out the four modernizations. At the moment of enthusiastically welcoming the 54th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, a review of the battles of our province's militia organization is very educational.

During the war of resistance against Japan, the self-defense organizations against the Japanese in our border regions--Shanxi, Chahar and Hebei and the Taiyue region--at one time grew to over 1 million persons under the leadership of our party. Every one of them was armed and battlefields were opened up in every village; the areas were strategically mined; the men carried out tunnel warfare, sparrow warfare, sieges, and joint defense warfare; they became a strong people's armed force cooperating with the field armies and local troops in the struggle against the enemy. During the 8 years of the Sino-Japanese war, the militia of these two regions participated in over 58,300 large and small battles, killed over 35,000 enemy and Nationalist government troops. During the war of liberation carried out by our armed forces, the broad numbers of militia actively enlisted in the army and also launched the movement to join the war and support the frontlines in a big way. The militia followed the Liberation Army to fight in companies and battalions in remote areas, to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Liberation Army and contributed greatly to the revolution. Now, the Sixth Plenum has called upon us to continue to develop the spirit of the foolish old man moving the mountain, to be of one heart and one mind, and to exert efforts in the struggle for the building of modernization and of a highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist nation. During this major period of change, cadres of our people's armed forces and the broad members of the militia should develop the glorious tradition and insist on implementing the line, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenum so that our own thought and action can follow the strategic changes of the party closely, can make new contributions to building and protecting the four modernizations and thus celebrate the "1 August" Army Day.

To make new contributions, we must strive to be in the vanguard climbing the "18 hairpin turns" on the road toward the four modernizations. Recently, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out to the whole party: To build a strong socialist nation "is like climbing Taishan; we have already reached "Zhongtianmen"; before us is a road requiring a lot of effort--three sections of "18 hairpin turns." In climbing these three sections of "18 hairpin turns," our militia troops should be the vanguard. This is because our troops consist of young people who are at the prime in life and who are full of vigor, so in a sense, our troops have the least conservative ideology, the richest spirit of pragmatism, and they will necessarily become the backbone force in climbing the "18 hairpin turns." Then, concretely for each cadre of the people's armed forces and the militia, how can the "18 hairpin turns" facing us be ascended? I believe that to climb the "18 hairpin turns," we must first have a farsighted revolutionary ideal and strong confidence. With a farsighted and ambitious ideal, there will be a light to guide our own boat of life victoriously to the other bank. We will be full of hope and will look forward to the future, and therefore we will also develop a strong will and the spirit of struggling forward. We must have strong confidence before we can have the courage to face the tall mountains and the clouds and climb the peaks and tops like scaling the ladder to heaven. Therefore, I hope that comrades of the militia will never be afraid and hesitate or look at the mountains and sigh as we face these tall mountains and steep peaks in our endeavors. We must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, realize the truth of human life, understand the principles of behavior, understand the principles of self-discipline, explore with untiring efforts on the bright road of life and advance forward courageously. I especially hope that those comrades who hold that "being a member of the militia is a loss" will change their attitude, and while they enjoy the glory of being a member of the militia, that they will strengthen their sense of responsibility as a member of the militia, clearly understand that serving as a member of the militia is the duty and right of each of our young citizens, and gain confidence in serving as a good member of the militia. We must climb the "18 hairpin turns" and we must also have strong stamina and take action. The success of our endeavor in a sense depends on stamina; whoever has strong stamina will be able to climb the peak of limitless scenery. The success of the endeavor is also the sum of countless actual steps and the fruit of a long period of practical action. Therefore, I hope the broad number of comrades of the militia will never make false statements, talk emptily and brag, which can spoil things; I hope they will never complain, criticize and make pessimistic statements, which will not help things. The militia must scorn empty talk and uphold practical action; each militia member must use his own practical action to solve every new problem encountered during the course of climbing at his own combat post, rely on his own strong stamina to overcome every difficulty on the long road of battle and to compete in becoming a vanguard warrior in climbing the "18 hairpin turns."

To make new contributions, one must be a model of building spiritual culture. This is a broad question. In concrete terms concerning our militia and the cadres of the people's armed forces, this means to develop the patriotic view that the benefit of the motherland is above all and to develop the spirit of creativity and hard work to contribute everything toward building modernization; it is to be like Lei Feng [7191 6912], like many heroes and models, to serve by leading and being a model in executing every duty, to become the glorious example of "having four things, talking about and doing three things, not fearing two things." Why do we say this? This is because our nation is large but still poor. Our population is large but our foundation is weak. It can be imagined that without the patriotic spirit of glorifying Chinese history, without the creative spirit of hard work and struggle, without the spirit of daring to sacrifice oneself and shed blood, without the common struggle of this generation or several generations of people with ideals, morality, intellect and talent, we could not build such a nation with a very weak foundation into a modern strong nation. Those who think only of themselves, who see only the benefits before them, who crave only for personal enjoyment, who can only ride with the tide will never succeed in building the four modernizations. In general, during the course of progress of building the four modernizations, we cannot separate ourselves for an instant from the building of spiritual culture. Therefore, I hope the broad numbers of the militia and the cadres of the people's armed forces learn the spirit of bearing hardships and difficulties like the ancestor who "imposed hardships upon himself to strengthen his resolve," to insist on the style of work of hard struggle in life, to maintain the lively revolutionary spirit in work, and to study hard in order to learn and advance with determination. We hope furthermore that everyone learns the heroism of the revolutionary martyrs who pursued the truth and who did not fear to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives, that everyone can contribute all he has in face of difficulties and dangers and come forward when the revolution needs him.

To make new contributions, we must make every effort to combine labor and military strength well in the new situation. Everyone knows that our militia members are both civilians and soldiers, that they bear a double responsibility. As a civilian, we are the main force in building the four modernizations. As soldiers, we are the important part in protecting the four modernizations. This requires that we lead in implementing the various economic policies of the party; we must offer our hearts to the motherland, contribute our youth to the four modernizations, glow and offer our warmth to the glorious endeavors of socialism. We must love our own work, stand at ordinary posts and create first-rate achievements. We must take up the attitude of the master, use our own sweat and all of our intelligence to create material wealth for the people. At the same time, we must also not forget about war preparedness in production, military training in labor, and we must insist on the principle of combining labor and military affairs. In the new situation, we must correctly handle the conflict between family duties and civil duties, the conflict between training and production; we must concretely act according to the spirit of the general staff concerning the readjustment of reforming the military training of the militia, suit measures to local circumstances to launch military training in many ways; and in a versatile, lively and active manner, we must overcome difficulties, create conditions, and exert efforts to complete the various tasks handed down by the higher authorities.

The broad number of comrades of the militia and the cadres of the people's armed forces, our militia in Shanxi once dominated the Taihang and Taiyue Mountain regions and contributed actively toward the establishment of new China. Today, we must develop the glorious tradition of making new contributions in order to make the motherland rich, strong and safe.

9296
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UNITY OF ARMED FORCES WITH GOVERNMENT, PEOPLE STRESSED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by Chen Ruyi [7115 1172 1942], commander of the Ningxia Military District: "Develop the Superior Tradition of Our Armed Forces, Strengthen Unity of the Armed Forces With the Government and the People"]

[Text] The Chinese People's Liberation Army has already traversed 54 years of combat history. Today, as we wholeheartedly celebrate this glorious "1 August" Army Day, we take the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Congress as a guide to review history and to summarize experience. This will further encourage us to raise our revolutionary spirit, develop the superior tradition of our armed forces, confirm and unify the determination to look forward and hasten the building of a modern revolutionary army.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Nation" passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Congress pointed out that we must "revive and develop the superior tradition of close unity within the armed forces and between the military and government and between the military and the people." This is the demand presented to us by the party Central Committee under the new historical conditions, and it is also decided by the proletarian nature of our armed forces and the goal of wholeheartedly and willingly serving the people. Whether in years of war or in the time of building socialism, everything done by our armed forces is for the fundamental benefit of the people, and the unity between the military and the government and between the military and the people is where the strength lies in our victory over all enemies and in overcoming all difficulties. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that if the armed forces are regarded as the masses' own armed forces, this armed force will be invincible. Now we are in a new historical period of building a strong socialist modern nation and a modern revolutionary armed force. To victoriously carry out the various combat duties assigned by the party and win future victories in combatting aggression, we should even more continue to develop the superior tradition of our armed forces in supporting the government and cherishing the people, treasure the blood-and-flesh relationship between the military and the government and the profound fish-and-water relationship between the military and the civilian population, and further strengthen the unity between the military and the government and between the military and the civilian population.

Insisting on the principle of "the party commanding the gun," obeying the command of the party Central Committee, conscientiously respecting the leadership of the local party and government are the fundamental assurances of supporting the government and cherishing the people. The absolute leadership of the armed forces by the party is a fundamental system established for our armed forces by Comrade Mao Zedong; it was a very important principle in setting up a military establishment that has been tested by a long period of revolutionary struggle and won with fresh blood. The experience of history has proven that only by insisting on this principle could the victory of revolutionary war be won, could the blood-and-flesh relationship with the masses of people be maintained year after year, and could our armed forces develop into today's strong armed forces. The leadership organizations of the local military system and the military department of the local party committee at the same level are units of the people's armed forces of our military district, military subdistrict and county and city. Insisting on the absolute leadership of the party over military troops means to insist on implementing the dual leadership system by the local party committee and the military system under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee; the leadership of the local party committee must be respected and obeyed everywhere to maintain the party's unity and unification. In marching and fighting in the past, wherever we went, we devoted a lot of attention to respecting the leadership of the local party and government and cherished and protected the masses of people. The "three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention" were not only advocated and talked about by the broad numbers of officers and men, but they became the standard for action of everyone. To win the war, the government and the people all supported the frontline with all efforts. They risked their lives to pass on information to our troops. They suffered hunger and cold to solicit food grains and funds for the troops. Now, although the situation has changed, our basic principles have not changed. We should see clearly that the modern buildup of our armed forces not only must rely upon the active efforts of the troops themselves, but it also must rely upon extensive help and support from the local governments and the masses of people. We must educate the troops, correct the basic attitude in dealing with the governments and the masses of people. Each unit must fully utilize reporting meetings, discussion meetings, "double support" representative meetings, visits to related exhibits, and the method of going out and inviting speakers in order to profoundly carry out the education of the troops in the goals of our armed forces, the superior tradition, policy, discipline and supporting the government and cherishing the people, so that the cadres and soldiers can establish the correct ideology, carry out the policies, laws, and commands of the party and the state as models, strictly obey the three rules of discipline and the eight points for attention, and carry out in practice the agreement on supporting the government and cherishing the people established by themselves. We must use social surveys, visits to localities, inviting local comrades to report, and widely launching the movement to learn from the people in order to learn the good ideology of the local comrades and the masses of people, their good style of work, and their good experience. In the course of making contact with the local comrades and the masses of people, the troops must be humble and considerate, they must have discipline so that the spirit of mutual tolerance and mutual respect exemplified in the saying "even an egg is given to the armed forces, and a bowl of fried noodles is always given to the countrymen" that existed between the military and the government and between the military and the civilian population during the war years can be further developed. Our district is one where many national minorities live together. We must also strictly adhere to the party's policy toward minorities, respect the customs and habits of the local nationalities and strengthen national unity.

Strengthening the buildup of modern revolutionary troops and training in the skills of protecting the people's benefits are the best measures to support the government and cherish the people. In the past, our troops together with the nation's people shed their blood and struggled to overturn "the three great mountains" and to create an independent and autonomous New China; this is the greatest love for the masses of people. Today, we bear the heavy duties of protecting the motherland and protecting the building of socialist modernization; these are also practical actions to support the government and to cherish the people. As we talk about supporting the government and cherishing the people, we cannot deviate from our own buildup. The whole body of officers and men must firmly establish the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly and willingly; they must be trained well and concretely educated in the superior skills of serving the people. At present, our nation is in a period of readjustment; we must conscientiously share the worries of the nation. "Even the poor and the lowly share in the hope that you will successfully accomplish the matter." To revolutionary soldiers who have a spirit of progressing and advancing, difficulties are only the ladders to success, the obstacles to train one's determination, the motive force to encourage advancement. To go back to the early years of the 1950's and 1960's, our troops launched a big wave of large-scale military training under relatively poor material conditions. Today, if we continue to develop that spirit of progressing and advancement, work hard to improve and strengthen ourselves, and face difficulties, we will surely be able to carry out combat training well.

Continuing to actively support the building of socialism and of doing good deeds for the people and the masses is also an important aspect of doing the work of supporting the government and cherishing the people well. Building the four modernizations is the responsibility of the troops. Helping the masses should not be shunned. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, the troops of the whole district have done a lot in this regard, and have made definite achievements. During the second half of this year, the troops of the military district still have to do several good deeds for the masses in accordance with the plan. Since the farm villages are now implementing the various forms of production responsibility system, each unit must pay attention to studying the new situation, summarizing the new experience, and suiting measures to local circumstances to enliven support activities. Units must emphasize helping the communes and brigades in the locality where they are stationed to implement the various economic policies of the party for farm villages; they must treat poverty to create riches, develop and enlarge the collective economy, continue to concentrate efforts on supporting key production projects of the collective businesses and public works such as water conservancy projects, building schools, cooperative medical treatment, commune and brigade enterprises, fruit farms, forestry farms and livestock farms. When dividing support between the group and the families, first consideration must be given to the dependent families of soldiers, revolutionary martyrs, cadres and workers, five assured families, and families in difficulty. At the same time, we must also prepare all aspects well and carry out disaster relief work well to protect the people's lives and property.

The military cherish the people, the civilians support the military; the military and the civilian population are united as one. Each cadre and soldier must treasure the unity between the military and the government and between the military and the civilian population like protecting one's own eyes. We must further inherit and develop the glorious tradition and exert efforts to raise to a new level the work of supporting the government and cherishing the people; we must exert efforts in the struggle to build a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist nation and to build a modern revolutionary armed force!

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU AIR FORCE LEADERSHIP CADRES STUDY RESOLUTION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Zhang Dean [1728 1795 1344]: "Buildup of the Armed Forces Must Rely Upon Mao Zedong Thought as the Guide, Leadership Cadres of Guangzhou Air Force Units Link With Reality to Study the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] Building a modern revolutionary armed forces must rely upon Mao Zedong Thought as the guide. This is the unanimous belief of those participating in a reading class of political commissars and political department chiefs of the Guangzhou Air Force Military Advisory Group in studying the "resolution."

Comrades participating in this reading course include old soldiers who fought in many wars and middle-aged and young cadres who participated in the war of self-defense and retaliation. They profoundly realized in real revolutionary battle that Mao Zedong Thought is the guide toward strengthening our armed forces and toward victory. Political commissar Zhou Xianqin [0719 6343 0615] of the air force logistics unit of the Guangzhou troops said, in reviewing the history of our armed forces, that from the birth of the Red Army of workers and peasants, Comrade Mao Zedong had creatively combined Marxism with the actual situation of the Chinese revolution and used it to guide combat and the buildup of our armed forces. Historical experience proves that Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology of our party, and it is also the guiding ideology of our armed forces. By insisting on Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, our armed forces will develop and become strong and will win victory after victory. By deviating from the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought, our armed forces will fail. The "resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenum sought truth from facts and appropriately evaluated the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, clearly affirmed that Mao Zedong Thought was, is now and will continue to be our guiding ideology. This has truly been encouraging and exciting and this has an incalculable meaning for the future building of the four modernizations and the armed forces.

Many comrades pointed out that to the officers and men of our armed forces, insisting on Mao Zedong Thought, especially emphasizing learning and utilizing the military thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, are most important. Political commissar Li Yuanbin [2621 3293 2430] of a certain division of the air unit said: Comrade Mao Zedong established a whole set of strategic and tactical principles which were useful in the past, which are useful now and which will still serve importantly in the future. During the war of self-defense and retaliation against Vietnam, we organized combat according to the military thoughts of Chairman Mao. We widely developed military democracy, mobilized the masses to watch the enemy train, and within a short time found a set of effective tactics that could control the enemy and bring victory. Throughout the combat, our frontline air force units concentrated on control over the airspace, forcing the Vietnamese Air Force to stay still, and forcefully supporting the victorious retaliation by our border troops.

In learning and discussion, everyone present also conscientiously analyzed the present situation of the units learning Mao Zedong Thought and proposed preliminary measures to further learn Mao Zedong Thought. Everyone decided to take learning and utilizing Mao Zedong Thought as an important aspect in the implementation of the "resolution." To organize the units in learning, the party committee of a certain division of the antiaircraft artillery adopted several concrete measures: 1) take the "resolution" as the basis to educate the cadres and the soldiers to correct the understanding of learning Mao Zedong Thought; 2) lead in learning to serve as models for the masses; 3) train learning assistants for the basic levels, strengthen organization and guidance in learning; and 4) apply what has been learned, use the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought in the buildup of troops, study new situations and solve new problems.

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TIANJIN MEETING HONORS PUBLIC SECURITY MODELS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Expand the Achievements, Maintain Social Order Well"]

[Text] The municipal people's government held a meeting yesterday to honor public security models and active public security elements. This was a victory meeting, and a meeting to summarize and exchange experience. At the meeting, 19 public security models and 52 active public security elements were honored; their unselfishness, fearlessness and heroic deeds, and their revolutionary spirit and models deeds in struggling against criminal elements were praised. These comrades made glorious achievements at their own posts to maintain revolutionary order, to protect the nation and the safety of the people's lives and property; by fortifying and strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship, they have won the broad praise of the people and have established themselves as models for the city's people.

The facts prove once again that in order to fortify the achievements we have already obtained, a fundamental change in our city's public security is an important condition. This means we must fully support the vanguard who dare to struggle against all kinds of illegal and criminal activities, we must praise their revolutionary spirit and heroic deeds in a big way and popularize their experience. The city government has called upon the broad numbers of cadres, workers and the people and masses to learn from the public security models and the active public security elements, and has called upon the people to study the political position of the great and limitless love these models have for the people, their hatred of the enemy, and the clear division between love and hate. The people have been called upon to learn the high degree of political awareness of placing the benefit of the party and the people in first place as these models have done, to learn their unselfishness, fearlessness, and their revolutionary spirit of daring to control and struggle against evildoers, to learn their honorable moral acts of sacrificing themselves to save others and to dare to perform good deeds. If their good thoughts and their good morality can be spread among the people of the whole city, then our work of reorganizing social and public order will have a broad mass foundation, all criminal elements will be surrounded by the masses that dare to struggle and that are skilled at struggle. In the 1950's, the evildoers feared the good people, feared the masses, feared the law, and the situation was stable, and this will surely be revived.

At present, the broad numbers of cadres and masses on each battlefront in our city are conscientiously studying and implementing the «Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Nation» under the spiritual guidance of the Sixth Plenum in order to unify the ideology on the basis of the fundamental conclusion of the «resolution», to be of one heart and one mind, to lift the morale, and to achieve new victories. To maintain a political situation of stability and unity, to assure the smooth progress of economic readjustment and the building of the four modernizations, we must continue to mobilize the masses, to maintain socil and public security well in a big way, to exert efforts to create a good and safe environment, to let the masses of people calm down, and to concentrate efforts with one heart and one will to carry out the four modernizations. For this, we must broadly and profoundly launch propaganda on rule by law; we must especially strengthen the ideological education of young people in a big way, strengthen the concept of rule by law among the broad masses, and consciously struggle with determination against all criminal elements. Each factory, enterprise, office, school, and street organization must grasp well the work of mobilizing the ideology of the masses so that the broad masses will eliminate worry and actively participate in the struggle to reorganize social and public security.

The political and judicial organizations must insist on doing things according to the law, severely strike at the rampancy of criminal elements. The broad number of cadres and policemen of the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts must learn to utilize the legal weapons well to struggle against criminal elements, to realistically correct the phenomenon of weakness in striking at criminals. Criminal elements must be dealt with seriously and correctly based on legal procedures according to the different situations and the severity of the cases. The murderers, arsonists, robbers, rapists, criminals carrying out bombings and other criminals who seriously damage social and public security, especially abettors, major criminals and recidivists, must be firmly and severely punished according to the law on a continuing basis. The large number of people who engage in slightly illegal behavior must be treated as parents treat their children suffering from infectious disease and as the doctor treats his patients with compassion; they should be carefully and patiently educated, reformed, and reeducated so that they will change for the better. To concretely do well the work of public security and prevention, the work of the residents committees, the public security and protection committee and the mediation committee must be strengthened; the safety measures of the "four preventions"--guarding against enemy agents, guarding against theft, preventing fires and preventing damage to public security--must be conscientiously implemented. Collection of lethal weapons must be continued and carried out thoroughly. Ideological work regarding people who privately keep lethal weapons must be done well so that they will hand the weapons over willingly. Those who refuse to hand over lethal weapons must be forced to do so, and the people and the weapons confiscated must be dealt with according to law. Patrol activities must be launched. Each factory, enterprise, store, and school must establish economic people's police and public security pickets according to regulations, insure that factories and schools are well protected, and strengthen joint prevention efforts between the region and the unit to actually maintain good public security and order.

The public security situation in our city has already begun to improve; each region, unit and department must continue to exert efforts to continue to expand the achievements on the foundation of those already realized so as to make new contributions in order to change the social security situation in our city, maintain the stable and united political situation, and assure the smooth progress of building the four modernizations!

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SHANGHAI GARRISON COMMAND STUDIES RESOLUTION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by correspondent: "Shanghai Garrison Command District Organizes Cadres Above the Regimental Level To Conscientiously Study the 'Resolution,' Strengthen Consciousness in Insisting Upon Mao Zedong Thought; He Yixiang [0149 0110 4382], Deputy Commander of the Nanjing Troops; Wang Jingkun [3769 2529 2492], Commander of the Shanghai Garrison Command District; and Zhang Chen [4545 1051], Political Commissar, Spoke"]

[Text] From 5 to 17 August, the Shanghai Garrison Command District held an enlarged meeting of the party committee and organized the cadres above the regimental level to conscientiously study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the Nation." The participants further strengthened their awareness of insisting upon Mao Zedong Thought through learning.

Many comrades participating in the conference were old comrades who had taken part in the revolution during the war years. They all had personal experience in the development of Mao Zedong Thought and in the growth and strengthening of the party and the armed forces under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. A leading comrade who joined the armed forces during the warring period of the land reform revolution reminisced about the success and failures of the five counter-"encirclement" campaigns and said profoundly that practice shows that by insisting on Mao Zedong Thought, the revolution will be victorious; by violating Mao Zedong Thought, the revolution will encounter obstacles and defeat.

How do we insist upon Mao Zedong Thought in the new historical conditions? Comrades participating in the conference agreed: 1) We must righteously propagandize Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously learn the works of Chairman Mao, and utilize Mao Zedong Thought to arm the minds of cadres and soldiers. Cadres above the regimental level must conscientiously study the 43 works by Chairman Mao listed in the "resolution"; they must especially study the philosophical writing and military works of Chairman Mao. 2) We must study and utilize the position, viewpoints and methods of Mao Zedong Thought and work hard in studying the three basic aspects of seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence. 3) We must combine the study of Chairman Mao's writings with the study of the writings of the old generation of proletarian revolutionaries and the study of the party line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum. 4) We must insist on the style of study of linking theory with the actual situation and we must utilize Mao Zedong Thought to solve the new problems in the buildup of the troops.

At the conference, the comrades deputy commander of the Nanjing troops He Yixiang [0149 0110 4382], commander of the Shanghai Garrison Command District Wang Jingkun [3769 2529 2492] and political commissar Zhang Chen [4545 1051], talked about how we can further study the fundamental spirit of the "resolution," how we can insist on Mao Zedong Thought and similar questions.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANGHAI PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIAL ON CRIME SITUATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 81 p 2

[Article: "Deputy Chief of the City Public Security Bureau Lin Daosheng [2651 6670 3932] Reports to the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of the City; the City's Efforts To Reorganize Social and Public Security Have Achieved Preliminary Results; the Seriousness and Complexity of the Public Security Problem Must Not Be Underestimated"]

[Text] The reorganization of social and public security by the public security organs of Shanghai city has already realized preliminary achievements. During the past 2 months, they have readjusted and strengthened the scouting teams, and have solved 287 major criminal cases, equivalent to the number of cases solved in the 3 months of the first quarter. Of these, many major cases were solved within 1 or 2 days or within several hours. They also solved a number of difficult cases and cases that had not been solved for a long time, and a group of criminals who were well hidden and who had committed many crimes were exposed. The number of criminal cases occurring in the city in June showed a drop of 13.6 percent from May, and in July it dropped a further 28 percent from June. In particular, major cases of murder, robbery, rape, arson in June showed a drop of 8 percent from May, and in July they dropped a further 51.3 percent from June.

These figures were given in the report presented to the 14th meeting of the Standing Committee of the city people's congress yesterday by deputy chief Lin Daosheng [2651 6670 3932] of the Shanghai Public Security Bureau.

Comrade Lin Daosheng pointed out in the report that although the reorganization of social and public security has achieved preliminary results, we must not estimate them too highly. In recent years, the public security problem in Shanghai has been good at times and bad at times, and sometimes it has been very serious. so the seriousness and complexity of public security problems must not be underestimated. We must coordinate with the political and judicial departments and all sectors of society to fight crime so that a visible improvement in the social and public security in Shanghai will be realized at the end of this year.

Lin Daosheng talked concretely about the six preliminary results already realized in his report. He said: 1) The concentration of forces to solve major cases and important cases has improved the percentage of cases solved, and we have forcefully attacked current criminal activities. 2) We have correctly utilized legal weapons and grasped favorable opportunities; we have carried out repeated lectures and education of criminals in custody and persons subjected to labor and education, prompting them to see the future clearly, obey discipline, accept reform and repent, and become new persons. Since 10 June, among the criminals caught, sentenced and their cases solved, the number of persons released after serving a full sentence and persons relieved of labor and education who have committed new crimes has dropped 40 percent from 2 months ago. There were 186 persons sentenced to labor reform and labor and education who escaped but later returned to the labor reform units or labor and education units by themselves or accompanied by their family members. 3) Propaganda and mobilization were carried out on a broad basis to collect criminal weapons. Up to 10 August, 15,135 weapons, including indigenous firearms, daggers, and shaving knives, had already been collected, 1.5 times more than the amount collected last year. One hundred privately hidden handguns, rifles and flare guns were also collected, as well as 31,443 bullets of various calibers, 3,262 detonators, 77.3 kilograms of dynamite, and 13 hand grenades. 4) We repeatedly reorganized the social order at public places according to plan and at key places, and under the leadership of the people's government of the wards and the counties, the public security organs and the industrial and commercial departments coordinated closely and determinedly eliminated over 4,000 recreational ball game stalls involved in gambling activities, repeatedly cleared and reorganized illegal transactions and street peddlers without permits in busy sections of the city, investigated and closed down over 600 private hotels illegally doing business, and struck at criminal elements engaged in opportunism and smuggling. 5) With the support of the city's general union and related factories and enterprises, we readjusted and strengthened the workers' pickets and joint public security guard teams; the people's police led in strengthening joint guard patrols, and the results were outstanding. 6) Factories, enterprises, schools, offices and farms reorganized their internal public security and order; some units mobilized the masses to revise factory rules and regulations, and improved the concepts of discipline and rule of law of the broad number of workers.

Lin Daosheng pointed out in the report that the work of readjusting public security was able to produce such results within a relatively short period mainly because of the strengthened leadership of the party committee at each level and the determined implementation of the guidelines, policies and measures concerning the reorganization of public security issued by the party central committee; the severe and quick punishment of criminal elements involved in major current criminal cases in accordance with the law; and the correction of weakness and delays in striking at criminals. Starting out from the current situation in public security, the political and judicial departments grasped temporary solutions as the key first and concentrated superior forces to carry out continuous combat; they formed public opinion and created a trend in reorganizing social order in a big way. Lin Daosheng said in the report that during the past 2 months, the momentum of reorganizing social and public security has been strong, the actions have been quick, the results have been good, and criminals have been seriously attacked, their rampancy has been forced to retract, and they are beginning to show a trend toward division and demoralization. In June and July, 1,061 criminals gave themselves up voluntarily to public security organs, and those who informed upon other criminal activities were given lenient treatment.

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SELECTIVE STUDY OF MAO'S WORK AS GUIDING IDEOLOGY URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by JIEFANG RIBAO commentator: "Follow the Example of the Eighth Company in Giving Continuing Attention to the Study of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] Is it still necessary to study Chairman Mao's important works during this new historical period of the development of the four modernizations? Our response is affirmative. A related report on the eighth company of a certain artillery regiment under the Shanghai Garrison Command, carried by this newspaper today, is an example that provides a relatively great power of persuasion.

In the course of strengthening ideological and political work, the party branch of this company has organized cadres and fighters to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's works as an answer to problems resulting from the loose organization of its leading groups, complaints from the fighters that "being a soldier is not rewarding," and lax organization and discipline. Regarding Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works as valuable spiritual food, its members have persisted in educating the people in Mao Zedong Thought and have helped cadres and fighters foster the idea of devotion to serving the people as well as the lofty revolutionary ideals so that they can take a correct attitude toward individual interests, carry forward the decent moral virtue and the workstyle of hard struggle, and increase their ability to observe and analyze problems. Thanks to the relatively good results they have reaped, the outlook of the company as a whole has undergone a remarkable change.

Mao Zedong Thought, which has demonstrated tremendous power during the long period of revolutionary practice, is an application and a development of Marxism-Leninism in China, a theory and principle guiding the Chinese revolution which have been proved correct in practice, a summarization of related experiences, and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP. The Chinese people have long harbored profound affection for Chairman Mao's works. During the long period of practice in revolution and construction, in the course of studying Marxist-Leninist works many of them began to consciously study Chairman Mao's works long ago, with very good results. For example, during the Yanan rectification campaign, they acquired excellent experience in integrating theory with practice and in studying theory in order to improve their way of thinking. After nationwide liberation, a massive campaign to study Chairman Mao's works gradually grew in strength. But under the influence of the erroneous leftist guiding ideology, and especially under the disruptive influence of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng during the 10-year civil strife, this campaign did not achieve its intended objectives. Meanwhile, in his later years Comrade Mao Zedong made grave errors. This has prompted some comrades to ask: Is it still necessary to continue to attach importance to the study of Chairman Mao's works today?

A clear answer to this question has been provided by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The "Resolution" gives a full account of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong as the great leader and teacher in the Chinese revolution, emphasizing in detail the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. The "Resolution" clearly tells the nation and the world: "Mao Zedong Thought is a valuable spiritual asset of our party. It will continue to guide our actions for a long time to come. The attempts to cite the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years as a reason for denying the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and its role in guiding the Chinese revolution and construction are an attitude that is completely wrong." Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works cannot be discredited just because he made mistakes in his later years. Nor can the fact that the study of Chairman Mao's works was once a target of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng and company be cited as a reason for depriving the broad masses of people of a fervent desire to study Chairman Mao's works consciously. The eighth company of the artillery regiment of a certain PLA unit once again reminds us of the need to fully appreciate the continuing emphasis on the study of Chairman Mao's scientific works as a matter of far-reaching significance, and of the need to constantly raise our consciousness concerning the need to apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in order to remold our own world outlook. Of course, through study we must remember past lessons, so that studying in a summary fashion, in a philistine manner, and as a matter of formality, and a dogmatic approach to studying, will no longer be repeated and the debate over the two "whatevers" will no longer be rekindled.

How can we score success in studying Chairman Mao's works in the new situation? The experience of the eighth company of the artillery regiment of a certain PLA unit is an inspiration to us. After summing up their past experiences and lessons from a realistic point of view, they have come up with three proposals to "draw a demarcation line between what is right and what is wrong": It is necessary to draw a line between the absolutely necessary formulas for carrying on the study campaign and the practice of formalism; it is necessary to draw a line between the basic viewpoints and the repetition of individual phrases plucked out of the texts; and it is necessary to draw a line between the integration of theory and practice and the call for studying to get quick results. These three "demarcation lines" can be summarized into one single point: We must distinguish the learning experiences and methods acquired and verified as useful by the masses from the sabotage by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng, and we must truly come to grips with the stand, viewpoint, and methods of Mao Zedong Thought. In the course of study, we must focus attention on preventing some people from unilaterally seeking publicity and practicing formalism. Stress must be put on actual results; work must be meticulously and successfully organized to guide the study. In the course of study, we must persist in integrating theory with practice, while avoiding far-fetched interpretations and applying theory mechanically. No one can take such opportunities to punish others. Everyone should be encouraged to study the classic Marxist-Leninist works on his own and to make efforts to comprehend their essence fully and accurately. Collective study should be organized properly, so as to enable students to exchange views and to inspire each other to make joint improvements in study.

At present, as an in-depth study of the "Resolution" is underway, we should devote part of our study time to selectively emphasizing the study of Chairman Mao's important series of works listed in the section of the "Resolution" dealing with the discussion of Mao Zedong Thought. We must do so in a way that takes into account current realities. The aim is to help everyone think in a way that is consistent with the basic conclusions contained in the "Resolution." We must grasp the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for the purpose of changing the objective world as well as our own subjective world in a better way, and for the purpose of constantly deepening the understanding of the broad masses of cadres and people in proletarian ideology and communist morality. We believe that, as we are on the way to building a modern socialist power with a high level of democracy and a high level of civilization, our correct campaign to organize the broad masses of cadres and people to study Chairman Mao's works will give us a tremendous spiritual power to guide practice and will make a greater contribution to the four modernizations program.

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BRIEFS

MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATES--Kunming, 25 September (XINHUA)--Over 900 graduates from the military academies in Beijing, Nanjing, Dalian, Shijiazhuang, Kunming, and other cities requested recently transfers to serve the border defense troops in Yunnan, vowing to making contributions to the defense and development of the frontier region. Most of the graduates are youths selected from various localities to attend the military academy on the basis of their outstanding academic achievements in the nationwide college entrance examinations. There are also outstanding cadres and fighters selected by their PLA units to undergo further training at the military academy, in recognition of their distinguished service in the counterattack in self-defense. [Text] [Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 26 Sep 81 p 1] 9574

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'EXCELLENT TEACHERS' COMMENDED IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Be Excellent Teachers, as Expected by the Party and the People"]

[Text] The activity of recommending "excellent people's teachers"--sponsored by WEN HUI BAO, the municipal Bureau of Education, and the municipal Educational Trade Union--has now been satisfactorily concluded. The glorious title of "excellent people's teacher" has been given to 107 teachers, and 421 teachers have been appraised as advanced teachers. Among them are those teachers who have long been working on the foremost front of education, as well as new talents on the educational front. They are earnestly dedicated to the party's educational enterprises and have made outstanding contributions to the training of the next generation. Today is the first day of the beginning of the new school year. We respectfully extend our warm congratulations to those comrades who have been given the glorious title of "excellent people's teacher" and have been appraised as advanced teachers, and our high esteem to them! May they exert themselves time and again, climb still more peaks, and achieve even greater results in the new school year!

Elevating the teachers' social status, respecting the teachers' labor, and creating the new trend wherein everyone in society respects the teachers and pays attention to the training of the next generation are the consistent goals of the activity of recommending "excellent people's teachers" at this time. Respecting teachers and attaching importance to their learning has always been our fine tradition. This tradition, however, was subject to sabotage during the 10 years of turmoil. Although today the situation has taken a turn for the better, the mental attitude of looking down upon teachers' work has still not been completely eliminated. In recommending good teachers, the activity on this occasion broadly mobilized the masses and let students, parents, and comrades of various social circles all express their opinions, provide information, and exalt together the advanced ideas and advanced stories of excellent teachers. This served to propel respect for the teachers and an attachment of importance to their learning far beyond the limits of the school and thereby into the realm of public morality being developed by the whole society. If we wish to realize the four modernizations, we need to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization, and teachers are none other than the cultivators of such a socialist spiritual civilization. While youths, children, students, and toddlers are the future of the motherland, teachers are the engineers who mold the souls of the new people "of ideals, morality, knowledge, and physical fitness." Since every person of scientific and cultural knowledge has undergone education in school, his career and his achievements therefore all gather in them their teachers' diligent labor. Consequently, we have no reason whatsoever to look down upon teachers' work. Facts illustrate that, under the situation of relatively difficult working and living conditions, the vast ranks of teachers have industriously and earnestly shouldered the heavy task of training the next generation and demonstrated their lofty sentiments and qualities; they deserve to be respected by the whole society. We believe that through the activity of recommending "excellent people's teachers" at this time, a great influence will be exerted upon the new trend of respecting teachers throughout society.

The "excellent people's teachers" and advanced teachers selected at this time are the new pacesetters who have surged forth after our appraisal and selection last year of special-class teachers and "model class presidents," advanded educational workers. The emergence of one contingent after another of excellent people's teachers is an indication of the prosperity and development of our socialist educational enterprise. Whether in terms of their teaching work or their work in ideological education and service at the rear, the advanced teachers selected at this time all have their own new characteristics and creativity. To make the work of appraising and selecting advanced personnel regular by summing up their experience--and to unite this closely with the promotion of daily schoolwork--is the method of mass-line leadership which has been effectively practiced on the educational front. We must through various means turn their advanced ideas and precious experience into the common wealth of all teachers and staff.

In the new school year, we must organize the vast ranks of the teachers and staff to really study well the "Resolution" and further properly carry out ideological and political work among the students. We must reinforce education on adherence to the four basic principles, strengthen and improve education on Marxist-Leninist theory, consolidate education on communist morality and education on labor, and continue to create and accumulate new experiences in ideological and political education. At the same time, we must comply with the requirements of overall moral, intellectual, and physical development and, in dealing with all students in order to improve in a comprehensive way the quality of our education, we must do a good job of classroom teaching in a down-to-earth manner, improve our teaching methods, and establish the improvement of the quality of our education on the basis of knowledge and a mastery of the laws of educational work. The formal promulgation of the Student Regulations for Middle and Elementary Schools is an important measure in carrying out the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in reinforcing and improving our ideological and political education, and in educating our youths and children with the Marxist world view and communist morality on the educational front. As soon as the new school year gets started, we must immediately grasp closely and grasp well the task of implementing the Student Regulations.

In the activity of selecting excellent teachers at this time, even though only a small number of comrades were given the honor of being designated "excellent people's teachers" and appraised as advanced teachers, they are the common honor and pride of the educational workers in the municipality's middle and elementary schools as a whole. The party and the government entrust their earnest hopes to every teacher. The training of a generation of new people requires hundreds and thousands of "excellent people's teachers." Prompted by the activity of recommendation and selection at this time, may more "excellent people's teachers" surge forth on the educational front, so that they will vie with one another like a hundred flowers in the socialist educational garden and make even greater contributions to the construction of the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/104

THREE COUNTIES IN ZHEJIANG PROVINCE REPORT POPULATION PROJECTIONS

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1981 pp 32-37

[Article by Zhuang Bingjin [8369 3521 3866] and Huang Xinmei [7806 9515 2812] of the Zhejiang Family Planning Office: "Projection of Population of Three Counties in Zhejiang Province"]

[Text] This paper analyzes the population of the three counties of Yuyao, Jiangshan and Huangyan on the basis of population figures by age and the death figures by age from the end of 1978. On the basis of these data we project the developmental trends in population for the next 20 to 60 years, and study the changes in composition of the population, and the influences this exerts to provide information for drafting a rational population plan.

Population Situation at the End of 1978

The total population of the three counties was 2,314,566; 1,194,730 males and 1,119,836 females.

1. Age Composition: Average age was 27.5 for males and 28 for females. Median age was 23.2 for both males and females.

Those below the age of 30 (0-29) made up 62.55 percent of the total population. The percentage of young people and children (0-14) was 33.2 percent and the percentage of the elderly (over 65) was 5.7 percent.

According to the generally accepted criterion adopted internationally for characterizing age composition, the age composition of these three counties is of the mature type. Since half of the population was under 23.2 years of age, the population under 30 was large and the percentage of the elderly was low, there was an inclination toward youth.

2. The percentage of those who had to be supported was 63.7. Young people and children were 54.4 percent of this and the elderly, 9.3 percent.

Of the working age population (15-64), the young working population (15-44) made up 74.66 percent and the elderly working population (45-64) made up 25.34 percent, about the 1935 world average.

3. Births and deaths: The proportion of women of child-bearing age in the population was rather high, women of child-bearing age of 15-49 made up 24.16 percent of the total population and women of child-bearing age of 20-39 made up 14.56 percent of the total population. The population reproduction base was high.

In 1978 in these three counties the birth rate was 1.539 percent, the death rate was .591 percent, and the natural growth rate was .948 percent (1.107 percent) for the whole county as a whole. The average age of death was 55 for males and 56.3 for females. Average life expectancy was 68.94 for males and 71.94 for females. The general childbirth rate was 6.172 percent. Materials are lacking on the childbirth rate by age. But if we take the childbirth rate by age for the suburban counties of Shanghai and Beijing and divide the number of people born among the groups of women of childbearing age and, making several assumptions, choose the highest, the total childbirth rate was 1.86.

4. Composition by sex: There were 51.6 percent males and 48.4 percent females, basically the same as the country as a whole. Divided by age groups they were as follows in the table below.

Table 1.

Age Group	Percentage of Females	Age Group	Percentage of Females
0	47.1	15-19	48.62
1	47.9	20-24	49.19
2	48.0	25-29	49.26
3	48.6	30-34	47.4
4	48.0	35-39	45.1
5-9	48.46	40-44	45.5
10-14	48.10	65-69	51.1

The proportion of females in the 0, 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44 age groups tended to be low. The tendency to be low in these last three age groups is because these persons were born in the old society and at that time, in Zhejiang rural areas, the idea of "favoring males and slighting females" was very prevalent and there was the practice of female infanticide and at the same time there was not much concern for the maturing of girls, so the death rate was rather high. But the 0 age group also is inclined to be low and should attract our attention, since this reflects the reoccurrence in recent years in some places of abandoning and killing infants, for the most part girls, we must further investigate the causes.

5. Age pyramid: To reflect the age composition of these three counties graphically, and observe the changes in birth rate and death rate in the age groups and the age base of the existing masses of child-bearing age which will directly influence the future population reproduction, we have drawn a population age pyramid. (See Figure 1)

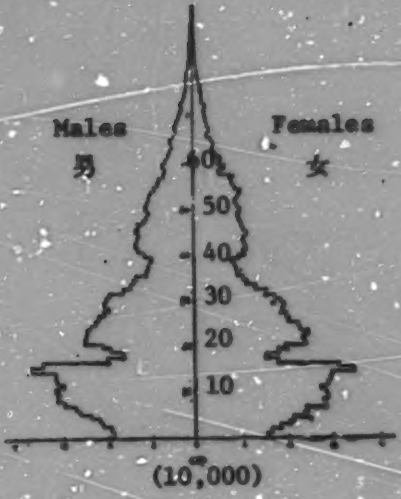

Figure 1

This age pyramid has three very clear contractions:

1. There is a contraction in the 36-40 age group;
2. There is a contraction in the 17-20 age group;
3. Before 1971 the pyramid shape was inverted, but since 1972 it has gradually contracted every year.

This contraction in the base of the age pyramid fully reflects the conscientious implementation of the party's population policy in Zhejiang in the 1970's and is an evident result of the family planning work launched. Since 1971 Zhejiang has strengthened leadership of family planning work at all levels, formulated and implemented a population plan to gradually lower the birth rate. The natural rate of population growth in these three counties in 1971 was 2.234 percent, in 1978 this had dropped to .948 percent, a 1.286 percent drop in 7 years' time. Although the economic and educational level of China's rural areas is rather backward, if the superiority of the socialist system can be fully developed, and a correct population policy carried out, population growth can be brought under control in a very short time. This time is not only much shorter than many economically underdeveloped nations, but also may be faster than the economically developed nations.

Population growth is not only influenced directly by the social system and population policy, but also is influenced by many other factors. The first contraction in the population age pyramid is due to the invasion of imperialist Japan from 1941 to 1945. China's rural areas suffered the destruction of war, the lives of the people were even harder and thus there is an evident decline in the birth rate and a sharp increase in the death rate. The second contraction in the population age pyramid came in the period from 1958 to 1961, first, because of the failure of the economic policy of the "Great Leap Forward"; second, serious natural disasters caused severe damage to national construction, and the people's lives were very difficult leading to a clear drop in the birth rate. This lesson was very painful.

Forecast of Population Growth Trends for the Next 20 Years

Not long ago, the party Central Committee and the State Council stated: We should widely promote the policy of one child per couple and strive to keep China's total population to under 1.2 billion by the end of this century. To realize this aim, we should formulate short-term and long-term population plans consonant with the actual situation in the local areas. In addition, we should forecast as accurately as possible the trends in population growth in the future, the changes in population age composition and the various influences which this will produce. For this reason, we have compared several population planning proposals and selected the best of them.

1. Drawing up a population forecasting model: The new marriage law went into effect at the beginning of this year, and comparing the marriage age of young men and women with the late marriage age a few years ago, we proposed five age groups for the urban areas and three age groups for the rural areas. But because of the propaganda and education on late marriage and late childbearing which has gone on for nearly 10 years, and the influence of other factors, some young people will postpone marriage and childbearing. Thus we designed a marriageable age ratio for young women and a proportional constant of age of childbearing as follows:

Age of marriage ratios: 20 percent at 20 years of age, 20 percent at 21 years of age, 30 percent at 22 years of age, 20 percent at 23 years of age, 10 percent at 24 years of age. First birth after marriage: 40 percent within 1st year of marriage, 50 percent in 2d year of marriage, 5 percent in 3d year of marriage, no births (including those not married) 5 percent. Second birth: more than 5 years later. No third child.

Forecast I: 1981-85 two children per couple, total childbearing rate is 1.935, 1986-2000, 50 percent of the couples have had one child, 50 percent have had two children, for a total childbirth rate of 1.46.

Forecast II: 1981-90 50 percent of the couples have two children, 50 percent of the couples have only one child, overall child-bearing rate is 1.46. 1991-2000 80 percent of the couples have only one child, 20 percent have two children and the overall childbirth rate is 1.184.

Forecast III: 1981-2000 each couple has two children, overall childbirth rate is 1.935.

2. Method of calculation (disregarding mechanical population movement factors)

(a) Calculate the change in women of child-bearing age in each age group. On the basis of the death rate of the 1978 age groups, we calculated the survival rate for women in each age group, then calculated the number of women in each age group for each year over the next 20 years, then predicted the number of births each year from 1981-2000 according to forecasts I, II and III.

(b) According to the death rates by age group for 1978, we calculated the number of deaths for each year and the overall number of deaths for 1981-2000.

(c) We predicted the population by age group at the end of the year 2000 according to the three forecasts.

(d) On the basis of the numbers of births and the numbers of deaths derived, we calculated the birth rate, death rate, natural population increase and total population year by year.

Table 2. 1981-2000 Yearly Birth Rates, Death Rates, and Natural Growth Rates for Forecasts I, II, and III

Year	Forecast I			Forecast II			Forecast III		
	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Growth Rate
1981	16.80	6.24	10.56	12.44	6.14	6.30	16.80	6.24	10.56
1982	16.81	6.38	10.43	12.42	6.26	6.16	16.81	6.38	10.43
1983	17.68	6.52	11.16	13.29	6.41	6.88	17.68	6.52	11.16
1984	18.72	6.69	12.03	14.52	6.55	7.97	18.72	6.69	12.03
1985	19.57	6.79	12.78	15.59	6.70	8.89	19.57	6.79	12.78
1986	15.74	6.83	8.91	16.07	6.86	9.21	19.64	6.91	12.73
1987	15.27	6.92	8.35	15.59	6.99	8.60	18.77	7.01	11.76
1988	14.72	7.01	7.71	15.02	7.10	7.92	18.10	7.10	11.00
1989	14.77	7.10	7.67	15.07	7.21	7.86	18.46	7.19	11.27
1990	15.18	7.21	7.97	15.38	7.34	8.04	19.38	7.30	12.08
1991	15.63	7.43	8.20	12.86	7.42	5.44	20.30	7.42	12.88
1992	15.74	7.46	8.28	12.82	7.53	5.29	20.59	7.52	13.07
1993	15.33	7.51	7.82	12.48	7.58	4.90	20.03	7.55	12.48
1994	14.60	7.64	6.96	11.88	7.73	4.15	19.03	7.65	11.38
1995	13.81	7.69	6.12	11.19	7.79	3.40	18.05	7.65	10.40
1996	13.10	7.81	5.29	10.54	7.94	2.60	17.23	7.74	9.49
1997	12.39	7.93	4.46	9.85	8.07	1.78	16.45	7.82	8.63
1998	11.61	8.02	3.59	9.11	8.19	0.92	15.58	7.88	7.70
1999	10.93	8.07	2.86	3.50	8.26	0.24	14.73	7.89	6.84
2000	10.24	8.23	2.01	7.95	8.46	-0.51	13.81	7.98	5.83

Table 3. Comparison of Yearly Natural Growth Rates for Forecasts I, II, III

Forecast	Yearly Natural Growth Rate (per thousand)					2000年末 (1) 总人口数	为1978年末 (2) 人口数的%
	1981—85	1986—90	1991—95	1996—2000	1981—2000		
Ⅰ	9.34	8.15	5.85	3.55	7.83	274.77万	118.73
Ⅱ	6.00	8.35	4.65	0.85	5.66	262.00万	113.21
Ⅲ	9.34	11.94	12.12	7.63	10.64	292.13万	126.23

Key:
(1) Total population by end of year 2000 (in tens of thousands)
(2) Percentage of population at end of 1978

3. Comparison of the results of the three forecasts. From Tables 2 and 3 we can see the following common ground:

(a) Overall population figure increased over the 20-year period.

(b) Death rate rose year by year within the 20-year period.

(c) In the decade from 1981-90, the birth rate rose year by year.

Differences:

(a) The scale of population increase was different. (See Figure 2). At the end of 2000:

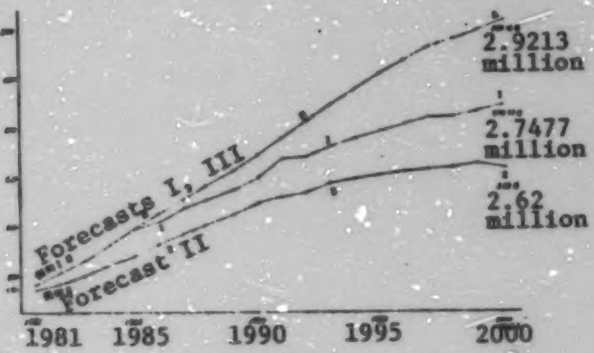

Figure 2

Forecast I is 118.73 percent of the end of 1978, an average annual increase of 7.83 percent; forecast II is 113.21 percent of the end of 1978, an average annual increase of 5.66 percent; forecast III is 126.23 percent of the end of 1978, an average annual increase of 10.64 percent.

(b) The number of people born is different (see Figure 3). In 20 years, forecast III has 2 birth peaks, right up until 2000, the number of persons born is still more than the number born in 1981; for forecast I, in the first 5 years and the third 5 years there are small birth peaks in each period, and then a decrease year by year; in forecast II, though there is an increase in births in 1983, it is small scale and after 1991 there is a decrease year by year.

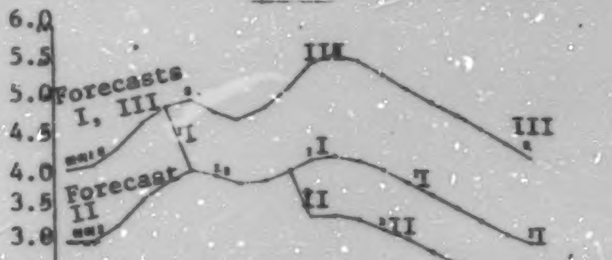

Figure 3

From the age pyramid it is evident (see Figure 4), that from the standpoint of the demand to control population, the contractions in the base of the pyramid for forecast II are ideal, the base for forecast I is stable and the base for forecast III is too broad and is even broader 10 years later and thus is not ideal.

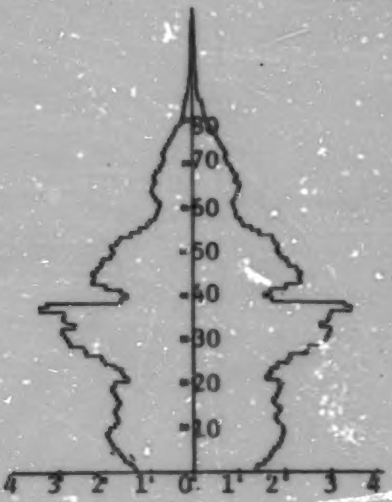

Figure 4.1 Forecast I
Population Age Pyramid
for End of Year 2000
(males and females not
separated)

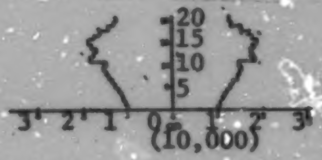

Figure 4.2 Forecast II
Total Birth Rate 1981-1990
= 1.46
Total Birth Rate 1991-2000
= 1.184

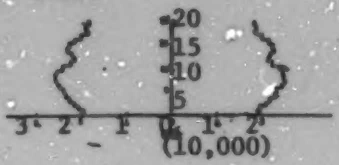

Figure 4.3 Forecast III
Total Birth Rate 1981-2000 =
1.935

From Table 4 it is evident:

(a) No matter which of the indicators is used, the age composition of the population at the end of 2000 for all three schemes belongs to the elderly type. For the 20-year period the population grows older daily.

(b) The load percentage is lowered, with the load percentage at the end of 2000 being lower than the level at the end of 1978.

Summarizing the above, universally advocating that couples have only one child had very important significance for regulating new peaks in childbirth and further controlling population increase. The question is, what level should the birth rate achieve in the next 20 years and how long should it be maintained.

The Best Choice of the Three Forecasts

Formulating plans to control population growth should both proceed from the actual situation of China which has a population of 1 billion, has 800 million peasants, little arable land and a poor foundation to start with and also should

Table 4. Population Comparison by End of 2000 and Comparison With End of 1978 According to Forecasts I, II and III

	End of 1978	Forecast I		Forecast II		Forecast III	
		End of 2000	Comparison with 1978	End of 2000	Comparison with 1978	End of 2000	Comparison with 1978
Average age	27.76岁	37.48岁	+ 9.72岁	38.70岁	+10.94岁	35.80岁	+8.04岁
Median age	23.19岁	34.07岁	+10.88岁	35.03岁	+11.84岁	32.57岁	+9.38岁
Percent of population of youths and elderly	38.9%	28.05%	-10.85%	26.49%	-12.41%	32.30%	-6.60%
" " " youths	33.2%	19.02%	-14.18%	17.02%	-16.18%	23.83%	-9.37%
" " " elderly	5.7%	9.03%	+ 3.33%	9.47%	+ 3.77%	8.49%	+2.79%
Support [non-working] coefficient	63.7%	38.98%	-24.72%	36.03%	-27.67%	47.76%	-15.94%
Percent of youths	54.4%	26.43%	-27.97%	23.15%	-31.25%	35.21%	-19.19%
Percent of elderly	9.3%	12.55%	+ 3.25%	12.88%	+ 3.58%	12.55%	+ 3.25%
Population of working age 15-44 years	74.66%	70.40%	- 4.26%	69.35%	- 5.31%	70.40%	- 4.26%
45-64 years	25.34%	29.60%	+ 4.26%	30.65%	+ 5.31%	29.60%	+ 4.26%
Percent of entire population under 30 years of age	62.55%	41.45%	-21.10%	38.06%	-24.49%	44.93%	-17.62%

consider the fact that China's rural areas are economically and educationally backward and that development is very uneven, and must consider fully the degree to which the broad mass of peasants can accept propaganda and education; furthermore, we should also strive to stabilize the age composition of the population to avoid or reduce the social problems which this produces. This was our basic point of departure in choosing the best of the three proposals above.

Forecast III could break through the goal proposed by the nation to control population growth and thus is unacceptable. Forecasts I and II: which is the better? We chose forecast I for these reasons:

1. It could realize the goal proposed by the nation to control population growth. After 20 years the total population of these three counties would increase by 13.2 percent. Extrapolating according to these growth ratios, at the end of 2000 the total population of the entire country would not exceed 1.2 billion.

2. At the end of 2000, the population of working age and the percentage that had to be supported would not create an excessive burden on society, and could be accepted. The population of working age would be 71.95 percent of the total population. The percentage of those who need support would be 24.72 percent lower than in 1978. Of this, the percentage of the young people and children in need of support would be 28 percent lower than in 1978, and the percentage

of elderly in need of support would only increase 3.25 percent over 1978. The social and family burden would be much lower than in 1978.

3. Changes in the base of the population age pyramid would be relatively stable. To make further comparisons, we have designed several scenarios which calculate roughly the population growth trends from 2001 to 2040. These are also based on the population at the end of 2000 calculated according to forecasts I and II. Hypothesizing an annual death rate maintained at the figure for the end of 2000, and using the "simple calculation method" (females making up 48 percent of those born, women of 22 having 1 child and women of 26 having 2 children) we came up with 4 models: viz., scenario a for forecast I, in the period 2001-2040 one-half of the couples would continue to have 1 child; scenario b for forecast I, between 2001 and 2040, 80 percent of the couples would have 1 child; scenario a for forecast II, in 2001-2040, 80 percent of the couples would have 1 child; scenario b for forecast II, in 2001-2007, 90 percent of the couples would have 1 child, in 2008-2040, 20 percent of the couples would have only 1 child. The results of the forecasts are depicted in Figure 5.1-5.4.

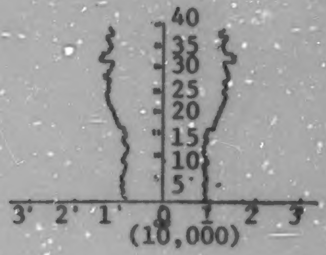

Figure 5.1
Forecast I a

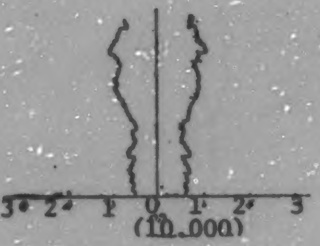

Figure 5.2
Forecast I b

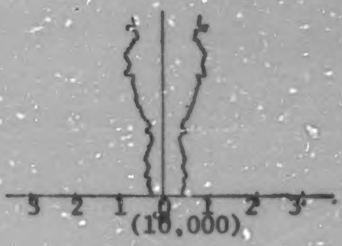

Figure 5.3
Forecast II a

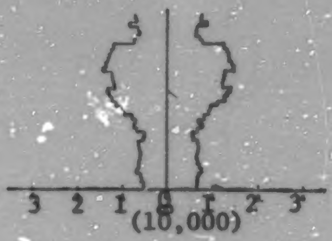

Figure 5.4
Forecast II b

The situation in scenario a for forecast I is: the total population of these three counties would continue to grow in 2001-2020, and at the end of 2020 the total population would reach 2,814,600, a 21.6 percent increase over 1978. This is a 20-year increase of 2.4 percent or an average growth rate of 1.2 percent per year. Projecting the national population figure on the basis of this growth rate, it would not exceed 1.2 billion. Beginning in 2020, the natural growth rate of the population would be negative, and the total population in 2040 would be 2,708,600, 117.05 percent of that at the end of 1978. The total population would have decreased 3.76 percent over the 20-year period, or an annual natural growth rate of -.19 percent. From this it can be seen that although there would be a slight increase in the total population resulting from the implementation of this plan, and it would reach a period of stasis and slow down slightly, the increase in the total population would be very small and the trend toward the population becoming older would be mitigated.

4. Through propaganda and education it is rather easy to reach most of the masses. In the early 1960's the slogan "one is not few, two is just right, three is too many" was proposed. After 18 years of effort these three counties have basically satisfied this requirement. If it had not been for the 10 years of chaos of the "Great Cultural Revolution" this requirement would have been met in an even shorter time. It is even more difficult to advocate that a couple have only one child. We plan to use a 20-year period to mobilize half the couples to want to have only one child. This is more realistic and can be consolidated. To prevent the population from further aging, at some time we will have to readjust consciously to the method of each couple having 2.2 children, to achieve a zero population growth. There is no doubt of this. On the basis of forecast I we have gradually turned in this direction. The resistance will be low and the masses will be happy to accept it.

According to scenario a of forecast II, the total population in 2020 would reach 2,581,600 million, which is 233,000 fewer than the population according to scenario a of forecast I. But the aging trend in the population is more severe. The base of the age pyramid for 2040 is too narrow, and there is an inverted triangle, which will create an excessive burden on society. In actual work it may not be possible to achieve this goal.

From this preliminary analysis forecasting population growth trends, we recognize that starting now to spread the idea of one couple having only one child, and gradually working up to half the couples having only one child and spreading the idea of not having the third child, and on the basis of this requirement formulating and implementing population plans is very much in line with the actual situation. What the objective outcome of this will be still awaits further examination in practice.

8226
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BIRTH RATE IN JIANGSU PROVINCE GRADUALLY DROPS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Article: "Gradual Reduction of Birth Rate in Jiangsu Province; 11 Year Cumulative Number of 6.66 Million Births"]

[Text] Jiangsu Province has launched family planning work broadly and deeply and the 1980 birth rate for the province dropped to 1.215 percent, with the rate of 1-child families increasing to over 68 percent. Comparing this year with 1970 when family planning was started, 880,000 fewer people were born and the 11-year cumulative total is 6.66 million fewer births.

In directing family planning work, leadership at all levels in Jiangsu Province has upheld throughout the "three relys," i.e., rely on ideological and political work and maintain persuasive education; rely on implementing feasible policies; rely on spreading scientific knowledge and technical measures. Among the "three" relys," attention was paid to developing the role of party and league members as models. When formulating plans, many districts paid attention to guiding the cadres and masses to understand the important significance of family planning in relation of population growth to the national economy and other social questions. In actual work they stressed the five areas of ideology, organization, policy, planning and measures. Thus, since the 1970's, the birth rate has dropped steadily without any large increases or decreases

In recent years, along with the promotion of systems of production responsibility in the rural areas, the province has summarized and promoted in a timely fashion the experience of the system of responsibility of cadres on station at the three levels of commune, brigade and production brigade in Taicang and Dongtai Counties and demanded that family planning and agricultural sideline enterprise and industrial production be deployed, overseen, summarized and rewarded and punished together, and further mobilized the work initiative of cadres to "emphasize the two productions together."

On the foundation of present achievements, Jiangsu Province has already set targets for planned population growth this century, i.e., to lower the average annual natural population growth to .78 percent, so that the province's population will be controlled within 70 million. This is an enormous task. The broad cadres are resolved to continue, according to the spirit of the norms set by the party Central Committee and the State Council, to study the situation constantly, resolve new questions, and strive to do a better job of family planning work.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERARY REPORTAGE MUST BE TIME-SENSITIVE, NEWSWORTHY

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Deming [1728 1795 2429] and Zhang Xiaolin [1728 2556 2651]: "Literary Reportage Must Strengthen Time-Sensitiveness"]

[Text] Please look at these figures: the 63 newspapers and 81 literary and art quarterlies in the country published a total of 1,409 articles of literary reportage in the 4 years from 1977 to 1980—an average of one article each day. Not long ago, the Writers Association of China entrusted RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE] and WENYI BAO [LITERARY AND ART JOURNAL] to sponsor the first literary reportage appraisal and award activity in our history; the 30 superior works of those 4 years were selected....

What do these figures illustrate? They illustrate the unprecendented prosperity of literary reportage in the past few years as it achieved results that merit our attention!

Development is of course very pleasing, but there is also a blemish in an otherwise perfect outcome: in the process of glancing over these hundreds of works, we clearly feel that while their literary worthiness is being continually strengthened, their newsworthiness is being weakened to a certain extent.

In the case of some works, they do not solicit themes from our present realistic life by paying attention at all times to those great matters relating to our party, our state, and the destiny and future of our people, but instead they avoid realities and write about things that took place many years and generations in the past.

In the case of some works, in order to placate the psychological demand of some of the readers, they only proceed from commercial worthiness, only pay attention to interest worthiness and knowledge worthiness, and do not look into the fighting value of a theme (we must be aware that literary reportage is not the same as short literary and art pieces or anecdotes about famous people).

In the case of some works, their themes duplicate one another and thereby present the scene of "a swarm of bees": someone once wrote about Chen Jingren [7115 2529 3387], and so for a while everybody else also proceeded to write about Chen Jingren, thereby repeating matters with which people were already familiar.

In the case of some works, they choose to snuggle up to the style of biographical literature; whether necessary or not, they run to unmanageable lengths by covering the whole lifespan of a person once they get on with his story. On the other hand, we see fewer and fewer people presenting the fast-moving, short, succinct features and sketches which actually belong to the realm of literary reportage.

All of the foregoing serves in different degrees to reduce the newsworthiness of literary reportage.

We are not necessarily opposed to having literary reportage strengthen its literary worthiness, and we think this is an unavoidable trend in the development of literary reportage. But if lieterary reportage does not at the same time pay attention to its newsworthiness, its fighting nature is bound to become greatly affected!

Literary reportage is literature with newsworthiness; it has always been known to be good at quickly and directly reflecting realistic life; it takes as its social duty the recording of the storms of the time and the footsteps of historical progress; it enjoys the appellation "the light cavalry of literature." Gorkiy said: "A feature story has its own characteristics. It may be said to be a rapid-firing rifle for short-distance fighting, as opposed to a long novel--a cannon suitable for long-distance fighting." It always steps ahead of other literary styles by telling the vast ranks of readers the sensational events that have just transpired in our life and by answering the questions that hundreds of millions of people are eager to understand. Newsworthiness is one of the main characteristics of literary reportage and a mark which sets it apart from other literary styles; with newsworthiness removed, there would be no "reportage" to speak of, and that would be equivalent to removing the vital element of literary reportage.

Our literary reportage has a glorious tradition of quickly reflecting realistic life. In the 1930's, Xia Yan's [1115 5888] "Baoshengong" ["Indentured Laborers"] and Song Zhidi's [1345 0037 4104] "Yijiusanliunian Chun Zhai Taiyuan" ["In Taiyuan in the Spring of 1936"] pierced the darkness of the old world like a bolt of lightning, thereby lighting up the people's eyes and inflaming the conflagration of hatred against the old system. During the period of the anti-Japanese war and liberation war, the works of Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] and Hua Shan [5478 1472] rushed back and forth at the enemy's rear, at the front, and at the revolutionary bases like a contingent of dynamic light cavalry which inspired the fighting will and confidence in victory on the part of the people of the whole country. During the campaign to resist to America and aid Korea, Wei Wei's [7614 1550] "Shuishi Zui Keaidi Ren" ["Who Are the Most Lovable People?"] timely penetrated the smoke of the fires of war to answer the question with which the people of the motherland were most concrened, authentically conveying the common feelings and voices of the people of the entire country....

At present, our country has entered a new historical era. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, profound changes and transformations have been taking place, whether in the realms of politics, economics, ideology, and culture or on fronts such as factories, the countryside, military units, and schools. This requires our writers to take over the fighting tradition of literary reportage and reflect in a timely fashion such changes and transformations in order to stimulate and encourage the populace and inspire the people to make better progress. In these past few years, there have already appeared such good works as "Reliu" ["The Hot Current"], "Lijing Tushi ["Striving for Prosperity With Vigor"], etc., but their number remains far too small. Many works still give one the impression that they are distant, repetitious, commercial, and biographic, thus turning what should have been "a light cavalry" into "a heavy cavalry."

In order to change this situation, our writers should reinforce their sense of responsibility for the era and really join this great transformation in order to breathe and share the destiny together with the people and to keep in rhythm with the pulse of the era. They should at all times pay attention to the new personalities, new ideas, new contradictions, and new problems emerging in our life and at all times make it a point to pick the newly blossoming flowers in our life. The path of literary reportage can and should be greatly expanded so as to accommodate not only personality-oriented literary reportage, which reflects new personalities, but also event-related literary reportage, which embodies the spirit of the era--and even that literary reportage which concentrates on the study of the new contradictions and new problems emerging in the course of advances in our lives. Once literary reportage really puts in a position of primary importance those questions with which the masses of the people are most concerned, its relationship with the masses of the people will become closer and closer and the response it derives from them will likewise become more and more intense. Then, what it gains will not be limited to readers of a part of the social strata but will have the attention of far more people in the whole society.

In selecting themes, a writer must be good at uncovering them in his own life and must do his best to avoid duplicating those of others. The new life is rushing forward a thousand li each day; new personalities and new things emerge in droves; and new problems continue to appear. As long as we are willing to become attentive observers, equipped with the sensitivity of the era, fresh and valuable themes are never hard to find.

9255
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WEAPONS OF LITERARY, ART CRITICISM CANNOT BE DISCARDED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Wu Ruo [0702 3499]: "Weapons of Literary and Art Criticism Must Not Be Discarded"]

[Text] Society progresses amid contradictions. The contradiction between correct ideas and incorrect ideas is a phenomenon which exists objectively. The only correct way to solve it is to develop criticism and self-criticism. This is the case with respect to any front; the literary and art front is of course no exception. Literary and artistic undertakings are the "cogs and screws" of the vast machinery of the entire construction of socialist modernization. They shoulder the sacred mission of building an advanced spiritual civilization in the new era of history, and thereby they promote the building of an advanced material civilization. The masses of people honor writers and artists by calling them "engineers of men's souls" or "designers of spiritual civilization." This indicates the high esteem in which they hold literary and artistic undertakings and naturally brings forth a sense of honor in writers and artists. But it goes without saying that this also accentuates their sense of responsibility. As a social ideology, literature and art not only cannot avoid the ideological contradictions in society but often reflect them from different angles in a timely, sensitive manner, and thereby play a positive or negative role with respect to social progress. In the case of such noble, solemn social undertakings, whose influence, as Lu Xun said, may "last forever," they cannot help but undergo social tests. Literary and art criticism is precisely one of the most effective means for carrying out such social tests. The correct development of literary and art criticism not only can rectify the direction of development of literature and art themselves but also can promote the progress of the entire social ideology. Russia's revolutionary democratic literary and art critics, as represented by Byerinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, and Duboluoliubofu [phonetic], engendered a major influence over the development of Russia's advanced literature, painting, and music at the time, and also became the banners of the advanced social trends of the time. This is a fact with which everyone is acquainted.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have changed the guiding ideology "with class struggle as the key link"; the focus of work of the whole party and the whole country has made a major, strategic shift; and the "leftist" guiding ideology has systematically been subject to cleansing. Under the influence of this fundamental change, the situation of "ten thousand horses standing mute being after all rather lamentable" in literary and art circles in the past was swept away, and a scene of colorful flowers vying with one another presented itself. During the 3 years of this great turning period, the results achieved on the literary and art front have been very conspicuous. This must be fully affirmed. But during this historical turning period, the entire ideological and cultural front (including the literary and art front) could not help but arouse unprecedented, drastic changes, so that the people's thinking would become enlivened and a hundred schools would contend. Under such circumstances, while the positive and healthy main current rushed forward, it could hardly avoid carrying with it mud and sand, thereby causing the dragons to mix company with fish. As a large number of fine works fully reflecting the spirit of the day and inspiring the populace surged forth, there appeared at the same time certain bad works which proved listless, demoralized, low-key, and even unhealthy and in violation of the four basic principles; this was hardly strange. But more important, the people must not look at this trend without seeing it, as if nothing had happened. They should advance positive assistance and necessary struggle through criticism in order to give scope to their due roles.

Yet with respect to the development of such literary and art criticism, there exist among the people certain incorrect understandings. Some comrades are in a soft, feeble state with respect to the question of such a trend in literary and art circles; some comrades have adhered to criticism but are regarded as "petrified in their thinking"; some comrades exhibit an attitude similar to those who pale upon hearing talk about a tiger and hence look at it as a fearsome path to follow. And still other comrades immediately think "the stick is being swung" when they hear people mention that criticism is to be launched against certain bad works and unwholesome trends. They even think that this would result in "choking off any lease on life." This is very wrong. Naturally, the fact that such phenomena have come to pass has its social and historical causes, but the main ones among them are the ill consequences left over by the mechanical and excessive intraparty struggles and the social, ideological struggles during the 10 years of turmoil under the influence of the leftist trend. The excessively radical and extremist devious trend has developed into just exactly the opposite and has been replaced by another overcorrective, new devious trend which is proving to be extremist in the other direction. To put it directly, this is the practice of unrestrictedly raising questions to the level of principle and of resorting to simplistic, crude, and excessive struggle giving way to [illegible] liberal trend according to which you are good and I am also good, so we had better not say anything about each other. As to the harm of the former [trend], everyone has already had profound experience. But, can the latter be all correct and beneficial? Of course not. Our current task is precisely to oppose both the "left" and the right through guidance, and thereby gradually to return them to the correct point. Only by establishing a normal habit of criticism and self-criticism can our undertakings make progress with broad strides.

Literary and art criticism is an important method for solving contradictions among the people in the activities of artistic practice on the literary and art front. Through literary and art criticism, we should timely overcome various erroneous trends and strengthen unity, adhering to the foundation of the four basic principles. With respect to the kinds of trends in literature and art which tend to deviate from the socialist course, deviate from the party's leadership, and resort to bourgeois liberalization, in particular, we must carry out solemn, correct criticism and the necessary, appropriate struggle. But this kind of criticism and struggle definitely does not mean swinging the stick." Correct criticism and swinging the

the stick are two things that are entirely different in nature. Correct criticism is a social test indispensable to the promotion of literary and artistic development; it is a scientific appraisal, whereas "swinging the stick" means unrestrictedly raising matters to the level of principle and so-called "criticism" of a simplistic, crude and subjectivist nature. As for "choking off any lease on life," that depends on which "lease on life" we are talking about. If it is the kind of "lease on life" in the wide world of serving the people and serving socialism, then no obstacle will be tolerated, let alone any "choking off." But, in the case of a "lease of life" with respect to bourgeois liberalization, we are sorry, but we really mean to suggest a halt (if some wish to put this in terms of "choking off," it will be all right with us, too), because otherwise we would be violating the people's fundamental interests.

Within the literary and art front, literary and art criticism is entirely a comradely kind of criticism. It is solemn and serious and is meant to help those who are criticized, because the goal for which they struggle is entirely consistent. What Mr Lu Xun and Comrade Qu Qiubai established between them was precisely this kind of relationship between revolutionary friends who gave forthright admonition to each other; their "correspondence on translation" was nothing other than model literature on criticism and self-criticism. It was precisely in the course of such comradely assistance that they regarded each other as "bosom friends" and "took each into the other's confidence."

Today, when we launch criticism and self-criticism on the literary and art front under new historical conditions, we must continue to give scope to the correct traditional workstyle which the party has practiced for a long time with good results and take constant warning from that whole simplistic, crude set of "leftist" approaches which resulted in extremely ill consequences and which incurred universal repudiation by the people.

Insofar as critics are concerned, the important thing is to place emphasis on the fundamental interests of the socialist motherland and the hundreds of millions of people, to take as the norm the "four basic principles" which reflect such fundamental interests, and to refrain from keeping silent and coexisting peacefully with certain erroneous ideological trends. A communist does not hide his own point of view, nor does a revolutionary conceal his point of view. If one sees mistakes but refrains from carrying out criticism against them in a forthright manner, adopting instead a tolerant and yielding attitude, then not only does he himself fail to fulfill his duties, rendering no benefit to the people's undertakings, but insofar as the comrade making the mistakes in concerned, he also "means to love him but actually does him harm." Historical experience proves that such a metaphysical approach, which only sings other people's praises but refrains from grasping criticism, is bound to bring about serious consequences. It is equally important, on the other hand, to remember that this means assisting one's own comrades with a view to helping them cast off the burdens on their backs so that they can march forward in light gear and keep pace with the army of construction of modernization in heroic, broad strides, and it is not meant for anything else. Comrade Liu Shaoqi once siad that in treating comrades who have made mistakes, one "must have the heart of an old man." This means that we must sincerely and patiently criticize them with the intention of helping them in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and not like a hot-blooded young lad who rushes into things.

This fundamental attitude is also why we ordinarily suggest that "we must have a desire for unity." It makes a great difference whether or not we have such a desire for unity as a premise in launching our criticism and self-criticism; in fact, it determines whether or not the criticism will be fruitful.

As for the ones being subjected to criticism, the key lies in their also taking the fundamental interests of the socialist motherland and hundreds of millions of the people as their point of departure and the "four basic principles" as the norm for their own conduct. In order to emancipate our thinking and make our creations prosper, we must break down certain conventions in our thinking. But, just as Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out, this fundamental great convention still cannot be discarded. To a serious and prudent writer or artist, if the result of social practice of his own works is not very good, he needs to humbly listen to criticism from various quarters and absorb the necessary lessons from them. "Don't blame the speaker but take his words as a warning; correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you haven't. This saying is certainly applicable here. Of course, the power of countercriticism is also allowed. But if a person wishes really to absorb lessons, he should all the more conduct self-criticism. Whoever is good at doing so will never become backward. If the result of practice proves that one's works are not very good, yet one still thinks he is right and refuses to carry out self-criticism, is that not like what Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out--"a physician who cares only about providing a prescription but pays no attention to how many patients may die from taking it"?

When the critics and the criticized both adopt a positive attitude, criticism and self-criticism can be launched smoothly. The good workstyle fostered by the old generation of revolutionaries through long periods of struggle may then be taken over by us and passed on continually.

Therefore, insofar as their original meaning and the limits they have set are concerned, criticism and self-criticism on the literary and art front not only should not be things of which we are frightened but should even be things "from which we can hardly afford to depart for a single moment" insofar as the development of our literary and art movement is concerned. The weapons of literary and art criticism cannot be discarded.

In the final analysis, so-called literary and art criticism is nothing but a discussion of the success or failure, an appraisal of the good or bad points, and a statement of the pertinent or misdirected efforts of the activities of practice in literary and art creations and the execution of their scientific analysis--the summing up of their experience for the benefit of re-creation. Self-criticism in literature and art is nothing but a self-conducted summation. All this is in accord with the dialectic laws of the history of man's perception. Writers and artists, armed with the advanced ideology of the socialist era, should consciously master such laws and convert them into people's habitual behavior so as to promote the further development of our literary and artistic undertakings.

9255
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TIANJIN PLANT PRAISED FOR PROPER USE OF INTELLECTUALS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentary by special commentator: "The Responsibility of Leaders"]

[Text] After reading the report "Place Confidence in Them, Entrust Important Responsibility to Them," one is encouraged and aroused to profound reflection.

The experience of the No 4 semiconductor apparatus plant provides us with an important pointer: how would it be called a comprehensive implementation of our policy on intellectuals? We have rectified unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation, arranged definite jobs for them, and improved their living conditions somewhat, and all this is of course very important. But we must not be satisfied with such measures. It is more important to determine how we can give full scope to the specialty of each intellectual, and thereby let the wisdom and talent of each of them flower and take fruit in scientific research and production. And the responsibility of leaders lies precisely in knowing and being good at using each intellectual and in mobilizing the enthusiasm and creativity of all intellectuals to the maximum by adopting methods of organization and management suited to the characteristics of intellectuals.

We should see that, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee, in order to give full play to the role of intellectuals and develop science and technology, has formulated a series of principles and policies to gradually change the situation, whereby people look down upon science and technology and discriminate against intellectuals. Many leading cadres have paid attention to science and technology and also to giving full play to the role of technical personnel, and they have done a great deal of work. But at the same time we should see that in a considerable number of factories and enterprises, technical work remains a weak link and cannot even be placed among the leaders' important agenda items. In certain big factories, college graduates from the days prior to the 10 years of internal disturbance are found in droves, and no small number of them are also brilliant students from well-known universities; thus they may be termed to be in possession of a galaxy of talent. But the technical personnel here somehow do not feel very pleased, and they find that there is no place to apply their sinews. Those who ask for transfers are quite numerous, and both production and scientific research are greatly affected. The causes leading to such a state of affairs may be multifarious, but no doubt one important reason is the fact that leaders fail to understand them, are not good at training and using them, and even intentionally or inadvertently stifle and suppress their talent. Leaders of such units may gain some pointers from the experience of the No 4 semiconductor appratus plant.

In the early 1970's, because it was affected by "leftist" ideology, the No 4 semiconductor apparatus plant did not pay attention to science and technology, nor did it make it a point to give scope to the role of technical personnel. This resulted in a monotony in the variety of products, low quality, no sales outlets for old products, the failure of new products to be up to the standard, and the danger of approaching collapse. Today, this plant not only has achieved diversity in the variety of its products and in their good quality, but it also has turned losses into profits and dares to stand up to well-endowed big plants in the trade and to compare its own products with well-known brands. On what did it mainly rely to bring about such a tremendous change? It relied mainly on the power of science and technology, on giving full play to the role of its technical personnel. At present, while the national economy undergoes a period of readjustment, many factories and enterprises are charged with insufficient tasks, cannot even find enough things to do, and suffer from not being aware of relevant outlets. An important reason for this is that they cannot make a go of their technological capabilities, cannot increase the quantity of products that are suitable for consumption and relevant to the market, and cannot carry out a renewal or replacement of their products. Under such circumstances, an important responsibility on the part of the leaders is how to give full scope to the role of their technical personnel, make a breakthrough in technology, and open up new vistas for production.

"Place Confidence in Them, Entrust Important Responsibility to Them": this is an important experience. First there is confidence; this is the premise. If we do not take intellectuals as forces on whom socialism can rely just as we rely on workers and peasants, and if we do not trust them, then of course we will be less than willing to put them in any important position; or even if we put them there, they are actually in a powerless position or in a position where they cannot fully play their [proper] role. "Entrusting important responsibility to them" by no means suggests indiscriminately giving them some "office." Rather it suggests taking into account the characteristics and strong points of each of them and placing them in posts where they can best put their specialties to use, making it possible for their office, power, and responsibility to be closely united. It also suggests paying attention to their political progress, absorbing into the party those technical personnel who are qualified for party membership, and not stopping them at the door. Some technical personnel are both proficient in technology and equipped with organizational and leadership capabilities. Their political stand is firm, and they are young and energetic. In such cases, we should elevate them to leadership posts as soon as possible in order to give full play to their technical leadership role, and thereby gradually change the intellectual structure of the leading groups. Some technical personnel possess special skills in their trade and also are capable of achieving results. In such cases we should let them play their role at technical posts of work and not alienate them from what they are good at while using them for what they fall short of. Generally speaking, the greatest wish of specialized technical personnel is to achieve some success in the trade they are good at, and thereby to make their own contributions in the service of the people. Just as one scientist has said: Some leaders do not understand the psychology of intellectuals, thinking that implementing the policy on intellectuals means having them serve as presidents of institutes or as engineers. Actually, we merely want the leaders to create the necessary working conditions, such as guaranteeing time for scientific research, improving laboratory conditions somewhat, and providing assistants, so that we can make our contributions in the service of the state and the people. What is precious about the experience of the No 4 semiconductor apparatus plant is that the leaders there are good at training and using technical personnel according to their respective differences and in proportion to their respective competencies, so that each person can devote all his talent to his work and each kind of talent is used to the maximum, and also that technical power is really granted to technical personnel. This definitely does not imply any renunciation of leadership but merely implies that leaders should mainly strengthen their ideological leadership and mobilize the enthusiasm of technical personnel through the party's policies, and not interfere at random in specific technical work.

In order to be able to "assign tasks relevantly," it is necessary first of all to "know the person." If nothing is known at the leadership level as to what special talents the technical personnel have, what their weak points are, what they are doing, what they are thinking, what their needs and difficulties are, and so on, how can anyone talk about "assigning tasks relevently?" In order to "know the person," a leader must regularly go down among the technical personnel and mix with them and become their "confidant." Comrade Wang Naizhu [3769 0035 5511], director of the No 4 semiconductor apprratus plant and concurrently deputy secretary of the party general branch there, has been conducting himself precisely in this manner during the past 4 years and more. He always remains with the technical personnel in "going through their routine rounds," and thereby he also traverses the bottlenecks with them and shares the pleasures of triumph with them. He chats and engages in heart-to-heart talks with the technical personnel, looks after their work and their living conditions, and supports them on crucial occasions. In time, he has gradually come to understand them, to become familiar with them, and to possess a knowledge of the specialties and weak points of every one of them. The technical personnel, too, take him as their bosom friend, and when they come up with certain ideas and opinions they willingly seek him out to talk about them. This is precisely what some of our leading comrades still lack.

In order to manage our production and technical work well, our cadres must also be required to understand some technology. To understand too much, of course, would present difficulties, but it also won't do if they understand too little. Many of our old cadres have relatively high organizational and leadership talent and are willing to serve as "rear service chiefs" silently without making any fuss; this is their precious trait. If these leading cadres could learn more technology and understand more of the business, they would gain the initiative in presiding over production and, when they dealt with the technical personnel, they would have greater authority to speak and to issue commands, as well as an intelligent eye for recognizing talent, for knowing people, and for using them in a relevant way. This requires our leading cadres to make the necessary effort to study the specialized knowledge related to their respective trades and gradually transform themselves from novices into experts.

The experience of the No 4 semiconductor apparatus plant is of universal significance. The production basics of this plant, and especially the original foundation of its technical ranks, were rather inadequate, and the professional knowledge and management level of its original leading cadres were also no higher than those at other plants. The things that such a small plant can achieve should also be gradually achievable at factories and enterprises that have similar or better conditions. The key lies in the leaders seriously paying attention to science and technology and paying attention to, and being good at, giving full play to the role of the technical personnel. This requires a high sense of dedication to the revolutionary cause as well as a sense of responsibility to cast off "leftist" constraints and comprehensively carry out the party's policy with regard to intellectuals. Such leadership is needed in the improvement of our party leadership, needed in the demonstration of the superiority of socialism, and needed in our undertakings for modernization.

9255
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LU XUN'S VIEWS ON LITERARY CRITICISM APPLICABLE TODAY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zhou Zhemin [0719 0772 3046]: "Make Literature, Art, and Criticism Advance Together"]

[Text] At a time when the Party Central Committee calls on us to correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and overcome the tendency of bourgeois liberalization today, it is of great realistic significance to earnestly grasp the singular views of Lu Xun on literary and art criticism.

As far back as 1929, Lu Xun already raised a cry of warning in his "Wenyi Yu Piping--Yizhe Fuji" ["Literary Art and Criticism--Translator's Note"]: "We must have more genuine criticism before we have any hope that new literature and art and new criticism will emerge." Later on, he specifically wrote numerous articles such as "Women Yao Pipingjia" ["We Need Critics"], "Pipingjia di Pipingjia" ["The Critic's Critic"], "Duiyu Pipingjia di Xiwang" ["Our Hope for Critics"], "Masha Yu Pengsha" ["Hurt by Abuse and Hurt by Praise"], and "Fandui Hanleidi Pipingjia" ["Opposing the Critic With Tears"] to repeatedly state his view that "literature and art must have criticism"; "only thus can we make literature, art, and criticism advance together."

Why did Lu Xun pay so much attention to literary and art criticism? Because "the task of a critic is not only to remove bad weeds but also to water good flowers--the buds of good flowers": 1. to point out what is bad; 2. to reward what is good; 3. in the absence of that which is good, that which is relatively good will also do. Apart from this, a literary critic is also "the iron fence of harmful literature"--that is to say, in order to enable a reader to know himself as well as his reading, a critic also has the task of correctly directing youths to read certain poisonous works.

Then why has literary and art criticism not gained the people's attention in the past few years? Because it violated the triple tasks of removing bad weeds, watering good flowers, and serving as the iron fence of harmful literature as defined by Lu Xun, and therefore it fell into the muddy pit of absolutization. During the 10 years of internal disturbance, the "gang of four" held sway in literary and art circles and proceeded to remove all literary and art works, along with their authors, as if they were "bad weeds," trampling on them even after they were thrown to the ground. But after the smashing of the "gang of four," the trend turned to the other extreme, as people started to consider whatever works they found as "good flowers" and watered them all, poured perfume over them, or were afraid to touch those products which were obviously harmful to youths and were in the way of the progress of the four modernizations. Such a practice must be reversed. We must develop well the function of literary and art criticism in curing the diseases in literature and art, pointing out where the esthetic appeal lies, broadening the people's vision, and strengthening their immunity, and thereby enable authors to gain some improvement and readers to absorb some nutrition.

In order to correctly develop literary and art criticism, we must have a clear-cut stand. Said Lu Xun: "Have we ever seen a critic in the history of literature who did not belong to a definite circle? All critics belong to a circle, be it of esthetics, or of realism, or of progressiveness. A critic without a definite circle would be a strange fellow.... We cannot blame him for belonging to a circle; we can only criticize whether or not his circle is relevant." A critic "must have a clear standard of right and wrong and ardent likes and dislikes." Insofar as today's critics are concerned, the four basic principles constitute our very fundamental stand. But regrettably, some workers in literary and art criticism at present often remain nonchalant about this point. Not only do they look at but not see certain works with serious mistakes, but they also trumpet them and openly propound views in opposition to the four basic principles, such as demanding that the party "rule by doing nothing," and advocating that "we must break through the four basic principles politically" and that "literature and art can put up a rival show vis-a-vis the party's central authorities," and so on. This is very harmful.

Lu Xun stressed the scientific attitude of literary and art criticism: "In airing his criticism, a critic must regard as bad what is bad and regard as good what is good; only thus can it be of benefit to the author." In order really to adhere to seeking truth from facts, a critic must preclude bias and prejudice. A critic "should analyze and judge his own spirit a little, before he analyzes and judges the works of others, in order to see whether there might not be something shallow, inadequate, or preposterous on his own part" and in the hope that he "is not 'addicted to scabs,' nor drunk, nor fever-ridden, with a coating on the tongue 2 or 3 fen thick." It is also necessary to oppose malicious critics who conduct themselves like "galloping horses on a field of tender sprouts," because they tend to trample on the budding shoots which embody our future and our hope. We must likewise exclude critics who "resort to random scolding and swinging of the stick," because they "take a heroine to be a prostitute, and turn a prostitute into a heroine," thereby making such "random" assaults unwarranted by facts and rendering the criticism impotent. Lu Xun emphatically pointed out: "Today, not very many are picked off by scolding, but a great many are done away with by the swinging of the stick." After 50 years, literary circles in China unfortunately have come to confirm what Lu Xun often regarded to be a situation "that I have regrettably predicted"--a trend of unprincipled "praise" now prevails. In question is one who is clearly just a youth in his 20's and who has written only a few novels which by no means have proved to be of any great influence; yet someone insists on blowing him into "the successor of such and such a school." A movie clearly happens to be disappointing; yet someone insists on trumpeting it as one whose "script, direction, and performance are all superior." At hand are what obviously are but a few obscure poems which are hard to understand and are reflective of petit-bourgeois self-expression; yet someone insists on applauding the "new principles of esthetics that are emerging."... "By criticizing or introducing an author under the signboard of a scholar or a poet, one may at first be able to confuse the onlookers. But by the time the onlookers clearly recognize the true complexion of the author, what is left will be that critic's own insincerity or lack of erudition. But if there are no onlookers to point out the truth, that author will be done away with, and no one knows how long it will take for him to turn up again." These words by Lu Xun are worthy of our profound reflection. It is hoped that those recipients of such unprincipled praise will hereby become warned of their thus losing their heads, and it is further hoped that such unprincipled praisers will also refrain from any repetition of this kind of performance from now on!

Literary and art criticism must also follow correct methods. Said Lu Xun: "I am always of the opinion that if we are going to appraise an article, the best thing to do is to take into consideration the whole text and also pay attention to the whole personality of the author and the social circumstances in which he finds himself. Only in this way can our appraisal prove relatively relevant. Otherwise, it would be too much like somniloquy." Concretely analyzing concrete things is the living soul of Marxism; literary and art criticism must also follow this method. With respect to an author and his work, we should not expect perfection. "Universality, permanence, and completeness, as three treasures, are of course incomparable, but they are also coffin nails to an author which could well seal his fate." What we should do is something similar to scraping out the rotten parts of an apple. "The way we expressed criticism in the past was to say that this apple is scarred with rotten parts, no good any more, so it must simply be thrown away.... From now on, it seems best to add some words--that is, if it is not yet rotten to the core, we should say: This apple is scarred with rotten parts, but some parts are still not rotten; hence it is still edible." Thus, literary and art criticism should ascertain the overall ideological orientation and artistic value of a work from the pattern of life as reflected by all the shapes of its characters, and not seize upon one minor detail or aspect and thereby wrack one's brains in order to strain one's interpretations and draw farfetched analogies or read meaning into it and resort to insinuation. "Informants in past as well as contemporary literary circles often think that certain novels are basically meant as a vengeance of personal grievances. Therefore they insist on straining their interpretations by saying that so-and-so in a book is actually so-and-so in real life." Lu Xun castigated such utterances on their part as "superfluous" "nonsense." During the 10 years of catastrophe, the practice of straining interpretations prevailed for a while. The criminal label of "having attempted to establish a tombstone and pass on a biography of good repute for so-and-so" was strained to cause the death of many writers and artists. Such a bloody lesson should never be forgotten! "The viewpoint assumed by an article also depends on what kind of person its author is," and "it likewise changes according to what perception a reader derives from it." Therefore, contention between differing views should be permitted in literary circles, so that "a critic has the right to criticize the author on the basis of his work, and an author also has the right to criticize the critic on the basis of his criticism." "Literature and art must be subject to criticism. If the criticism happens to be irrelevant, corresponding criticism must be invoked to resist it: only thus can we make literature, art, and criticism advance together. If everybody's mouth is invariably shut, and literary circles are thus said to be clean, the result may be just the opposite." The more a truth is debated, the clearer it becomes; likewise, the more a right is defended against a wrong, the clearer it becomes. Only by letting a hundred schools contend can literary and art criticism be correctly carried out. This contention is fully based on persuasion, in which everyone expresses his own opinion freely so that all can compensate the weak points of one with the strong points of another and thereby improve themselves together. At present, some people do not agree with launching such literary and art criticism; they say that once such criticism is launched, there is bound to be "great disturbance" again and it will "hamper stability and unity." This really borders on something like the man of Qi worrying about the sky falling. To strive to launch literary and art criticism from a Marxist standpoint, with a scientific attitude, and according to correct methods is precisely to better solve the various contradictions and telltales in literature and art and to benefit the promotion of stability and unity. On the contrary, if "everybody's mouth is shut and literary and art circles are thus said to be clean," if people are not allowed to carry out criticism of ideologically erroneous and poisonous works that have bourgeois liberalization tendencies, and if, once such criticism is expressed, accusations are made about someone "swinging the stick," then that will really be a very abnormal phenomenon. The upshot of covering up contradictions is the destruction of stability and unity.

Let us endeavor to study and inherit Lu Xun's precious experience in literary and art criticism by both being against "raising an author to the sky" and refraining from "pressing an author down to earth." Let us adhere to seeking truth from facts, conscientiously "uncovering fine points," and "fanning the fires of literature and art," and thereby propel the gigantic wheels of the four modernizations forward!

9255
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

THOSE CRITICIZED BY NEWSPAPERS SHOULD REFORM, NOT RESENT CRITICISM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 26 Sep 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Newspaper Criticism Must Be Handled Correctly"]

[Text] The criticism and supervisory advice given by the masses of people through newspapers, in connection with the shortcomings and mistakes of the leading organs of the party and state at all levels and of enterprises and establishments, constitutes a force that advances our cause. In the meantime, the form of criticism that appears in newspapers is significant, in that it can reflect the opinions and voices of people and play a role in improving the democratic life inside and outside the party and in stimulating the enthusiasm of the broad masses for socialism. For this reason, newspapers cannot operate without lending space to criticism. A newspaper not devoted to criticism is unlikely to gain the trust of the masses. Nor can it bring its role into full play.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the step-by-step improvements in democratic life in our party and country have lent vitality to the activity of criticism in newspapers. Many units and comrades have been praised by the masses for humbly accepting criticism, for conscientiously drawing lessons from it, and for actively improving their work. But many people have failed to initiate investigations into their mistakes as charged by the newspapers. Instead, in an effort to discredit entirely the merits of the criticism, they have concentrated on nitpicking about insignificant inconsistencies or individual inappropriate terms and phrases in the critical reports. When they have not been able to nitpick, they have even gone so far as to argue and defend their cases with lame and perverted logic. They often make themselves out to be "innocent victims" whenever they get a chance "to vent their grievances," whereupon they slap a variety of "labels" on their critics. Over a certain period of time, this practice has almost become a trend. If this unhealthy trend is not stopped, newspapers will find it difficult to go on with the regular business of criticism.

"Newspapers have been accused of smearing the party." Can those being criticized represent the party? Is it true that criticism is an act of "smearing?" How can anyone link this form of criticism with the act of "smearing the party?" This is a primary point of concern. At the third forum on implementation of the "Resolution," held last November by the Commission for Inspection of Discipline of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134] pointed out: "The commissions for inspection of discipline at all levels must forge close ties and cooperation with the newspapers and encourage and support them to develop accurate criticism on the basis of seeking truth from facts. The newspapers have the responsibility to reflect public opinion. For a long time, our newspapers carried only eulogies, thus leaving the impression that the Communist Party is infallible. Actually, this is not true, and the people will never be fooled by it. For example, during the 'Cultural Revolution,' when the prestige of our newspapers dipped to a new low, few wanted to read newspapers saying that they were only bluster and lies. Earlier, our newspapers received warm support from the masses of people for openly and unequivocally criticizing unhealthy trends and for giving cadres education." This indicates that our party never resents mass criticism, including newspaper criticism, as an act of "smearing; on the contrary, it has fully endorsed, warmly encouraged and supported it as a positive service in improving its work and advancing its cause. This is the second point of concern. The third point of concern is that it would be truly inimical to the interests and prestige of the party if we failed to acknowledge, examine, and correct our mistakes and if we insisted on rejecting criticism. Isn't it more proper to call that an act of "smearing the party?"

"Newspapers have been accused of punishing the people." During the 10-year civil strife, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and company did exploit the newspapers in order to launch the so-called criticism as a form of punishment against the people, which resulted in bringing calamity to the country and the people. This phenomenon is gone forever, with the downfall of the "gang of four." Today, we must break with the old idea of regarding any name-calling in newspapers as a tendency to punish someone, so that we can use criticism of the bourgeois concept of freedom, the unhealthy trends, and other erroneous tendencies as an important method of self-education in the political life of our party and state. Of course, newspapers should strive to conduct criticism in a way that is regarded as appropriate. We welcome suggestions from those being criticized if they see any shortcomings in this regard. But they should refrain from indiscriminately nitpicking about the minor inconsistencies that are reported and calling the entire process of criticism a form of "punishment against the people." When they do [such things], don't they give the people the impression that their understanding of their own shortcomings, and of the party's tradition of criticism and self-criticism, is very limited?

"Inaccuracy of newspaper criticism." The facts listed by newspapers in connection with criticism should be accurate. They must do everything possible to avoid even the most insignificant errors. If the basic facts listed in connection with criticism are not accurate, the editorial department of the newspaper involved undoubtedly must clarify them and conscientiously launch self-criticism. If the individual facts are erroneous, those being criticized are absolutely entitled to bring them to the attention of their critics, on the basis of seeking truth from facts. Although this newspaper has tried very hard along this line, it still cannot give everyone complete satisfaction. We welcome supervisory advice from the public. But there are cases such as the Shuguang Chemical Plant, whose leadership has seized on insignificant, inconsistent points in critical reports as a propaganda stunt to "air its grievances" everywhere, while refusing to acknowledge its mistakes and continuing its unhealthy practices. Can we tolerate this behavior? We hope that the leadership of this plant will swiftly change this attitude. We also hope that other comrades being criticized will not follow suit. The reason is that doing so is not in the interests of the party, the people, or the comrades being criticized. If they fail to conscientiously examine or take measures to correct their mistakes but still behave as before, treading the same old road to the dissatisfaction of the masses, they may unavoidably encounter difficulties in their work. On the contrary, if they conscientiously draw lessons from criticism and bear them in mind as a warning, they may begin to enjoy rising rather than lowered prestige among the masses, thus marking a new beginning of their work. This reasoning has been repeatedly verified by facts.

The leading cadres and personnel of our party and state are the servants of the people. We must do everything for the people and hold ourselves responsible to them. For this reason, we must develop the habit of constantly and consciously listening to the people's opinions and accepting their supervision, including criticism from newspapers and journals and from the public. Newspaper criticism is a serious matter. The editorial department of every newspaper should seriously select typical examples and conscientiously and carefully investigate and verify facts, from the standpoint of serving the people's interests and in accordance with the party's principles. Units and comrades that are being criticized should take a correct attitude toward criticism, in a sense of responsibility to the party and the people. The more swiftly and thoroughly they correct their mistakes, the better. Only in this way can newspapers carry on their business of criticism along sound lines and fully play a positive role in this field. This newspaper will do everything possible for this purpose.

9574
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Foundation for Intellectual Development

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Establish an Excellent Foundation for the Development of Students During Their Lifetime--On Improving the Quality of Education and Building a Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] In order to train students to become workers with socialist consciousness and culture and talent, with overall moral, intellectual, and physical development, and with both Redness and expertise, schools not only must assume the educational responsibility of the students during the period they are on their campuses but also must pay attention to laying an excellent foundation for the development of the students during their lifetime. In this sense, middle and elementary schools provide a basic education, but institutions of higher learning to a considerable extent also provide just a basic education. How can this foundation be properly laid? To generalize from the angle of pedagogics, the main thing is to foster the students' two capabilities: i.e., to foster their self-learning intellectual capability and to foster their self-educating moral capability. The forging and mutual promotion of these two capabilities would make it possible for a student to strive consciously to become a good student while in school and, after he enters society, also to continue his efforts to become a good citizen in a socialist society.

The question of fostering students' self-learning capability has already attracted attention in our educational circles. How today's education can catch up with the rapidly advancing pace of scientific development, or how to adapt to what people have called the "knowledge explosion," is a question being explored by scientists and educationalists in many countries of the world. After many years of exploration and experimentation, one of the conclusions people have come to is that the traditional educational theory and pedagogics, which stress only the imparting of knowledge and overlook the fostering of capabilities, should be changed so that the teaching of every subject will be geared to fostering the students' capabilities, thus making it possible for them to continue to absorb new scientific knowledge after they enter society and thereby become persons with creative talent. Our educational reform should also advance along this road. During the past 2 or 3 years, teachers in some schools have carried out experiments in educational reform for this purpose; this merits our encouragement. But this extremely important work still remains in the beginning stages and awaits our sustained efforts and gradual development.

The so-called self-educating capability mainly means the establishment of a correct political orientation, an understanding of the basic knowledge of Marxism, the study of the use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism through political lessons and ideological education with a view to enabling the students to acquire proficiency in summing up their experience in life, and the ability to distinguish right from wrong and beauty from ugliness, thereby making it possible for them consciously to continue to engage in self-cultivation. Take, for example, the moral conduct of fulfilling one's social duties—from perceiving morality and forging moral concepts, to exemplifying them in one's own conduct. All of these processes require that a foundation be laid through education in school. Today, elementary schools are already generally providing classes on education in moral qualities, and the initiation and teaching of political lessons in middle schools and universities have already been, or are being, improved. In addition the Student Regulations for Middle and Elementary Schools have been promulgatd and implemented. All of these measures have served to provide the means and conditions for the schools to accomplish this task. As long as all teachers strive with one goal and with coordinated efforts and earnestly engage in practice, the spirit of our schools and the moral outlook of our students are bound to improve quickly and exhibit a new atmosphere.

In order to foster these two capabilities on the part of the students, we must also study the relationship between them. In the daily work at school, the greatest amount of educational activity is the teaching of various basic subjects and professional subjects, and the most complicated problem is how to correctly handle the relationship between intellectual education and moral education. We must correctly understand the function of intellectual education and implement it correctly. The function of intellectual education is not limited to imparting knowledge and developing the intellect; it assumes at the same time the task of teaching the students to establish a dialectical-materialistic world view and to cultivate communist moral qualities. In the processes of imparting knowledge and developing the intellect, teachers teach a great deal of scientific and cultural knowledge. Such knowledge is indispensable in the forging of a dialectical-materialistic world view and of communist moral qualities. Ignorant people can have neither a dialectical-materialistic world view nor communist moral sentiments.

On the other hand, the function of morality is not limited to ideological education; it is capable at the same time of promoting and helping students to study basic knowledge and professional knowledge. A person with a dialectical-materialistic world view and communist moral qualities is bound to be one who is dedicated to ideals and is diligent in his studies.

School is the cradle where socialist spiritual civilization is built. It has the burden of assuming responsibility for the whole life of its students, of fostering one generation after another of socialist new people, and of turning them into the seeds that spread spiritual civilization. This is indeed not an easy or a lightly accomplished matter; it requires educational workers to have a strong sense of educational responsibility and advanced educational skills, as well as to make long, tireless endeavors, before success can be expected.

Basis for Physical Education

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Put the Physical Education of Work Schools on a Scientific Basis--On Improving the Quality of Education and Building a Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The physical and mental health of students is a question with which the Party Central Committee, educational circles, and various other circles in society are constantly concerned. During the past few years, because the students' health has not yet reached the proper level, this question has come to people's attention even more.

According to statistics compiled through physical examinations conducted by relevant departments among 250,000 students in 22 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions across the country, urban students who have various degrees of myopia make up an average of 29.4 percent of the total, and in the case of the highest incidences they make up as much as 42 percent of the local total. In some localities, when institutions of higher learning proceeded to recruit students, those who were entirely qualified physically made up no more than one-third of all the students taking the required physical examination. A certain city conducted physical examinations of all 6,600 students within its jurisdiction; those who measured up to the norms made up only 34 percent of the total. These situations all illustrate that it is necessary to adopt effective measures to quickly improve the level of health of the students.

Speaking of strengthening our physical education and improving the level of health of our students, we often hear complaints about the difficulties in this work: playground space is too small; there are not many qualified physical education teachers; there is a serious lack of equipment. Playgrounds, teachers, and equipment are indispensable for developing physical education activities, and we should do our best to solve [these complaints]. But the meaning of strengthening our physical education is not limited to that which concerns only sports on the playgrounds; it has to do with looking from the viewpoint of benefiting the healthy growth of the student's physique, benefiting the student's intellectual development, and benefiting the student's cultivation of a lofty character--thereby placing the school's physical education work and health work in the position they deserve and making overall arrangements accordingly. We must regard physical education as an important component of our educational work.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that morality and the intellect both dwell in the physique; without a healthy physique, there would be no moral and intellectual qualities to speak of. From the interrelationship between physical education and intellectual education, one can see that a student whose health conditions are not good often exhibits drawbacks in the results of his study as well. This is a commonly witnessed situation and is easily spotted. But there is another situation which is often neglected. In teaching work, when the study load is extended beyond the student's physical and mental capacities, when the time required for study is continuously prolonged, and when the proportion of the subject being taught is increased, although the student might achieve the marks desired in examinations through such guerrilla tactics, and although good results seem thereby to have been scored in intellectual education, they are, in essence, not only harmful to the student's health but even damage his intellectual development. Because study under such circumstances often means mechanical memorization and rigid recitation, the student feels that it is really a hardship; this can hardly nurture a vigorous desire for knowledge. Such teaching is incapable of fostering the student's good learning power. In institutions of higher learning there is often this familiar phenomenon: some students who scored high marks on the entrance examination somehow gradually lag behind in the process of their study, and by the time they graduate they turn out to be on only a medium level. The fundamental reason lies precisely here. The development of a student's intellect and the improvement of his memory, his attentiveness, and his imagination depend to a very great extent on the degree of his physical liveliness. As an educational worker, one must remember never to promote a student's study by methods which sacrifice his health. If, in one's ordinary teaching process, one continues to increase the time required for study, time and again tries to push forward his teaching schedule, resorts to large-scale assaults just prior to the examinations for promotion, and constantly puts his students in a tense state of mental labor, then he not only harms the students' health but also makes it impossible for them to develop their mental powers properly. Looked at from the point of view of long-range effects, both [the students and the teacher] actually lose and suffer.

Looked at from the point of view of the relationship between physical education and moral education, the situation is similar. Whether in their childhood, their youth, or their young adulthood, the students' bodies are growing vigorously all the time, and their character, their will, and their morality are also taking gradual shape all the time. How to foster their mental esthetics through various activities in the process of their physical growth should be one of the tasks in our educational work.

How to make the students' physical growth and intellectual development mutually promotive, and how to enable the students to continue to improve their ideology and their character along with their chronological growth and physical development--questions of this type must be studied and solved from a combination of educational theory and educational practice, so that a school's physical education work is placed on a scientific basis. Viewed from the current situation, it is necessary first of all for us to have a reasonable work-and-rest system. While guaranteeing to the students the necessary time for study, we must at the same time guarantee time for them to sleep, to take physical exercise, to work, and to engage in extracurricular activities. Insofar as feasible, we must create sanitary conditions beneficial to the students' health, such as making the campus green by planting trees and flowers, having illuminating equipment installed, making the size of desks and chairs relevant to the students' height, etc. We must organize physical education classes and many phsyical exercises well. We must take physical labor as a means to improve the students' health, so that they can also exercise their will while they develop their body. We must also study how to do a good job of arranging the students' spare time rest. Some educationalists are of the opinion that in modern social life, how students spend their rest periods is one of the most complicated problems in the realm of our spiritual life; if improper arrangements are made, some youths and children will engage in activities that harm their health and help nurture unwholesome conduct on their part. Educating and organizing the students to make use of their rest periods by engaging in various beneficial activities constitutes a kind of "positive rest" which is capable of promoting their health, enhancing their knowledge, and shaping their character.

Paying attention to students' health, doing physical educational work well at the school, and enabling students to have both a healthy physique and a spiritually civilized disposition is one of the very important tasks of an educational worker. May all of us strive together to foster a generation of new people for the state, with even more of them developed morally, intellectually, and physically as a whole.

9255
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GENERATION GAP BETWEEN PRC LEADERS, THEIR CHILDREN SEEN

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 10, Oct 81 p 75

[Article by Du Feng [2629 3526]: "China's Political Generation Gap"]

[Text] Just as the cold anti-"laissez-faire" winds were blowing in Beijing, Ye Xiangzhen [5509 0686 4176], daughter of Ye Jianying, was making a thought-provoking statement in Hong Kong.

Deng Xiaoping said in Beijing: We must carry out criticism and self-criticism, particularly the serious and correct form of criticism and the necessary and well-reasoned struggles against those laissez-faire tendencies that depart from the socialist orbit and the leadership of the party.

Ye Xiangzhen indicated in Hong Kong that antagonism always exists between creative literature and art and their critics, but that this should not hamper the growth of creative literature and art.

Hu Yaobang said in Beijing: "Unrequited Love" must be criticized for its harmful effect on the people and socialism.

Ye Xiangzhen said philosophically in Hong Kong: The topics presented in female writer Zhang Jie's [1728 3381] medium-length novel "Wings Under Heavy Pressure" are more acrimonious than those in the novel "Unrequited Love." But in fact, the former was printed anyway.

Although Ye Xiangzhen's remarks cannot be interpreted as "a song sung on a discordant tune," a "disagreement" obviously exists. Although some politically sensitive people may interpret her remarks as a reflection of "a struggle between Ye and Deng," this writer prefers to call this "a gap between two generations" rather than "a struggle between Ye and Deng." In Chinese society today, the political generation gap has reached very serious proportions. Perhaps this great discrepancy between different generations that spent their "formative" years in different periods of history has been caused by the abrupt transformation of Chinese society that has taken place during the past several decades.

Although Ye Xiangzhen is now 40 years old, she belongs to the younger generation in every sense. At the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution," she was a senior in college. At the height of the Red Guard movement, she was pulled into its whirlpool, which made her an active college student leader of the movement. During the 10-year turmoil, like other members of her generation she experienced frustrations and confusion which tormented her mind.

This "generation gap" between the members of the supreme leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and their sons and daughters is a reflection of the "political generation gap" in Chinese society. Tao Siliang [7118 2448 0081], daughter of Tao Zhu [7118 6999], once said: "During the 10 years of upheaval, I was once perplexed by what my parents had done." It has been said that in the home of Deng Xiaoping, there have also been "wars of words" between that old man and his children over the dining table.

The National Federation of Students recently called a meeting in Wuhu, Anhui; Lin Yanzhi [2651 3508 1807] was elected its new president. He is the son of Lin Feng [2651 2800], a student of engineering and physics of Qinghua University, and president of its student government.

During the meeting, "A Message of Appeal to College Students Throughout the Country" was issued. Although this is an "official document," some sort of "generation gap" can still be sensed between the lines. For example, Deng Xiaoping's once-famous remark: "Without Mao Zedong, there would have been no new China," was made to read: "Without the Communist Party, there would have been no new China" in the appeal. With regard to Mao Zedong, the appeal has this much to say: "Without Chairman Mao, the Chinese revolution would not have succeeded so early, and we college students would not have their present stature." What is meant by "college students' present stature"? The appeal describes "today's college students" this way: "We college students of this generation have experienced turmoil for years, lives full of twists and turns, and hot debates in our own hearts." True, if there had been no "Great Cultural Revolution" started by Mao Zedong, how would our country have been able to produce such a generation of college students such as exists today?

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SPROUTS OF CAPITALISM IN FEUDAL PERIOD REVIEWED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 4, 15 Aug 81 pp 126-138

[Article by Fang Xing [2455 5887]: "Economic Structure of China's Feudal Society and the Sprouts of Capitalism"]

[Excerpts] Productive forces in China's feudal society for a period of time underwent fairly rapid development. Under the impact of these productive forces, there was a transition from the feudal economy to the landlord economy. Purchase and sale of land took place fairly early, and a large united empire with all powers concentrated in the central government also appeared early. After a long process of development, China's feudal society became a typical society with a highly matured feudal system. In the course of this development, small agriculture and household handicrafts became solidly integrated; and small local markets in both urban and rural areas could be seen everywhere. The "trinity" of landlords, merchants, and userers formed a series of unique internal structures for production, circulation, and distribution. As Marx pointed out, "The Economic structure of capitalist society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former." ("Das Kapital" Vol 1, p 783) "To what extent it [the development of commodity economy] brings about a dissolution of the old mode of production depends on its solidity and internal structure." ("Das Kapital" Vol 3, p 371) This article will attempt to make a preliminary study on the causes of the slow growth of capitalist sprouts, or the prolonged existence of fuedal society in China, beginning with the internal structure and the solidarity of China's feudal economy.

I. A Solid Integration of Small Agriculture and Household Handicrafts in Production

Small-scale peasant economy in the feudal society of China was carried out by peasants of two different types according to the regulations and restrictions of the landlord economy: those who rented their land and those who owned their land. In this small peasant economy, each household became a basic production unit of the society and carried on simple reproduction year after year. These peasants were engaged in not only agriculture but also handicrafts, thus closely combining the production of both food and clothing, or grain and textile products--which were two important items in the national economy and people's daily life--in the household. This was exactly what the old saying "Men plow and women weave" described. The combination of small agriculture and handicrafts under the landlord economic system was the basic structure of production in the feudal society of China.

Though similar to the serfs in Europe, Chinese peasants enjoyed the right of private possession in an economy based on a combination of agriculture and handicraft. Chinese small peasant economy also had some special features of its own. Tenant peasants in China had more personal freedom than the serfs in Europe did, and their right of private possession indicated greater independence than that of the European serfs. The rent in kind, long popular in China, was different from labor rent in Europe. Thus, the peasant "has more room for action to gain time for surplus-labor whose product shall belong to himself." ("Das Kapital" Vol 3, p 896) In the Ming Dynasty and particularly in the Qing Dynasty, the percentage-drawing system in payment of rent had mostly been replaced by that of a fixed rent. This change in the relations of production further strengthened the independence of the peasants' private-possession economy. As we know, commodity economy is "a very Eden of the innate rights of man. There alone rule Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham." ("Das Kapital" Vol 1, p 199) Commodity economy is absolutely necessary, aside from developing capitalism. In China, the dependency of the tenant peasants was rather loose. They had rights of possession over their products and more room to manage their own production. These advantages helped them develop commodity production in the private-possession economy. However, Chinese tenant peasants had less economic protection than that of the serfs in Europe. These serfs were secure in their own land. It is true that they could not leave their land at will, but the feudal lords could not rob them of it either. Chinese tenant peasants did not have a permanent claim on the landlord's land, because of competition from prospective tenants among the peasants, i.e., they needed to be able to pay more in advance before they could be sure to rent the land. More means of production meant a better opportunity of survival. Peasants who owned their land were quite numerous across the country in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, although they were more highly concentrated in some places. They were unrestricted by rent, enjoyed greater freedom in planting, and could more easily include handicrafts as part of their occupation. There were certain innate elements of commodity production in China's small peasant economy, which was therefore far more adaptable to the development of commodity economy than the serf economy was in Europe.

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the peasants planted their own food crops and weaved their own cloths. The self-sufficiency of a small peasant economy in which farming was combined with weaving was then markedly predominant in the entire social economy. Along with the development of productive forces in agriculture and the commodity economy, however, there also were corresponding developments in other economic crops such as cotton, cocoon, tobacco, sugarcane, tea, peanuts, broad beans, and fruits; and the varieties of agricultural products continued to increase. At the same time, the production of cotton and silk fabrics, paper, sugar, oil, mat, porcelain, and other goods processed from agricultural products and agricultural sideline products developed, and the varieties of household handicraft products gradually increased. Many peasants, with either agriculture or household handicrafts as their main concern, had already allotted part of their productive capacity for the production of small commodities. Thus, there was a combination of commercial agriculture and commercial handicrafts, as shown by the cotton cloth peasants engaged in weaving, the sugarcane peasants engaged in sugar-extracting, and so forth. The integration of self-sufficient agriculture with commercial handicrafts was even more common. This was similar to what Marx particularly mentioned in "Das Kapital" about the prevalence of paper-making by peasants as a sideline occupation in the 19th century. Again, in the early years of the Qing Dynasty, procelain wares were produced in 20 out of approximately 70 prefectures and counties in Shanxi Province. These wares were listed as native products in the local chronicles. These products were "carried away by itinerant peddlers" "to be sold in various localities." (See Li Jixian's [2621 4764 6343] "Notes on Kiln Sites in Local Chtonicles and Classic Documents," WENWU ZILIAN CONGKAN [HISTORIC RELICS JOURNAL] Vol 2)

What should be particularly noted is the production by the peasants of cotton fabrics as a commodity. After the Yuan Dynasty, cotton replaced silk and hemp as the principal material for people's clothing. The output of cotton was higher than that of hemp or ko-hemp, and its processing was much simpler. With its higher practical value, cotton was a more suitable object of labor in the combination of plowing and weaving. Thus, cotton planting quickly developed and cotton spinning and weaving spread throughout the country. It became an important productive activity second only to the growing of grain. Many peasants had more cotton cloth than they needed for themselves and gradually produced cotton for the market. The production of cotton as a commodity was carried out, either in a concentrated or a sporadic way, throughout the country. In the Ming Dynasty, the Susong area became the national cotton textile center as well as the largest market for cotton cloth as a commodity. In the early years of the Qing Dynasty, a number of special cotton production areas and markets of various sizes also appeared in Hebei, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, and Sichuan Provinces. In the middle of the Qing Dynasty, cotton cloth again became the third most important exported good after silk and tea, as well as the most important handicraft product. By that time, there were already a few handicraft workers independently engaged in cotton cloth production. The peasants, however, produced nearly all the cotton cloth required for domestic consumption and export. This was a unique economic phenomenon in Chinese as well as foreign history.

In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the small peasant economy was still under the feudal system. The scope of production was small and feudal exploitation was severe. Most of the peasants' products were not intended as commodities, and the amount of surplus products which could be used as commodities, or the products specially produced as commodities, were very limited for each peasant household. However, during this time, the development of small commodity production by the peasants far surpassed the development of independent handicrafts in urban and rural areas in both speed and scope. Moreover, because of the vast numerical superiority of peasants, a small amount from each of them would combine to form a huge amount; that was why the commodity production by peasants far exceeded that by the urban and rural handicraft workers. This was how the above-mentioned unique economic features came into being.

Small peasant economy featuring a combination of agriculture and handicrafts may, to a certain extent, become commercialized. This was only a possibility, and certain social economic conditions were necessary to translate this possibility into reality, and the most basic condition was the development of productive forces. The population increase also was a strong catalyst. Population increased slowly during the Ming Dynasty, when it was approximately 100 million at most. In the middle of the Qing Dynasty, however, it increased rapidly and, during the 60 years of the reign of Emporor Qian Long, the number doubled and then trebled. When Emporor Daoguang was on the throne, the population had already increased to 400 million. Although the development or urban industry, commerce, and mining could help take care of the excessive population, such help was limited, and the countryside provided the best way out. The heavy pressure of population in combination with feudal exploitation forced the peasants to expand the planting of crops for the market and to engage in handicraft production according to the natural conditions. In places where the pressure was particularly heavy, hunger served as a ship to drive the peasants on their march toward intensive and extensive production. The density of population in Susong area was well known. According to the Songjiang Prefectural Chronicle, there were in that prefecture some 40,103 hectares and 41 mu of land and a population of 2,484,728 during the 15th year of Emperor Jiaqing's reign; and the per capita acreage worked out to only 1.61 mu. According to the Suzhou Prefectural Chronicle, in the reign of Tongji, there were in the 23d year of Emperor Jiaqing's reign some 62,225 hectares and 79 mu of farmland; 2 years later, there was a population of 5,908,435, with a per capita acreage of 1.05 mu. Again, in the case of Mengxian, Henan Province, "the per capita acreage was less than 1 mu," "land was scarce, and the people were so poor that besides farming, they had to spin and weave." ("Mengxian Zhi" of Qianlong, Vol 4) This was how cotton cloth came to be produced as a commodity in Susong and other special producing areas. The peasants' household handicrafts including the production of pottery also developed under similar conditions.

Through the production of handicraft goods as commodity in the tradition of "supplementing farming with weaving" and "supporting agriculture with sideline production," the peasants gained increased economic benefits.

The development of commodity production was a historical prerequisite of capitalism. For the same reason, the same development in agriculture and handicrafts provided the conditions for the sprouting of capitalism during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and this must be affirmed. In human society, however, two different types of small production, that is, the self-sufficient small production and small commodity production, existed with different characteristics and historic backgrounds. Only through highly developed small commodity production can the human society come to take the road of large-scale capitalist production. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the development of independent small commodity production in urban and rural areas was far from adequate, and the broad masses of small producers were peasants engaged in small-scale production under a self-sufficient natural economy. Although part of their products became commodities, the peasants were tied to their land, and could not be called independent small commodity producers in a strict sense. The prevalent existence of self sufficient small economy among the peasants and the very slow development of small commodity production could only serve to protect the feudal economy; to restrict the social division of labor, the accumulation of social wealth, and the expansion of social production; and to create unfavorable conditions for the development of capitalism.

The choice of the old and new modes of production was finally decided by the amount of economic benefit each can offer. The economic benefit offered by the household handicrafts among the peasants could hardly be surpassed by that offered by the sprouting capitalist methods of production, and that was why the latter could not win the competition in the market in order to develop itself. In the case of cotton cloth production, for example, the peasants had to work hard day and night, or, as the old saying goes, to "do 45 days' work in 1 month" as a means of making a living. The work of farming and weaving were closely coordinated by the peasants, and the time left in the lax farming season was fully utilized. "Children at or above the age of 8 could spin, and those of 12 or 13 could weave." Thus, people of both sexes and all ages joined in weaving and the household labor power also was fully utilized.

This resulted in "substantial economy and saving in time," ("Das Kapital" Vol 3, p 373) and a very low production cost. With the same level of productive forces, mainly in the form of instruments of production, the hiring of people in cotton production or the adoption of the capitalist mode of business management would limit the number of labor hours, which would not be as many as in the peasant families. This limit was a serious hindrance to the sprouting capitalism which could only exploit the absolute surplus value. Moreover, in the age of handmade tools, the outlay on the means of production formed only a small part of the production cost, while the purchase of labor power cost a great deal more. If people had to be hired for production, board and lodging had to be provided in addition to the payment of wages, and the production cost would be far higher than that of the peasant households. Because of the prevalence of weaving by peasants, the price of cotton was mainly determined by the peasants' production costs. Under such conditions, cotton production with hired hands would certainly result in a loss which the peasants could not afford. Furthermore, since the peasants were not separated from their land, their self-sufficiency, based on a combaination of framing and weaving, could still be maintained. Should they incur any loss in the production of cotton in a commercial venture according to the law of value, they could still fall back on their land as a means of subsistence, and the capitalist polarization could not occur among them as easily as it would among the independent small handicraft workers.

The widespread existence of small production by peasants provided ample scope for the merchants to control production, but this control also, in return, provided this type of small production with long-lasting protection. In the early years of the Qing Dynasty, there was the practice of exchanging raw materials for finished products, such as "exchanging cotton for cloth" and "exchanging cotton for muslin" in the cotton textile trade; in the paper-making trade, there was the practice of merchants "charging for the use of the sizing-but"; in tea production, there was the practice of merchants providing the "capital" to the sugarcane peasants in the spring and "collecting the interests" in winter; in tobacco production, there was the practice of merchants "assigning mountains" to the "prospective tobacco-planters" and so forth, as a means of controlling the circulation of the peasants' products. The systems of production control based on the extention of loans and the stipulation of the terms of exchange were quite popular in the early days of the Qing Dynasty. Although these systems were comparatively primitive and there were no capitalist elements whatsoever to speak of, the merchants were glad to "appropriate their surplus-labor on the basis of the old mode of production" and "retain it as its precondition." ("Das Kapital" Vol 3, p 374) The widespread existence of small production helped them in their wanton exploitation of the peasants. Merchants would not directly invest in production unless they were assured of even greater economic returns.

As a result, in the Ming-Qing period, the growth of the sprouts of capitalism was in inverse proportion to the development of handicrafts in rural households, as vividly shown by the cotton textile trade. In Western Europe, textile (mainly woolen textile) was the first important trade in breeding capitalism. The situation in China was exactly the reverse. In the early years of the Qing Dynasty, production was carried out with hired help in many different trades; but, in the textile trade, either as a branch of small production or the result of merchants' investment in production, no sign of sprouting capitalism could be detected. This was by no means coincidental. Whenever development was inadequate for independent handicraft production in urban and rural areas, the sprouts of capitalism could only grow or decline as a rival of handicrafts in peasant households.

In the late stage of feudal society in Europe, many peasants left their land and drifted into the cities to engage in handicraft production, resulting in a large-scale separation between handicrafts and agriculture, and the strengthened independence of handicrafts. This provided favorable conditions for the birth of capitalism. The situation in China was different. During the Ming-Qing period, the development of handicrafts was mainly confined to the peasant households instead of the urban and rural areas. Along with the natural growth of population and the spread of the peasants' children, the combination of small agriculture and household handicrafts also spread like living cells; and, after a process of regeneration and remaking, these living cells covered the whole length and breadth of China like a big ocean. This further strengthened the combination of agriculture and handicrafts and further developed the "broad basis of the mode of production" formed by them. What should be particularly pointed out is that, since the peasants could reap greater economic benefits through the commercialization of their household handicrafts, the small peasant economy became more capable of enduring exploitation, more adaptable to the increased population, more powerful in repelling the new mode of production, and even better able to resist production with machinery. Such was the whole secret behind the tenacity of this type of economic structure. Therefore, the development of European handicraft was a centrifugal force, forcing the disintegration of the feudal economic structure, whereas the development of Chinese handicrafts was a centripetal force, preserving the stability of the feudal economic system.

II. Prevalence of Small Local Markets in Urban and Rural Areas in Circulation

Production has a decisive effect on circulation, and the structure of production determines the structure of the market. In a feudal society, there were small local markets as a necessary component of the natural economy; zone markets formed under certain natural conditions and according to customs as a reflection on certain social division of labor; and, possibly, large and overseas markets transcending zone barriers. All these markets were most needed for the development of capitalism. China's peasant economy was a scattered individual economy. Like the European feudal countryside built on the foundation of scattered small production, China's feudal countryside was mainly "a network of small local markets" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 340) as manifested by the myriads of country fairs and market towns spread all over the country. At the same time, the individual handicrafts in Chinese cities produced mostly luxury items and daily necessities for the city dwellers. Since the products were mostly absorbed in the cities, very little was left for the rural market. This was a special feature of small local markets confined within the cities. For a long time, small local markets remained as the basic structure of markets in the feudal society of China.

Of course, zone markets and even large markets did exist. Along with the development of social productive forces and the commodity economy in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, particularly in the latter, some localities, according to their natural conditions, brought into play their strong points and developed commercial agriculture and the processing of agricultural products. These activities led to a certain regional division of labor. This development of social division of labor transformed the products of peasants and handicraft workers into commodities for each other's consumption and to be sold in each other's market. This was an exchange of industrial and agricultural products to a certain extent. These products became important wares for the itinerant traders and led to economic exchanges between different areas. Grain and cotton cloth were the two most common commodities in these economic exchanges.

While cities were the places of large-scale transactions, the market towns and country fairs served as the bases for the collection and distribution of commodities by linking together the broad masses of small producers. The development of production and exchange of commodities as mentioned above provided the cities with consumer goods and raw material for handicrafts and helped promote the economic prosperity of the cities as well as the development of market towns and country fairs. The numbers of market towns and country fairs and the volume of commodities transacted in the early period of the Qing Dynasty exceeded those of the Ming Dynasty. The exchange of industrial and agricultural products over long distances thus accumulated capital and prepared the market for capitalist production. This was exactly how the sprouts of capitalism developed.

However, the significance of commodity production and exchanges developed during the Ming Dynasty and the early part of the Qing Dynasty should not be overestimated. Generally, the natural economy remained basically intact, and the layout of small local markets remained virtually undisturbed. This was particularly true of many areas other than the coastal provinces.

In the countryside at that time, the broad masses of peasants were engaged in the production of use-value on a self-sufficient basis; and their products could not, or very rarely, went into the process of circulation. Even peasants engaged in commodity production had to keep part of it to preserve their self-sufficiency and could not be separated from the system of natural economy. Even that part of their products intended as commodity were sold only for the purpose of buying something in return. In other words, these products were the result of use-value production carried out in the form of exchange-value production. The purpose of their production was the assurance of their own survival instead of getting rich. Commodity production of this nature is "everywhere subordinated to consumption as a prerequisite, while supply is subordinated to demand and can only expand slowly." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Pt I, Vol 46, p 516) In other words, the amount of commodities supplied by the peasants to the society was directly decided according to their demand for the means of living and the means of production in the forms of commodity. They had only limited surplus products, and the volume of exchange also was limited. Furthermore, there were restrictions from feudal exploitation and the scope of small production; and that was why the growth of the commodity portion was very slow.

Marx pointed out: "The intensity of exchange, as well as its extension and its manner, are determined by the development and structure of production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 12, p 749) In the Ming and the early Qing Dynasties, there was still basically a natural economy in the countryside, while the production carried out by peasants and small handicraft workers was still use-value production in the form of exchange-value production. It was thus beyond question that small local markets were still the mainstay of the rural market. These small local markets also were the outcome of, as well as a necessary supplement to, the natural economy. Although their role as a base for the collection and distribution of agricultural and handicraft products, sold as commodities, had been developed in the country fairs and town markets, they still served as a means of helping the local inhabitants, mainly the peasants, to supply one another's needs and to make up one another's shortages, so that, between the peasants and the handicraft workers, an exchange, aiming at exchange-value, might take place. Many places were "[previously] inaccessible to commerce" and many peasants "did not go to town throughout their lifetime."

China's natural environment also was playing its role in consolidating the small local markets. Natural environment is the most fundamental condition for material production and material life as well as an important source of social wealth. China has a huge area with a mild climate, rich material resources, and many varieties of natural products, all of which certainly provide a natural basis for the social division of labor, although there must also be other social economic conditions for the development of the economy. Under normal conditions, this natural environment should be the foremost and the direct basis of small local markets. For example, cotton, the principal material for producing cloth, can be planted almost anywhere; and, with the exception of iron, important raw materials for making tools, such as bamboo and wood, also can be found anywhere. As for the important means of subsistence and means of production, self-sufficiency can be attained within the narrow confines of the localities. Ningguo County of Anhui Province, for example, "was the region of agricultural production, rich in native products, and enjoying self-sufficiency with no merchandise passing through. Before the reign of Xianfeng in the Qing Dynasty, the people were wealthy and products were plentiful. Except for salt, it hardly imported anything at all." (Gui Min's "Chronicle of Ningguo County" Vol 8) Similar conditions existed in many other parts of the country.

In the middle of the Qing Dynasty, the rapid population increase also played its part in consolidating the natural economy. When the increase of the means of production failed to keep pace with the population increase, many people naturally became busy looking for a means of subsistence. It is true that the absolute value of the amount of agricultural products, including the commodity portion, could be increased; but the ratio of the commodity portion would naturally decline. That was why, in many places, self-sufficiency in certain essential products could only be attained within certain areas, thus preserving the small local markets in their original state.

What deserved particular attention were the cities. Chinese cities were mainly political centers, or the centers of feudal rule, and were different from the European economic cities bustling with commercial activities. The concentration of government officials, landlords, and others of the consumer-population became an important feature of Chinese cities. These people had a good appetite for commodities, especially the luxury items, high-grade consumer goods, and famous native and special products. Their heavy demand for these commodities were mainly met by itinerant traders and the urban handicraft workers, in that order. Among the urban handicraft products were rhinoceroses or elephants made of gold and silver, toys made of jade or precious stones, silk, fancy lamps and fans, and high-grade writing paper. None of these products were required in the countryside. Some consumer goods for daily use were supplied to meet the demand in the cities where they were produced only, but not sold in the countryside. Many important handicraft products, particularly processed agricultural products, such as paper and sugar, were developed at the source of raw materials instead of the cities. In trade, therefore, there was a basically one-way traffic from the countryside to the cities; and the idea of using the countryside as a market for urban handicraft products never materialized or made any headway.

At the same time, the closed-door policy of the feudal political power left no avenue open to an overseas market. The ban on intercourse with foreign countries was very strict in the Ming Dynasty. Even after the lifting of the ban in the Qing Dynasty, there were still tight restrictions on the export of handicraft products. For example, the silk of Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Ningpo and the metal wares of Foshan were subjected to all forms of restrictions. Thus, urban handicrafts could hardly be developed through foreign trade.

Because of these reasons, with the exception of silk, pottery, cotton textile, and manual dyeing, all urban handicraft products were intended for local consumption and could not go beyond the limits of small local markets. Such small markets were everywhere in the cities and the countryside, and it was difficult to prepare the market conditions for the development of capitalism. Among the different handicraft trades which might breed capitalism during the Ming-Qing period, including the production of tea, tobacco, and sugar; lumbering; paper-making; metal smelting; coal mining; copper extracting; and so forth, most of them took place in the countryside or in towns close to the countryside. The sprouts of capitalism appeared only in a few types of handicrafts, such as silk textile, pottery, and manual dyeing, because such products were sold in various parts of the country. It was by no means coincidental that the sprouts of capitalism could not be seen in other types of urban handicraft.

III. Trinity of Landlords, Merchants, and Userers in Distribution

The land, the capital of commerce, and the money to be used as loans were the three means of economic exploitation in the feudal society, all based on the surplus products of peasants and handicraft workers. In a feudal society, agriculture was the principal department of production and land was the principal means of production. Land, therefore, was the most reliable means to increase social wealth as well as the end-result of social wealth. In China, because of the free land transactions, merchants and userers, fascinated by an asset which "can withstand flood, fire and plundering," bought land avidly and converted part of their income from business profits and loan interests into rent. At the same time, landlords also hoped to amass more wealth through business venture and usury--which, though more risky, had a stronger element of exploitation--and decided to make money in the form of business profits and loan interests instead of rent. This brought about an interchange among land, business capital, and money for loans; and the landlords, merchants, and userers became "close relatives" and gradually formed a "trinity" of feudal economic relationships, which has been all along the basic structure of the distribution of social wealth and the main orientation of social accumulation, particularly in the later stage of China's feudal society.

Private ownership of land and the permission for land transactions were important features of the feudal economy in China. This was a special way for the survival of the landlord economy so that, after every periodical land crisis and social upheaval, it could be reborn in its original form. Merchants and userers were not the only ones permitted to buy land and become landlords; even peasants and other laborers could do the same by "working hard in the field to become rich." In this way, the landlord system in China possessed greater vitality than that of the system of land ownership in Europe in the forms of enfeoffments and protectorates. It also must be noted that, in the feudal society of China, landlords from the ranks of high government officials were always the strong supporters of the landlord economy. Although their prodigal offspring might squander their inheritance as the saying "wealth does not last more than three generations" goes, feudal officials invariably wanted to spend their ill-gotten money on manorial fields in order to "enjoy an idyllic life" and to "provide security for the future generations." With this powerful support, the landlord economy continued to wax strong until it finally became strongly entrenched. Along with the expansion of the commodity and money economy and the commercialization of land, such a phenomenon became even more prevalent in the later stage of the feudal society.

Occupation of land on the strength of feudal privileges in a feudal society was the main obstacle to the commercialization of land. With the development of social productive forces and the commodity economy, however, the power of money continued to pound at the feudal privileges and the scope of land transactions continued to expand, while the feudal traditions and customs restricting land transactions became more lax. In the early days of the Qing Dynasty, the buying or selling of manorial fields and banner land was strictly banned. Under attacks from the power of commodity and money, such transactions were permitted inside the banners during the reign of Emperor Kangxi; and the ban was totally lifted during the reign of Emperor Qian Long when land transactions were permitted "in any banner." The preferential rights of purchase for close relatives, mortgagors, and former owners under the old customs were abrogated along with the development of the relations of land buying and selling during the middle of the Qing Dynasty. During the reign of Emperor Yongzheng, the Qing government formally negated the "theory of preferential rights for close relatives" in land transactions.

There could be real freedom in land transactions only when such transactions were carried out on equal terms and at certain prices. Special prices obtained under political and economic pressure could not be consistent with the relations of buying and selling in a strict sense. During the early part of the Qing Dynasty, the practice of forcible occupations and selling of land by applying political and economic pressure still remained. However, the change of deeds of title on the land was accomplished with economic means of business transactions. At the same time, the fertility of the land, the rate of rent, the relation between supply and demand, and other economic factors played an increasingly decisive role on land prices; and land in different locations and with different degrees of fertility was sold at what people generally called "current prices" for their "current value." This shows that land transactions had generally been liberalized. For the development of the "trinity" feudal economy, this liberalization was a very great advantage. By this time, therefore, there was a marked tendency toward an interplay between the merchants and userers trying hard to possess land, on the one hand, and landlords eager for business ventures and usury on the other.

First, let us look at it from the angle of land accumulation. Along with the development of productive forces in the early Qing Dynasty, land yielded greater benefits. The system of percentage-drawing in rent payment was replaced by that of a fixed rent. The payment of rent deposits also became popular. Thus, the landlords were ensured of a steady income in addition to certain extra benefits. At the same time, the development of industry and commerce and, particularly, the rapid increase in population exerted an increasing strain on the supply of food; and food prices continued to soar. During the reign of Emperor Qian Long, which lasted 60 years, the price of rice in areas south of the Changjiang River quadrupled. Under such circumstances, those who owned more land would possess more grain or social wealth. These were the factors driving people to a rush for land.

In the rush for land, the bigger share still went to the noble-official landlords. It is, however, noteworthy that large-scale purchases of land merchants and userers were even more common during the later part of the reign of Emperor Qian Long. Someone said: "Recently, wealthy merchants bought a gread deal of land, amounting to scores of hundreds of hectares." (Hu Ding's Memorial to the Throne in the 5th Year of Emperor Qian Long's Reign, from the file of the Board of Revenue, Qing Dynasty) "According to an estimate, the commoners owned less than 20 or 30 percent of the land in the prefectures and counties, and the rest all became the property of squires and merchants." (Fang Bao, "Notes on Economic System," "Collected Works of Fang Wangxi" Vol 1) Some of these merchants and userers bought farmland "for their future generations," which was described as "buying more land and houses to bring up the children and grandchildren"; or "for their own remaining years," which was described as "buying land as a protection in old age"; or for controlling the food supply in an attempt to earn greater profits. This was how a large number of merchants and their offspring became landlords or owned land as an additional source of income.

At the same time, there were peasants "working hard in the field to become rich." They generally went through the stage of "hiring people to work in the field" as the rich peasants did. Under conditions then prevailing in China, hiring people for farming was not very profitable. Both Zhang Lixiang in his "Notes on Supplement to Agriculture" and Qian Yong in his "Luguan Miscellaneous Talks" spoke to the same effect. People in the academic circles also have recently studied this subject. Therefore, under certain conditions, peasants generally wanted to make more money from business ventures or through usury in order that they could buy land and join the rank of landlords.

In the early Qing Dynasty, many peasants turned landlord under these circumstances. This was an important change marked by a relaxation of the rules concerning feudal land, but this change by no means weakened the landlord economy. On the contrary, it adapted the landlord economy to the development of a commodity and money economy and helped to consolidate its position and to prolong its existence.

Secondly, let us see how the landlords devoted their efforts to business venture and usury. The development of social economy and the expansion of the commodity and money economy further whetted their appetite for luxury. The government officials living together in cities became more extravagant, while more and more landlords moved from the countryside into the cities to seek pleasure. The system of selecting government officials by holding imperial examinations was originally a sacred affair under the feudal system. Being no match for the "magic of getting-rich-quick," it was left wide open for corruption. This practice called for increased supplies of luxury items and daily necessities to be financed by high-interest loans. Landlords, especially the noble-official landlords, then used the cities as the bases of their commercial and money-lending operation and, the more prosperous the commerce of a city, the more densely they concentrated their capital in that city. Their money was mostly invested in the production of luxury goods to be used for bribery and to earn high profits or was loaned out a high interests. The luxury goods included silks and satins, pearls and precious stones, and antiques, while their trades included the running of money exchanges and pawnshops. Of course, their business also developed to such an extent as to include the production of daily necessities and the transportation of goods for sale.

At the same time, the peasants-turned-landlords strengthened their control on money in the countryside. Milling, oil pressing, winemaking, and the processing of other agricultural products had always been the hereditary privilege of the landlords in the countryside. With the development of agricultural crops to be used as commodity, the landlords opened up new fields of activities, such as sugar extracting, tea making, and the processing of more agricultural products. The increased demand for commercial grain led them to the hoarding and cornering of goods, selling goods at far away places and resorting to fraudulent activities in business. The running of retail stores and the floating of high-interest loans by landlords in the countryside became even more common. The entire economic life of the countryside then was controlled by the landlords.

Along with the development of capitalism in the later stage of the feudal society, the principal social contradiction between the feudal-lord class and the peasants was gradually replaced by the contradiction between the feudal-lord class and the bourgeoisie. The essence of this contradiction was in the conflict between land power and money power. It was precisely the development of this conflict that led to the rise and demise of the feudal society. Such is the universal law of historical development; and this law applies to the West and the East alike, the only difference being in the characteristics of feudal economy and their forms of development.

There were some exceptions in China, though. Because of the private ownership of land and the permission for land transactions, particularly during the later stage of feudal society, the development of commodity economy and the increased commercialization of land offered the landlords, merchants, and userers generally equal opportunities for exploitation in their own ways. Since they were able to enjoy their proprietary rights over their land and their money in harmony, the contradiction between land power and money power was alleviated with important social aftereffects. As members of the principal ruling class, the landlord controlled not only the land but, also, the money through business ventures and usury. Thus, they could exercise their ruling power not only politically but also economically in the cities as well as the countryside. Their ruling position was undoubtedly stronger than ever.

Now let us look at the position of the merchants and userers. Because of the political and economic domination by the powerful landlord class, the characteristics of Chinese cities as political centers, and the traditional policy adopted by the feudal autocratic power of "stressing the roots and neglecting the branches," the economic position occupied by industry and commerce in the cities became weakened, and the social position of merchants was a humble one. They usually sought the patronage of those with feudal provileges or the feudal bureaucrats in order to develop their business. In the early Qing Dynasty, the most wealthy merchants became salt dealers or government traders. Their duty was to amass wealth for the feudal rulers and, at the same time, they tried to "pick up some fallen crumbs for themselves." Other merchants of the upper-middle level invited the bureaucrats into partnership or tried to bribe their way to officialdom so that, in collusion with other government officials and in the dual capacity of officials and merchants, they could circumvent the official prohibitions or resist excessive demands. Merchants as a class had to stoop to compromise and to carry on their commercial activities cautiously; otherwise they might invite disaster and bring ruin to their families. Many of them would invest their gains in land instead of production. This shows their dependency on the landlord economy and their lack of independence. Since they could not develop independently in economic and political spheres, their role as "revolutionary elements" ("Das Kapital" Vol 3, p 1,019) could not be given full play as it was in Europe. Precisely because of the political and economic power of the landlord class in the urban and rural areas, Marx made these remarks: "Asian history is all about the unity of the city and the countryside." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Pt I, Vol 46, p 480) These remarks aptly summed up the history of China's feudal economy.

"The economic relations of a given society present themselves in the first place as interests." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 18, p 307) The "trinity" feudal economy was precisely the economic relation which was capable of bringing great benefits to the feudal lord class. Exploitation in the form of rent was very severe in China, because the rent rate was above 50 percent. Commercial profit rate and loan interest rate were based on the rent rate as the minimum, or else the merchants and userers would rather become landlords then take the risk of loss. Furthermore, there was the opportunity to monopolize and swindle in commerce and usury which could raise exploitation to a degree far above that of rent. At the same time, they could invest their accumulated wealth in the most profitable way according to the changing social and economic conditions, so that rent, business profits, and loan interests could be transformed into one another and loan interests could be transformed into one another with great flexibility and, thus, bring about great economic benefits for the feudal lord class.

The "trinity" feudal economy, with rent exploitation as its foundation, combined the most steady with the most lucrative form of interest-bearing instruments into a single entity. This was a powerful means of increasing wealth based on simple cooperation and handicraft production, leaving the sprouts of capitalism--which carried out exploitation only on the absolute surplus value--far behind. Since the sprouts of capitalism could not attract the huge money capital that was in the hands of merchants and userers, they could only grow in some crevices of feudal economy and wait for large profits to be made under extraordinary circumstances. Sometimes, they may become the tools for other people to accumulate wealth and to buy land, so that, finally, it could only help strengthen and landlord economy. It was beyond doubt the structure of wealth distribution and the orientation of accumulation of the "trinity" feudal economy could only strengthen the landlord economy, restrict the growth of the capitalist sprouts, and then lead to the stability and prolonged existence of feudal economy.

The law of motion in the contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production is the fundamental law of development of the human society. The contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production also is the basic cause for the development and changes of all forms of society. In studying the cause of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society, we must start from the interaction among the productive forces; the relations of production; the superstructure; and then the population, the geographical environments, and other factors, with particular stress on the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. We have already mentioned the main features of the economic structure in China's feudal society (especially during the Ming-Qing period). How are the productive forces now?

Productive forces did develop during the Ming-Qing period. In agriculture, the popularization of such drought-resistant and high-yield crops as maize and sweet potatoes and the division of labor in agricultural areas were new factors in the development of productive forces. In handicraft, remarkable innovations in the tools and equipment used in various trades, such as well-salt, were carried out. On the whole, however, the development of social productive forces was still limited, as can be seen from "a merely quantitative extension of productive forces already known" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 24), but not qualitative improvement. In agriculture, for example, there were only increases in the farmland areas and the amount of labor power, the popularization of intensive farming, and the use of fairly efficient farm tools and farming techniques previously invented. In handicraft, there were only certain improvements in the work process and the division of labor according to the requirements of specialization and so forth. There was no new or important breakthrough in the tools of production. Tools of production are the most effective and most important factor in production. If we only rely on the above-mentioned factors without changing the tools of production, social productive forces can only be increased slowly and to a certain limited extent.

"How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown most manifestly by the degree to which the division of labor has been carried." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 24) In a feudal society, the separation of agriculture from handicrafts was most important. During the Ming-Qing period, the broad masses of peasants sold agricultural products mainly to meet the needs of their daily life but not under compulsion from the division of social labor. The sale of handicraft products did not indicate the development in the division of social labor either. In social production as a whole, handicrafts had never been detached from agriculture, and this shows the lack of progress in the division of social labor as well as the inadequate development of productive forces.

Agriculture is the foundation of all societies, and the development of agricultural productive forces had a very important bearing on the transition of a feudal to a capitalist society. There was development in grain production during the Qing Dynasty, as clearly shown by its ability to feed a population increased from 100 million to 400 million. By the middle of the Qing Dynasty, however, the increase of population was faster than the increase of the means of production; and a nationwide shortage of food supply resulted. The development of commercial agricultural crops, handicrafts, and commerce in the early Qing period had actually been based on an agriculture which could only provide stopgap measures detrimental to long-term interests. The number of laborers engaged in commercial agricultural crops, handicraft production, and commerce was invariably decided by the amount of surplus grain. With the productive forces available in the early years of the Qing Dynasty, a complete separation of handicrafts from agriculture was obviously impossible. Most of the social products were consumed by the excessive population, and little was left for social accumulation. Therefore, social production could hardly be expanded.

Because of the tenacious internal structure of China's feudal economy, and the fact that the development of social productive forces during the Ming-Qing period could not hasten its disintegration, it was difficult for the sprouts of capitalism to grow; and the feudal society could only be allowed to remain for a long time.

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PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION DEFENDED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Yan Nie [3601 5119]: "A Reply to Reader's Questions About Criticism of the Tendency Toward Bourgeois Liberalization"]

[Text] What is the Tendency Toward Bourgeois Liberalization?

That which is called the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization is the mistaken tendency to shake off the leadership of the party and depart from the socialist path. Its core is opposition to party leadership. Without party leadership there will be no socialist system. In the past period there have actually been some persons who, by publishing literary works, writing articles, making speeches to the young and other means, have vilified party leadership, defamed the socialist system, maligned Mao Zedong Thought and placed a black mark upon the face of the motherland. They attribute nothing good to the party and the socialist system and even go so far as to speak of "breaking through the last line of defense." They want the party to "rule laissez faire," and they openly want to free themselves from the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought. And there are those who are members of the Communist Party but who nonetheless refer to party leadership as "officialdom," refer to themselves as representing "the people," and so forth. Although it is only an extremely small number of people who have this mistaken tendency, we should not underestimate their negative impact. If we passively tolerate the spread of this kind of mistaken tendency, it will do grave damage to the socialist cause of our motherland. Because of this, we must overcome the weak and disorganized state of leadership on the ideological front and carry out serious and correct criticism and necessary and appropriate struggle against every kind of mistaken tendency.

Does Criticizing the Tendency Toward Liberalization Mean Attacking Individuals or Groups of People?

Some comrades ask: since the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization is expressed through certain literary works, articles and individual speeches, isn't criticism of these a way of attacking individuals or groups of people? We say that this is not so. The criticism that we carry out today, in both goals and methods, is basically different than the evil actions carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the name of criticism. We cannot adopt a heedless atttitude in regard to contradictions between the enemy and ourselves or in regard to contradictions of such a nature. But, we use criticism and self-criticism to overcome mistakes with regard to contradictions within the ranks of the vast people and here our goal is to cure the sickness and save the person, not to attack him; to lead the mistaken comrade back onto the correct path, not to strike him down and leave him no hope. In terms of methods we must seek the truth from facts, strictly distinguish the enemy and ourselves, differentiate between right and wrong, not go to extremes in criticizing, raise a hue and cry, recklessly criticize and struggle, or beseige comrades. In criticizing we must adopt methods of presenting the facts and reasoning. In addition, we should carry out different criticism in different situations. For example, some criticism should openly name names in the newspapers, while some should criticize mistaken concepts without naming names, and other criticism should be nothing more than brief oral comment. The method of criticism should be particular and judgments appropriate, but this should not be used as an excuse for failing to criticize or criticizing weakly, both of which are incorrect. Doing so is, in fact, tantamount to foregoing criticism, which will result in harming the interests of the people and will be of no benefit in correcting the mistakes of mistaken comrades.

In Criticizing the Tendency Toward Liberalization Do We Want to Carry Out Political Movements?

The criticism in 1965 of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" initiated the "Great Cultural Revolution" movement, the memory of which remains fresh in the minds of the people. Some comrades have doubts about whether or not today's criticism will be accompanied by more political movements. Such doubts are unnecessary. Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee the Party Central Committee has indicatdd several times that, the socialist transformation having been basically completed, class struggle is no longer a primary contradiction in our country. The Party Central Committee has already formally indicated that we should stop using the mistaken slogan, "take class struggle as the key," and that we will no longer carry out political movements. Our central task is to unite the people of the entire country in single-mindedly carrying out the four modernizations. Our criticism of the mistaken tendency toward liberalization is basically intended to get the people of the entire nation to distinguish right and wrong, to improve ideology and to better carry out the four modernization constructions. Because of this, in dealing with the tendency towadd liberalization with which we are presently confronted, we cannot repeat the mistaken method of the past of carrying out political movements.

Does Criticism of the Tendency Toward Liberalization Mean We Cannot Speak of Democracy?

Since the Third Plenum the Party Central Committee has indicated many times that we must forcefully develop democracy and this principle will not be changed. During 10 years of unrest Lin Biao and the "gang of four" instigated despotism and trampled on democracy, causing everyone to fall mute, and this situation can never be allowed to repeat itself. We must certainly work hard to create a lively political situation which encompasses both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unified determination and satisfied individual aspirations. We must encourage free discussion within the ranks of the people and see to it that everyone feels free to speak his mind. Within the ranks of the people varied opinions can be aired, but since mistaken ideas are allowed to be aired, we must, of course, allow criticism of mistaken ideas. All the legitimate democratic rights of the masses must be completely protected. However, our democracy is socialist democracy, democracy with leadership, and there is no place for bourgeois liberalization. In upholding the "double hundred" principle, we cannot forego criticism and self-criticism. If, in the name of promoting democracy, we recklessly publish literary works or make speeches which deny the four fundamental principles, then we are completely mistaken. We must carry out criticism and self-criticism concerning this kind of mistake, see that people improve their ideological understanding, and not allow them to be poisoned by mistaken ideologies. We cannot view this kind of proper criticism as obstructing or damaging democracy. At present, the so-called democracy in the minds eye of some people just so happens to allow them to speak their minds, to argue with others and to issue speech which weakens or denies the four fundamental principles, and does not allow others to carry out criticism of their mistakes. Rather, they say that the criticism of them by others is destroying democracy. This is clearly quite mistaken.

Will Criticism of Liberalization Dilute or Obstruct Criticism of Improper Tendencies Such As Those Toward "Leftist" Ideology and Privileged Treatment?

Since the Third Plenum, in guiding ideology our Party Central Committee has thoroughly split with "leftist" ideology and established the correct line, principles and policies. But in terms of the entire nation, the task of completely correcting "leftist" mistakes in practical work is still a formidable one. It remains extremely important to continue tirelessly to overcome "leftist" mistakes. By saying today that we must criticize bourgeois liberalization, we do not mean that we should no longer criticize and correct "leftist" ideology. Both the tendency toward liberalization and "leftist" ideology are harmful to our cause, and so we must seriously criticize and correct them both. Our party's principles have historically upheld struggle on two fronts, opposing both the "left" and the right, and concretely analyzing concrete conditions. Similarly, at the same time we oppose the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, we must continue to oppose privileged treatment and other improper trends. The question of party style relates to the large question of the life and death of the party. The party has repeatedly insisted that our party style must be good. Because of this, we must continue to criticize improper trends within the party and in society. The problem is that at present some comrades only see the harm done by "leftist" ideology and improper trends, and fail fully to see the harm done by the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization and so abandon the weapon of criticism in the face of this tendency. This situation should be corrected. In short, we should criticize whatever mistakes there are. Only this will lead to smooth progress in our four modernization constructions.

What is the Connection Between Criticism of Bourgeois Liberalization and Our Vast Youth?

Our vast youth are the successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause who will shoulder the heavy burden of realizing the four modernizations. The party and the people rest their hopes on the generation of young people. If we are to assume responsibility for this glorious historical mission, then we must uphold the four basic principles, unwaveringly follow the party along the socialist path and carry out righteously fearless criticism of all tendencies which depart from party leadership and the socialist system. Only by so doing will the interests of our nation and people, as well as the interests of our youths, truly be protected.

Criticism and the prohibition of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization are also for the good of the healthy development of our youth. Young people do not exist in a vacuum and always feel the impact of the various ideological tides in society. In their search for knowledge and strength they like to read literary works and to invite persons to make reports on various problems. This is one of the unique characteristics of youth. It is worth noting that some of the ideological tides tending toward bourgeois liberalization just happen to be spread through literary pieces and books, and through speeches. Due to insufficient historical knowledge and social experience, it is easy for youths to become ideologically one-sided, and some youths will, in varying degrees, be subject to the decay brought on by the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. Because of this, criticizing mistaken tendencies is an effective way of preventing harm to our youth. Our vast youth should seriously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and should be aware of criticisms of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. In this way they will raise their own ideological awareness, improve their ability to distinguish right and wrong, and lead to their healthy development.

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PARTY AND STATE

WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT IN LATE QING DYNASTY

Beijing JINDAISHI YANJIU [STUDIES IN MODERN HISTORY] in Chinese No 2, May 81 pp 127-144

[Article by Compilation Group of "Modern History of China, Draft:" "Westernization Activities--Creation of Modern Military Industry"]

[Excerpts] Currently, the history circle is enthusiastically discussing the "Westernization Movement." We now publish here the section on westernization activities in Volume 2 of "Modern History of China, Draft" for comments and corrections by our comrades, in order to make revisions and supplements before formal publication.

Not long after the emergence of the situation of "peace" between China and the foreign countries, some of the people in the landowner class began to create a modern military industry. Those in charge were the same people who vigorously advocated "peace," including Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. They relied mainly on foreign countries for their activities. Dealing with foreigners belonged in the realm of the so-called "westernization" at that time, and the group of people engaged therein was known as the westernization faction.

In December 1860, upon the opportunity of using foreign troops to suppress the Taiping Rebellion, Zeng Guofan submitted a memo to the Qing government: Using the forces of foreign countries today to assist in suppressing the rebellion and ship grain will reduce current worries; in the future, learning foreign technology and manufacturing cannons and building ships will bring permanent benefits.[1] Next year, he further developed his proposition: The purchase of foreign ships and cannons is the foremost task to save the situation today. After purchasing them, we can seek able persons and ingenious artisans to practice first and trial manufacture later. Within a year or two, steamships will become available for both government and civilian use. By that time, "it will be possible to suppress the Fa and Nian rebellions; it will be possible to form long-range strategies."[2] After coming to Shanghai in 1862, Li Hongzhang acquired the aid of foreign aggressors to train foreign rifle units and establish a foreign artillery bureau, and was very active in learning how to manufacture foreign ships and cannons. He felt that the main reason that the Qing army often used several times as many men as the foreigners in battle and yet failed to win was because of the inferior weaponry and the crude guns and cannons. If the weaponry were comparable to the West, the Qing army "will be more than adequate to pacify China and compete with the foreign countries." Paying serious attention now will finally bring independence.[3] As long as China possesses big cannons and steamships, the West will stay its hands.[4] Seeing that Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang were learning to manufacture foreign ships and cannons, Yi Xin decided to send soldiers to learn. In his memo to the emperor, he said: To rule the country, we must become strong. To become strong, training the troops is primary, which is premised on manufacturing weapons. While the foreigners are willing to render help, we must seek all kinds of foreign firearms and uncover their mysteries and secrets. By then, we will be able to resist humiliations when necessary or demonstrate our might in times of peace. The attitude of the foreigners depends on the strength or weakness of China. "If we can be strong, we will be able to live in peace with them."[5] Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang hoped that purchasing and imitatively manufacturing foreign guns and cannons and ships and organizing and training new-style troops would realize the "strength and independence" of a landowner country in face of the foreign aggressors while suppressing the people's revolution. They thought that adding some advanced technology of the Western capitalist countries to the decadent feudal system would stabilize the old order and that the rule of the Qing Dynasty would remain peaceful forever. They felt that westernization was necessary and feasible and that they would win the sympathy and aid of the big powers.

The main contents of the westernization activities begun in the sixties were, at first, the purchase of modern military equipment, the creation of a military industry, the training of new-style navy and army and the cultivation of westernization talents. After the seventies, such activities gradually expanded to mining, shipbuilding, telegrams, railways and textile.

Beginning in 1862, the Qing government engaged English and French instructors, bought guns and cannons, and trained foreign gun units successively in Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Fuzhou, gradually expanding to Wuhan, Nanchang, Anqing and Jinan. In 1866, Yi Xin obtained permission from the emperor to train 15,000 infantrymen in Zhili [Hebei]. The personnel were mostly transferred from the Manchu units and the Green Battalions. Among the newly organized troops, the equipment and training of the Xiang [Hunan] and Huai [part of Henan and north Anhui] Armies were the best.

The large-scale conversion to foreign guns and cannons by the Xiang and Huai Armies began in April 1862 when the Huai Army was assigned to garrison in Shanghai. The moment he arrived in Shanghai, Li Hongzhang ordered the Huai Army to learn the use of the new-style guns and cannons and tactics from the foreign troops. He wrote Zeng Guofan: China is far inferior to foreign countries in weaponry, and I feel very ashamed. To be stationed in Shanghai for an extended time without utilizing the skills of the foreigners will be difficult for me to avoid censure.[6] He said to the officers of the Huai Army: In regard to bombs, I personally am determined to imitate the foreigners. I hope you will all exert an effort to do so.[7] Utilizing Shanghai's monthly tax revenue of 200,000 to 300,000 liang, Li Hongzhang recklessly bought foreign guns and cannons, spared no expense to hire foreigners as army instructors and recruited foreign artisans to operate the equipment for making cannons imported from Hong Kong. The old-style guns were discarded in favor of the foreign guns.[8] From April 1862 to the interval between fall and winter of 1864, the land and sea personnel of the Huai Army expanded from 6,000 plus men to 50,000 or 60,000, with 30,000 to 40,000 foreign guns and 6 or 7 artillery units. Li Hongzhang was pleased with himself. In his report to the Qing government, he bragged: Battling the Taiping army south of Changjiang, he was accustomed to the efficacy of foreign firearms which most others had never seen or known. He was the only one to have paid attention to them for several years and glimpsed the mystery therein.[9] The Xiang Army under Zeng Guofan and Zeng Guoquan also began to use foreign guns and cannons in 1862, and subsequently made large purchases in Shanghai and Hong Kong. Zeng Guoquan said in 1864: His troops were helped considerably by the use of foreign guns and were able to compete against the Taiping army effectively.[10] The Xiang Army under Zuo Zongtang began to cooperate with the French in the fall of 1863 and set up foreign gun units. After marching into the Northwest in 1867, he expanded the gun units. Foreign guns increased to 60 percent, and special persons were stationed in Shanghai to purchase guns and cannons and ammunition from abroad. In the first half of the eighties, the Beiyang [Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong] garrison consisted mostly of the Huai Army, the garrison stationed in the Northwest provinces mostly of the Xiang Army, and the Nanyang [Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong] garrison both Huai and Xiang Armies in equal numbers, while most of the other provinces also had Xiang and Huai Armies stationed in them. The Xiang and Huai Armies equipped with foreign guns and cannons gradually replaced the Eight Banners and the Green Battalions and became the main strengths of the Qing government to suppress the people's resistance and stabilize the semi-colonial and semi-feudal regime.

Purchasing foreign ships and preparing for a new-type navy also began in the early sixties. In 1862, the Qing government entrusted General Commissioner of Customs(Li Taiguo),returning to England on vacation, to order warships from England. In 1863, a fleet of 8 large and small ships led by British naval officers reached Shanghai and prepared to join the operation against the Taiping army. Due to the conflict of Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang with the English officers for command power, the Qing government had to disband the fleet and send all the ships back to England. Subsequently, Jiangsu and Guangdong bought separately a number of small warships to suppress local mass uprisings. Between 1874 and 1875, after an extended discussion on coastal defense, the Qing government decided to prepare to create a navy. Li Hongzhang was one of the high commissioners in charge. Between the second half of the seventies and the first half of the eighties, he successively bought 20 naval vessels (subsequently 4 Nanyang gunboats were allocated) at a cost of more than 7 million liang. Together with the ships built by the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau, the Beiyang provinces had a total of 20 plus vessels. The Nanyang provinces had 10 plus vessels of different kinds, Fujian 10 plus, and Guangdong 20 plus small ones.

Buying firearms and ships from the West was only a part of the activities of the westernization faction to improve the military apparatus; the more importang part was creating a modern military industry. In 1861, Zeng Guofan established the "Interior Ordnance Post" in Anqing to manufacture new-type guns and cannons. Two years later, he sent Rong Hong with a large sum of money to America to buy machinery for expansion of the post. Beginning in 1862, he established successively 3 foreign cannon bureaus in Shanghai. He felt that, though the expenses of the foreign cannon bureaus were more than 10 times greater than those of ordinary cannon bureaus, they must be continued even at the expense of reducing the soldiers' pay.[11] In 1864, he expanded one of the bureaus and moved it to Suzhou. Inspired, Yi Xin sent soldiers to Suzhou to learn and planned to create machine bureaus. In 1864, Zuo Zongtang trial manufactured steamships in Hangzhou. After the failure of the Taiping revolution, the westernization faction, for the purpose of continuing to suppress the mass struggles of the various areas and expanding its own power, undertook the building of a modern military industry on an even larger scale.

From the sixties to the early eighties, the westernization faction operated four key military industries: 1. Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau. In 1865, Li Hongzhang bought an American machine plant in Shanghai's Hongkou and included in it the 2 cannon bureaus originally in Shanghai and the machinery bought by Zeng Guofan from America. He also manufactured a part of the machinery and formally set up the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau at a cost of approximately 200,000 plus liang. In 1867, it was moved to the south of Shanghai and vigorously expanded. By the first half of the eighties, it possessed more than 10 plants of various types and 1 dry dock, and also had a translation office and an artillery school attached to it. Costing a total of approximately 2 million plus liang,[12] it was the largest weapons manufactory built by the westernization faction. It utilized the 20 percent of the annual revenue of the Shanghai Customs allocated to it, approximately 500,000 to 600,000 liang, for its annual outlay, manufacturing guns and cannons and ammunition to supply the troops stationed in the south and the north (mainly the Huai Army, with the Xiang Army next), and at times to the troops in other provinces. From 1867 on, it began to build steamships, successively producing 8 naval vessels. Suspending shipbuilding after 1885, it concentrated on repairing the naval vessels of the Nanyang and Beiyang provinces. 2. Jinling Machine Bureau. In 1865, Li Hongzhang moved the Suzhou Foreign Cannon Bureau to Nanjing and expanded it into the Jinling Machine Bureau. By the first half of the eighties, it possessed more than 10 plants at a cost of 500,000 plus liang. The weapons and ammunition manufactured by it were mainly supplied to the Nanyang and Beiyang garrisons. 3. Fujian Ships Administration Bureau. In 1866, Zuo Zongtang set up the Ships Administration Bureau in Fuzhou, which was later taken over by Shen Baozhen. At the beginning, the plan was to build 16 vessels in 5 years. The plants were built at a cost of 400,000 plus liang and monthly shipbuilding cost was 50,000 liang. Production started in 1869, and a total of 15 vessels was built by 1874. By this time, the bureau had 16 plants, 3 berths and 1 ship slot, with an attached technical bureau. With the plant building cost totaling 1.35 plus million liang, the bureau was the largest shipyard undertaken by the westernization faction. At the beginning, shipbuilding was entirely controlled by Frenchman (Riyige) and others. When the contract expired in 1875, it was taken over by the students of the technical bureau. Starting with imitative manufacturing of old-type wooden ships, it began in 1876 to build 750-horsepower new-type machine iron-side steamships. In 1881, it built 3 2,400-horsepower fast patrol ships of 2,200-ton displacement for the Nanyang Navy, the largest naval vessels built by China itself at that time. 4. Tianjin Machine Bureau. Training new-style troops in Zhili in 1866, Yi Xin ordered Beiyang Minister of Commerce Chong Hou to establish a machine bureau in Tianjin. The east and west bureaus were preliminary completed in the eighties. Not long thereafter, Li Hongzhang took over and expanded the project. By the first half of the eighties, a total of 1.1 plus million liang was spent. The Tianjin Machine Bureau mainly produced ammunition and weapons to supply the Huai Army and the Zhili troops now under Li Hongzhang's command. The plants of the four bureaus each had its own special functions. Concurrently making guns and cannons, ammunition and steamships, the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau was the most comprehensive in its functions. The Jinling Machine Bureau mainly produced cannons, the Tianjin Machine Bureau made gunpowder and shells, and the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau specialized in building steamships. Together, they formed the mainstay of China's early military industry.

The bureaus and their plants, regardless of the size, were all run by the government. Their initial cost and annual expenses were allocated by the government. The greater part of the guns and cannons, ammunition and steamships produced by them were directly allocated to the Xiang and Huai Armies and the coastal provinces, while the smaller part was traded to the provinces under the name of rendering financial assistance or sold to them for a price. The outlays were reimbursed or disbursed according to routine expense accounts. The cost of production was never computed, and even less attention was given to efficiency. Each bureau and plant was a government office, with a horde of high and low bureaucrats. Above them, there were the governor-generals and governor-supervisors, known as commissioners. Within the bureaus and plants, there were, in operation and management, such personnel as general managers, assistant managers, submanagers, titiao, commissioners and affairs managers, and in charge of production, Chinese and foreign supervisors, chief foremen, chief inspectors, chief engineers, foremen, team leaders and chief artisans. In addition, there were also aides and deputies who received salaries but performed no work. The structure was ponderous, filled with redundant personnel. Take the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau and Fujian Ships Administration Bureau for instance: In Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau, each time there was a new general manager, he would follow the same routine and add 30 or 40 trusted commissioners and affairs managers, ever increasing the personnel. In regard to expenses, the salaries of the Chinese and foreign personnel often constituted 10 percent or more of the total expenses, and as high as 20 percent or more in some years.[13] The minister of the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau appointed an excessive number of personnel, and the successive persons in charge each brought in a group of people. There were only additions, never dismissal. As a result, a large portion of the shipbuilding fund was spent on salaries, not on production.[14] In some plants, troops were detailed to serve as workers, and the military management system was followed. In Fujian Ships Administration Bureau, for instance, "able-bodied units" were formed, and the system of troop management was completely followed to control the hired laborers and helpers. Minister of the bureau Shen Baozhen declared in 1868: The daily 800 or 900 hired laborers and helpers must be controlled by military law before we can prevent them from becoming careless and sloppy and unmanageable. There will be a corporal for each file of 10 and a leader for every 5 files, and diligent and able soldiers will be assigned to command them. Their sleeping quarters, kitchens and toilets will be strictly checked. Ramparts will be built along the mountains, roughly like barracks.[15] Some bureaus and plants prohibited the men from coming and going freely; others set up criminal courts and openly administered punishments. Without any freedom, the workers encountered bureaucratic oppression everywhere. China's feudal era had long had handicrafts run by the government. Making only certain products needed by the aristocrats and bureaucrats, all were operated by the government. The modern military industry at present remained basically a sort of feudal governmental enterprise. The only difference was the production of firearms by new technology. In 1865 and 1876, Li Hongzhang repeatedly asked the Qing government for its attention: Military industry must be strictly controlled. If certain people in remote areas surreptitiously learn the foreign ways and successfully manufacture sharp weapons, once they rise up and revolt, government troops will not be able to resist them. "Every time I think of it, I cannot help but rise suddenly and heave a long sigh."[16] He also said that foreign machinery could also be used to manufacture farming, textile, printing and ceramic implements, not just firearms. After its introduction into China, the rich merchants would use it to seek profit. The government must issue orders and ban its use to make such things as electric wires and firearms. The personnel engaged in manufacturing guns and cannons in the bureaus and plants must also be constantly checked. Such psychology of fear against the people made the production and management of military industry even more feudal then the government operated old-style handicraft industry.

To train a new-type army and establish plants and bureaus, foreign personnel must first be engaged, "borrowing material from foreign land." The training of the navy and army mainly depended on foreign officers. The military industry, from the purchase of machinery, its installation and operation, to production and manufacturing, completely depended on foreign technicians. The employment of foreign personnel cost the tremendous sum of 100,000 plus liang to several times that much annually. According to incomplete statistics, from the sixties to the first half of the eighties, the cost of hiring foreign personnel and artisans by the Huai Army and Beiyang Coastal Defense and the Jiangnan Manufacturing, Tianjin Machine Bureau and Fujian Ships Administration Bureau through the years came to 3 million plus liang. With the cost for hiring foreign personnel and artisans by the Nanyang Coastal Defense and the training of troops and establishment of bureaus by the various provinces on top thereof, the total should come to 4 million plus liang. The figure was approximately equivalent to the grand total of the money for plant building and expansion of Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau, Fujian Ships Administration Bureau and Jinling Machine Bureau through the years. In other words, it would have been sufficient to build three more bureaus and their plants of the same scale. A part of the control power of westernization actually fell into the hands of the highly paid foreigners, such as Frenchman (Riyige), commissioner of customs of Fujian Ships Administration Bureau, and (Mitoshi), British consular officer of Tianjin Machine Bureau. Beginning with its predecessor, the artillery bureau in Shanghai and then Suzhou, Jinling Machine Bureau was controlled by Englishman Margary for more than 10 years. Foreign artisans were in charge of the shipbuilding and manufacturing work of Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau. Though the Beiyang Navy was spared the fate of being handed over to Hart, the chief commissioner of customs, it was later controlled by English officer (Langweili) and others. Under the management of foreign personnel, most of the imported equipment and production technology were obsolete and backward. Some people among the westernization faction also pointed out that what the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau followed was the old ways of France; what the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau followed was the old ways of England; what the Beiyang Shipyard and the various bureaus of naval machinery followed was the old ways of England and Germany. They all kept to a set pattern, without any innovation.[17] At that time the Kangbang new machine and iron-side had long been introduced in Western shipbuilding, yet the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau only began to do imitative manufacturing in 1876, after the withdrawal of the foreign personnel. While the foreign countries had long changed to breech-loaders, Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau still made muzzle-loaders. Though it also changed to breech-loading later on, it was unable to manufacture the new-type. The products of the military industry were mostly inferior in quality. In charge of Jinling Machine Bureau, Englishman (Mageli) manufactured cannons for the Dagu Fort. Shipped to the fort in 1875, they immediately exploded when fired and turned into piles of scrap metal.

Westernization activities were a manifestation of reliance on foreign countries. When it came to equipment and finished products, large sums were spent on foreign purchases, while manufacturing at home was scorned. According to incomplete statistics, from the early sixties to the first half of the eighties, the funds for purchasing foreign ships, cannons, firearms and ammunition totaled approximately 20 million plus liang, while the funds directly devoted to manufacturing (including the cost of foreign material and shipping) for the same period only came to 14 million liang, or only 2/3 of the funds for purchasing. Some people advocated large-scale imitative manufacturing of new-type ships and apparatuses, but Li Hongzhang rejected it categorically as ignorant talk. He said: As the machineries and artisans of China's bureaus and plants are incomplete, manufacturing is easier said than done. Among the many plants in the West, we can select freely, and buying is far more convenient than manufacturing.[18] The bureaus and plants only copied old-type ships and apparatuses and made ammunition, and China imported all its new-type ships, cannons and firearms from foreign countries. Furthermore, it relied on foreigners to buy on its behalf. Preparing to organize the Nanyang and Beiyang Coastal Defenses, Yi Xin, Li Hongzhang and Shen Baozhen, at the beginning, relied entirely on Hart and others to buy ships and cannons on their behalf. They felt that sending Chinese personnel to do the purchasing would make it more complicated and add to the cost. Once someone going abroad was requested to find out directly from English plants the cost of gunboats. Hearing about it, Hart was greatly disturbed, claiming that it was an indication of distrust. Li Hongzhang and Yi Xin immediately changed their minds. The 10 plus gunboats purchased by Hart for the Qing government at a cost of 2 or 3 million liang were all old-type vessels. Li Hongzhang was forced to admit that it would be difficult for these vessels either to hit the target or to effect self-defense,[19] and that matters would be bungled.[20] Other provinces mostly ordered ships, cannons and firearms from the foreign merchants in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The foreign merchants were bent solely on profit, and the ships and cannons purchased through them were either mixed models, the inferior passed off as the superior,[21] or obsolete items after the exporting countries had changed to new-type products.[22] Some merchants bought the old stock at a cheap price and misrepresented it as newly manufactured, while others inflated the price of the cheap merchandise imported by them.[23] The abuses were innumerable, and large sums of the state were squandered.

When a backward country wishes to change its status quo, it is entirely necessary to import advanced technology from foreign countries and to buy some foreign products which it is unable to produce for the time being, and it cannot be criticized for doing so. The key is to preserve sovereignty. In the various westernization undertakings, the westernization faction of the landowner class relied on foreign countries in all matters, without any independence and self-determination, because the landowner state had long lost its sovereignty. Since they placed the cause of their own class on the foundation of reliance on foreign countries, they could only turn themselves more and more into compradors. The close combination of the feudal and comprador qualities was the dominant characteristic of the westernization faction and their activities.

Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang vigorously promoted westernization activities, but other high bureaucrats and aristocrats, such as Grand Secretary Wei Ren and others, vigorously opposed them. Just as reactionary in politics and extremely stubborn and conservative in ideology, the latter group was the diehard faction in the Qing government opposed to the westernization faction. They opposed without exception the new-type army and navy, the modern military industry, and industrial, mining, communication and transportation enterprises for civilian use and all the related activities. Their reasons were: 1. All the advanced science and technology of the West are "clever and bizarre tricks." 2. Learning from foreign countries is equivalent to remolding Chinese culture with foreign culture, "changing the Chinese by means of the barbarian." 3. Ever since ancient times, China's astronomy and mathematics have not lagged behind, and there is no need to learn from the West. 4. Once machinery and technology are spread into China, they can be utilized by the people to make weapons, which will be a most dangerous thing. In 1866, Wei Ren submitted a memo to the emperor opposing the creation of Tongwen Hall, on ground that the essence of building a country is ethics and loyalty, not tactics and trickery. Whether in ancient times or today, there has never been a dynasty which could avert its decline by means of technology. If we actually make the barbarians our teachers for the sake of acquiring some minor technical skills, it will inevitably cause China's scholars to "change and follow the barbarians." When the upright influence fails to prevail, the evil influence will spread. It will not take more than a few years to force China's scholars to turn into barbarians.[24] Imperial Censor Zhang Shengzao said in his memo to the emperor: If the court wishes to become strong and prosperous, there is no better way than reinforcing the laws, meting out rewards and punishments strictly and fairly and seeking and employing able persons. Those following the orthodox way by passing the examinations, "studying the books of Confucius and Mencius and learning the ways of Emperors Yao and Shun," are the most useful talents for the country. When Tongwen Hall wants them to learn astronomy and mathematics and seek such skills as manufacturing steamships and foreign guns, it is actually stressing fame and profit and scorning integrity. Putting the cart before the horse, it is bound to fail.[25] When discussing coastal defense in 1875, Administrative Commissioner Yu Lingchen opposed manufacturing foreign implements and making foreign ships, on ground that, in order to do so, they must learn foreign knowledge which would lead to the extent of taking foreign knowledge as the criterion of employment. By then, "is there anything more humiliating than making the foreigners our teachers?"[26] In 1867, in his memo to the Qing government, a candidate for departmental magistrate of Zhili region said: When it comes to astronomy and mathematics, China is the best; when it comes to skills and techniques, China is the most complete. Western knowledge of steamships and machinery may not be comparable to ours. China's land is vast and its population large. Is it conceivable that we cannot find people in astronomy and mathematics who excel the Westerners?[27] Wei Ren also declared: If we must have astronomy and mathematics, we will, by searching extensively in China, find proficient people. "Why must we make the barbarians our teachers?"[28] In 1875, the comment of a diehard bureaucrat on learning technology and manufacturing machinery was: Strict prohibition of private casting of guns and cannons and private caching of firearms is naturally correct. By extensively recruiting people to learn about machinery, those people will teach others in turn, and the country will be filled with machinery. We can encourage everyone to learn about humanity, justice, loyalty and faith, but we must not permit many people to study firearms.[29] As late as 1884, Cabinet Scholar Xu Zhixiang submitted a special memo to the emperor: It has been more than 10 years since the creation of the Nanyang and Beiyang Machine Bureaus and the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau, at a cost of no less than 20 or 30 million liang, yet they end up by being useless. Now some people advocate adding the subject of technology in the examination system. It must be firmly checked. If not, perhaps in the future there will be suggestions to build railways and manufacture balloons,"[30] and one has no idea where it will all end. Comments of this nature fully indicated that, muddleheaded and idiotic, they were completely ignorant of the world situation. They continued to wallow in conceit and arrogance, bragging about "barbarians in all directions submitting themselves to the court" and "10,000 countries coming to pay tribute," and stubbornly held on to the feudal dogmas, opposing science and all new things.

The reactionaryism of the westernization faction and its undertakings was not in learning and importing advanced science and technology from the West, but in their capitulationism abroad and suppression of the people's revolutionary struggles at home, in order to maintain the shaky feudal system and feudal control. Precisely in these two aspects rested the fundamental identity of the diehard and westernization factions. The diehards were often impassioned against foreign aggression and clamored for resistance, such as "the barbarians are our enemies" and "we must not forget the enemies even for one day and the humiliations suffered by us." However, all they did was to utter hollow words, and they had no intention to take practical action. When the westernization faction advocated capitulating to the foreigners, besides continuing to express discontent, they accepted the status quo completely. In 1872, diehard bureaucrat Song Jin opposed manufacturing steamships, declaring grandiloquently: If steamships are a preparation to resist foreign countries, then, since China and the foreign countries have long attained peace, we should not do anything which may provoke the foreigners. If they are to be used for fighting the foreign countries, then, we can rest assured that Chinese steamships cannot compete against them.[31] According to this view, there was no need to make any effort. They would wait for the foreign invaders to fight their way in and kneel down and surrender. Therefore, the opposition to importing Western science and technology on the part of the diehard faction was actually not a desire for independence and self-determination, but approval of capitulation.

Arguing against the fallacious views of the diehard faction, the westernization faction at times appeared to be just and forceful. Yi Xin answered Wei Ren and others: You do not propose any practical means, but only make such remarks as using loyalty and faith as the armor and propriety and morality as the weapon, feeling that you will thus outmaneuver the enemy over glasses of wine and send him to his doom. I really cannot believe you.[32] Westernization commentator Ma Jianzhong discussed the diehard advocacy of war: They fail to analyze the reasons for war or seek the material preparations for victory. They feel that, only by bringing out the classics of ancient times, copying certain stories of Han and Tang, and expressing their views, they will castigate Japan and Russia and whip England and America. There is no such thing in the world.[33] Such arguments against the diehards indicated that the westernization faction believed that promoting the study of Western languages, importing foreign machinery and technology and undertaking industry and mining were completely proper, without anything wrong. However, in regard to the views of Wei Ren and others, they admitted that "their meaning is lofty and their arguments just," and explained that the goal of learning Western science and technology was "merely for the purpose of verifying the Chinese ways by means of the Western ways, and not abandoning the principles of the sages for the wrong road." On the issue of the capitalist system, the attitudes of the westernization and diehard factions were basically the same. Though they did not have the concept of capitalism, they realized that the machinery and technology of foreign countries would produce an influence on China's social production. Machinery would produce firearms, which would be very dangerous to start with, and machinery was the product of the Western social system, viz., capitalism. Such system ran counter to China's national conditions, and therefore was not acceptable. Once machinery filled the country, the rich merchants and prominent businessmen would produce for profit, and it would be an even graver danger to the feudal system. Therefore, restrictions must be enforced at every level. On the basic issue of opposing national capitalism and preserving the feudal system, the standpoint of the westernization faction was also that of the diehard faction. The essential difference between them was that the diehard faction was more feudal in nature, while the westernization faction was more comprador in nature. Within the Qing government which performed the function of maintaining the semi-colonial and semi-feudal regime, the two forces could work in complete coordination with each other.

The Empress Dowager relied on the westernization faction to promote westernization activities, pleasing the foreigners abroad and strengthening her ruling power at home. She also permitted the diehard faction to oppose the westernization activities, calling such opposition "clear comments" and "just views," in order to prevent the westernization faction from becoming too powerful. The two factions mutually attacked and checked each other, while she manipulated and utilized, restricted them in all their actions and kept them within bounds. Li Hongzhang complained time and again: The vision of the group of people in the capital is limited. Acting pettishly day in and day out, they are afraid that too little attention is given to the domestic and too much to the foreign, and they scheme to strip the power of the generals and frontier officers.[34] Clear commenting has already done its damage, and who should be responsible for it?[35] He then said: The country of Japan is under the control of one monarch, yet its subjects exert themselves with one mind, and its financial power and talents continuously improve. In China's imperial court, what is discussed in the morning is changed in the evening and what is undertaken in the forenoon is suspended in the afternoon. Just what the future holds is hard to predict.[36] I only hope to continue in the same old rut, go through the motions and drift along for a decade or more "until the new emperor (indicating Emperor Guangxu) personally takes over the reins of the government." I do not know whether we can hold out until then without any serious mishaps.[37] The conflict between the diehard and westernization factions in the Qing government continued for a period, at times violent. With the increase in the enterprises promoted by the westernization faction, its contacts with the foreign aggressors became ever more numerous. As a result, its power far surpassed that of the diehard faction, and it occupied a dominant position.

All founders of the westernization cause, Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang and Li Hongzhang, in their activities, each formed his own clique. Li Hongzhang started the largest number of westernization enterprises, and the Huai clique with him as the key man was the most powerful. He used the Huai Army as his capital and, after 1870, he was entrenched for a long time in the position of governor-general of Zhili and minister of Beiyang, actually in complete control of the westernization cause. He considered the military industry created by him the lifeline of the Huai Army and controlled it firmly. In 1866, he was transferred away from his position as the governor-general of the Jiangnan Provinces [Jiangxi, Jiangsu and Anhui], but still supervised the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau. Required to allocate a part of the weapons and ammunition produced by it to the Huai Army, the Jinling Machine Bureau was regarded for a long time as an auxiliary to the Huai army. By the first half of the eighties, Li Hongzhang was in control of six plants and bureaus engaged in modern military industry, and the cost of their creation and expansion totaled approximately 4 million liang, which was more than 50 percent of the building cost of military industry in the entire country. The warlords of the Huai clique became the largest westernization clique in the country. At the very beginning, Zeng Guofan cooperated with Li Hongzhang to create the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau. After returning to his position as governor-general of the Jiangnan Provinces in 1866, he controlled jointly with Li Hongzhang the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau and the Jinling Machine Bureau, and expanded the Nanyang maritime forces. Zeng Guofan died a relatively early death, and the Xiang Army commanded by the Zeng brothers was either disbanded or wiped out. The westernization enterprises built by the Zeng clique failed to make any independent development. Zuo Zongtang possessed the Xiang Army of the Zuo clique and also controlled for a long time the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau. He relied on the bureau to manufacture and purchase all kinds of ships and cannons and created the Nanyang Navy. Appointed as governor-general of the Jiangnan Provinces in 1881, he acquired a part of the authority over the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau and the Jinling Machine Bureau. Remaining in the Northwest for an extended period of time, his contact with the foreign aggressors was not as close as that of Li Hongzhang, the number of westernization enterprises started by him not as numerous, and the arms and equipment of the Xiang Army of the Zuo clique not as fine as those of the Huai Army. For these reasons, the power of the Zuo clique could not match that of the Li clique.

The spheres of activities of the various cliques of the westernization faction were different, and the foreign countries relied on by them were also not the same. Li Hongzhang mainly relied on England, and subsequently linked up with Germany at the same time. Zuo Zongtang mainly depended on France, and subsequently also formed ties with Germany. Zeng Guofan associated with America and England. The aggressor countries competed with one another in China, while the various cliques of the westernization faction also conflicted with and attacked one another. To win French support, Zuo Zongtang did his best to put in a good word for France and asked the Qing government to pay serious attention to its role, in preparation for obtaining foreign aid in the future.[38] On the other hand, he attacked England: England is treacherous and crafty and does not sincerely help the Qing government. In addition, it is "jealous of our capabilities and pleased with our shortcomings."[39] When France helped Zuo Zongtang establish the Fujian Ships Administration Bureau, England tried to sabotage it. Hart and the Fuzhou commissioner of customs first wanted to have a share in the bureau, but failed to attain their goal. Thereupon, they attacked (Riyige), the French general supervisor of the bureau, saying that he was deliberately hoodwinking Zuo Zongtang by claiming that the Chinese would learn to manufacture and operate steamships in 5 years, and that he would not succeed.[40] Subsequently, when the shipyard was built and steamships manufactured, Li Hongzhang stepped forward to make accusations: Zuo Zongtang relies solely on (Riyige) to build and operate the Fujian shipyard. The models of the ships and machinery are all obsolete, and the steamships built by him are very unwieldy.[41] Hart also charged that the SS "Kangde" built by the bureau was unsafe and impractical. The conflicts and struggles among the foreign aggressors were intertwined with the squabbles among the high level bureaucrats of the westernization faction, reflecting the close ties of the various westernization cliques with the particular foreign powers relied on by them. England, which backed Li Hongzhang, was the most powerful among the big powers struggling over China, and it was one of the reasons for Li Hongzhang to be the strongest man in the westernization faction.

The emergence of the westernization faction and its cliques and the modern military industry indicated profound changes within China's ruling class. 1. For the first time in history, differentiation in the economic components of China's landowner class occurred. 2. China's first-generation modern warlords emerged. 3. The previously constantly split feudal cliques due to conflict of interest in the ruling class now began to split into cliques serving as the tools of foreign aggression.

When deciding to undertake modern military industry, Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, at the beginning, stressed "forming long-range strategies," "fighting foreign countries" and "resisting foreign aggression" alongside with the emphasis on "exterminating the Fa and Nian troops," "pacifying China" and "promptly suppressing the bandits," thus reflecting the contradictions between the feudal ruling class and the broad masses and those between it and the foreign aggressors. When the two goals were mentioned together, it indicated that the Qing rulers were confronted simultaneously with the issue of the class contradiction and that of the national contradiction. But the situation was greatly different from the period of the second Opium War. At that time, the Qing government was faced with the high tide of people's uprisings and the troops of foreign aggressors at its gate, both "domestic troubles" and "foreign invasion," and the situation was extremely critical. The issue of whom to attack and whom to surrender to required immediate decision. Now the issue was temporarily solved by capitulating to the foreign aggressors and "peace between China and the foreign countries." The military industry built by the westernization faction at this time was basically only for the purpose of reinforcing the suppression and control of the people. Furthermore, the project could only be carried out by a greater reliance on the West. There was no country or government among the Western powers which opposed the military industry of the Qing government. On the contrary, they always actively supported its endeavor to build up arms. It was a fact which explained the issue. A conflict continued to exist between the Qing government and the big powers, and it was at times very intense. However, it did not originate from the Qing government, which had no strength to recover China's sovereignty and change the semi-colonial order; it originated from the big powers which demanded more concessions from the Qing government, while the latter found it difficult to surmount the people's powerful resistance and therefore hazardous to submit to the aggressors. Therefore, the so-called "forming long-range strategies," "fighting foreign countries" and "resisting foreign aggression" advocated by the westernization faction were clearly negated by the guiding ideology announced by it and by its admitted result of practice.

By 1880, the westernization cause had been pursued for 20 years. According to his view, Li Hongzhang summarized the guiding ideology of westernization into eight words: "Make peace with the foreigners abroad; introduce political reform at home." To "make peace with the foreigners" was to faithfully abide by the unequal treaties and bow to the demands of the aggressors, in exchange for the situation of "living in peace with the foreign countries," and promoting westernization activities was the primary condition. In regard to foreign invasion, the westernization faction generally followed the policy of nonresistance. They advanced all kinds of reasons in defense of nonresistance, the main one being the inferiority of China's weapons and techniques. In 1872 and 1874, Li Hongzhang stated time and again in his memos to the emperor: At this late hour, maintaining peace and defending our territory basically cannot be accomplished without new-type weapons. Resisting the barbarians and expelling the foreigners are all sheer unfounded views.[42] Fa, Nian, Miao and Hui are all inland people. Though they were extremely courageous and persevering, their implements were inferior; therefore, we could exterminate them. The big powers are enemy countries and, with powerful weapons and superior technology, they excel one another with their military strengths. If China should resist, "even if temporarily victorious, the final result will be defeat."[43] In his letter to the prime minister's office in 1883 on current affairs, Li Hongzhang said: Ever since the Europeans came East, the Asian countries, in the many wars, always won first and lost later. "The track of an overturned cart should serve as a warning."[44] In other words, resisting foreign aggression with inferior weapons would result in final defeat even if there were temporary victories. It had become an irresistible law. The conclusion was: When China does not have anything to rely on, it must not rashly talk about resistance. There is only one way out: Seek foreign ways and learn to use foreign implements, in preparation for independence.[45] Li Hongzhang used the inferiority of weapons and the incapacity to resist foreign aggression as the reason for promoting the westernization cause. On the other hand, he used the fact that the westernization cause had not been sufficiently developed and that the weaponry was still inferior as the excuse to follow the policy of nonresistance. By going round in circles, the time to resist foreign aggression would never arrive. The "political reform" mentioned by him mainly consisted of reorganizing the Green Battalions, introducing new-type firearms and adding the subject of westernization training in the examination system. In "Protests from Xiaobin Cottage," Feng Guifen, the famous westernization theoretician who had long suggested suppressing the Taiping rebellion with foreign troops, advocated the necessity to "take China's feudal order of importance and the Confucian ethical code as the foundation, supplemented with skills of the various countries, to attain wealth and power."[46] In "Views on Westernization," Xue Fucheng, another westernization theoretician, suggested "taking the knowledge of implements and the mathematics of the Westerners to defend the ways of our Emperors Yao and Shu, Yu and Tang, Wen and Wu and of Zhou Gong and Confucius."[47] The substance of the "political reform" advocated by Li Hongzhang, Feng Guifen and Xue Fucheng can be summarized into one point: Without infringing on the interest of the feudal class, make some minor changes and add some capitalist smatterings. In short, under the condition of observing the unequal treaties, submitting to foreign control and keeping the vital interest of the feudal system intact, the Qing government should utilize Western science and technology to replenish its strengths, suppress the people's revolution and protect the regime. It was the guiding ideology of the westernization faction. In other words, "becoming strong," "independence," "forming long-range strategies," "fighting foreign countries and "resisting foreign aggression" advocated by them had long vanished without a trace.

The practical result of the war industry admitted by the westernization faction itself was also thus. Li Hongzhang's Huai army possessed the best equipment and cost the most money. Many criticized him for compromising with and surrendering to foreign aggression and for the corruption and untrustworthiness of the Huai Army. Li Hongzhang defended himself in many ways, but more than once he admitted that, if the Huai Army should encounter "inland bandits," he was sure that it would win, but if it came up against foreign attack, "the outcome cannot be predicted," but it would not panic and flee upon hearing of the enemy. Though the arms and ammunition of the Tianjin Huai Army were not small in quantity, "when it comes to fighting against the West, it is hard to say."[49] The Zhili troops "may be used to exterminate internal bandits, but whether they can resist external aggression is not clear"[50]--probably alright. Ding Richang, an important member of the westernization faction, was more blunt: The ships and cannons "can subjugate internal bandits, but not external aggression."[51] What he referred to was the result of the military industry of the westernization faction after one or two decades. One can thus see that the character of the military industry was only an extension of borrowing foreign troops and buying foreign arms to "exterminate the Fa and Nian rebellions" and "subjugate the bandits," and not the simultaneous starting point of "forming long-range strategies" and "fighting foreign countries."

The political power of a state includes two functions: Dictatorship at home and defense of sovereignty against the outside. Military strength is the main component of the state machine. Whether reinforcing the army, navy or other branches of service, whatever which can produce an influence outside can produce an influence at home. One cannot imagine that the navy has only an external role, not an internal one. By firmly undertaking modern military industry and thereafter building ships and railways, the westernization faction indeed manifested a considerable spirit of "innovation." It was even more so when contrasted against the diehard faction. The meaning of innovation, however, must be determined by its concrete content. The westernization faction did not aim at national independence; on the contrary, it "innovated" toward the semi-colonial path. Almost at the same time, there was Japan's Meiji Restoration in the East, which followed a different path. In comparison, the reactionaryism of the westernization faction and the westernization cause becomes even easier to recognize.

Science and technology belong in the realm of the social productive forces. By importing modern science and technology from the West, the westernization faction brought in a new kind of social productive forces which was not acceptable to the feudal productive relations. It would inevitably hasten the collapse of the feudal productive relations and promote the emergence of the new ones. In this sense, the westernization cause objectively had its progressive effect. Such were the contradictions of things! The activities of the westernization faction eventually created a number of objective conditions and feasibilities for the emergence of the modern capitalist industry in China.

1. Beginning in the seventies, Li Hongzhang and others expanded the military industry to civilian use. Some of the landowners, bureaucrats and merchants

began to invest in modern industry. It became one of the patterns of the brith of China's capitalist industry.

2. Promoting the westernization cause required training scientific and technical personnel. The westernization faction took a number of commensurate measures. In 1861, Yi Xin created Tongwen Hall in Beijing, selected children of the 8 Banners under 13 or 14 years of age to learn English, French and Russian and engaged foreign teachers to teach in various schools. After studying for 5 years, the students were able "to understand foreign writing and foreign languages."[32] By studying foreign implements and seeking Western knowledge, a breach was made in the feudal culture of several thousand years, and the capitalist social theories of the West spread into China. In terms of its ideological origin, the early reformism of the bourgeoisie was partly so fostered from here on.

FOOTNOTES

1. Zeng Guofan, "Memo on Foreigners Helping with Bandit Extermination and with Collecting Rice for Shipping to Tianjin," "Complete Works of Zeng Guofan," Vol 12.

2. Zeng Guofan, "Memo on Purchasing Foreign Ships and Cannons," op. cit., Vol 14.

3, 4. Li Hongzhang, "To Prime Minister Zeng," "Complete Works of Li Hongzhang," Vol 3.

5. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 25, pp 1-2.

6. Li Hongzhang, "To Prime Minister Zeng," op. cit., Vol 2.

7. "Li Hongzhang's Letter to Pan Dingxin," p 4.

8. Li Hongzhang, "Memo on Serving as Military Governor of Heluo by Imperial Order," op. cit., Vol 9.

9. Ibid.

10. Zeng Guoquan, "To Zhao Yuban," "Complete Works of Zeng Guoquan," Vol 8.

11. Li Hongzhang, "To Prime Minister Zeng," op. cit., Vol 5.

12. The figures below on the building and purchasing costs of the various bureaus, including the expenses reported through the years relating to expansions, additional equipment and building materials, are computed by referring to "Westernization Movement" compiled by the China History Society (hereinafter referred to as "Westernization Movement") and information contained in relevant collections of documents.

13. "Telegram from Xu Mu," "Complete Works of Duke Zhang Wenxiang," Vol 149.

14. "Statement of Imperial Censor Yin Ruzhang," "Westernization Movement," Vol 5, p 320.

15. "Shen Baozhen's Memo," op. cit., Vol 5, p 78. See also "Political Book of Shen Baozhen," Vol 5.

16. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 25, p 10.

17. Chen Chi, "On Armament," "Strategy to Make the Country Rich," Vol 3.

18. Li Hongzhang, "Memo in Reply to Mei Qizhao," op. cit., Vol 39.

19. Li Hongzhang, "Deliberations on Ship Purchasing," op. cit., Vol 17.

20. Li Hongzhang, "On trading with Kata and Purchase of Armored Vessels," op. cit., Vol 10.

21. Li Hongzhang, "Means of Standardizing Armament and Report on Matters concerning Passwords," op. cit., Vol 32.

22. "Memos of Yi Cong, Prince of Dun, and Others," "Westernization Movement," Vol 1, p 215.

23. "Memos of Yi Kuang, Prime Minister in Charge of the Affairs of the Various Nations," op. cit., Vol 3, p 545.

24. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 47, p 25. See also "Westernization Movement," Vol 2, pp 30, 31.

25. "Memo of Zhang Shengzao, Supervisory Censor of Shandong District," "Westernization Movement," Vol 2, p 29.

26. "Memo of Administrative Commissioner Yu Lingchen," op. cit., Vol 1, p 121.

27. "Yang Tingxi's Statement," op. cit., Vol 2, p 45.

28. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 47, p 24. See also "Westernization Movement," Vol 2, p 30.

29. Liu Xihong, "Random Notes on Reading Guo Lianshi's Letter on Current Affairs," "Westernization Movement," Vol 1, p 290.

30. Ibid., Vol 2, p 204.

31. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 84, p 35.

32. Ibid., Vol 48, p 4. See also "Westernization Movement," Vol 2, p 33.

33. Ma Jianzhong, "Notes of Words and Acts from Shike Study," Vol 3.

34. Li Hongzhang, "Reply to Governor Guo Yunxian," "Complete Works of Li Hongzhang," Vol 6.

35. Li Hongzhang, "Reply to Governor Zhou Fugai," op. cit., Vol 19.

36. Li Hongzhang, "To Prime Minister Zeng," op. cit., Vol 12.

37. Li Hongzhang, "Reply to Governor Bao Huatan," op. cit., Vol 15.

38. "Memo of Zuo Zongtang," "Westernization Movement," Vol 5, p 28.

39. Zuo Zongtang, "Memo on Deliberations on Westernization," "Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang," Vol 18. See also "Westernization Movement," Vol 1, p 17.

40. Files of the Qing Prime Minister's Office, excerpts of copy of memo from (Meilideng), Fuzhou Commissioner of Customs, enclosed in letter from General Ying Gui, Fuzhou, received at the Prime Minister's Office on 22 February Tongzhi 6th year [1867].

41. Li Hongzhang, "On Purchase of Guns and Cannons by the Provinces," "Complete Works of Li Hongzhang," Vol 8.

42. Li Hongzhang, "Memo on Inadvisability to Abrogate Steamship Manufacturing," op. cit., Vol 19.

43. Li Hongzhang, "Memo on Coastal Defense," op. cit., Vol 24.

44. Li Hongzhang, "On Caution against Rash Discussions of War in view of Weak Coastal Defense Forces," op. cit., Vol 14.

45. Li Hongzhang's letter to the Prime Minister's Office, files of the Qing Prime Minister's Office.

46. Feng Guifen, "Protests from Xiaobin Cottage on Adopting Western Knowledge," "Reform Movement of 1898," "Chinese Modern History History Series," compiled by China History Society, Vol 1, p 28.

47. Xue Fucheng, "Views on Westernization and Reform," "Reform Movement of 1898," op. cit., Vol 1, p 160.

48. Li Hongzhang, "Memo on Conditions of Defense Troops," "Complete Works of Li Hongzhang," Vol 36.

49. Li Hongzhang, "Reply to Expositor Zhang Youqiao," op. cit., Vol 19.

50. Li Hongzhang, "Memo on Coastal Defense," op. cit., Vol 24.

51. "Westernization Movement," Vol 2, p 393.

52. "Facts on Preparations to Undertake Barbarian Affairs (Court of Tongzhi)," Vol 46, p 3.

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NEED FOR CONTROL OF FAMILY PLANNING STRESSED

Experiences in Anhui

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Wei Xinyi [7614 1800 0001]: "Unified Control of Family Planning by Leadership at All Levels in Dingyuan County"]

> [Text] Editorial note: Here are some excerpts from a letter written by Wei Xinyi, vice governor of Anhui Province and addressed to the Anhui Provincial People's Government. The letter concisely described how the party and government leadership has exercised unified control on the work of family planning after practicing the system of responsibility for agricultural production. It also put forward several suggestions on further improving this work for the reference of various localities.

During the last 10 days of May, I went to Dingyuan County, Anhui Province, to attend a meeting on the work of family planning for Suxian Prefecture. After hearing reports from several counties, particularly Dingyuan County, I had the impression that the situation turned out to be better than expected and that everything was going well. Despite a population upswing this year, the original plan of keeping the natural population growth rate below 1 percent can still materialize provided several more serious efforts are made. A summary of the report on the work is as follows:

I. Population Growth Can Be Controlled Provided Comprehensive Measures Are Carried Out With Perseverance

During the first quarter of this year, there were some 8,500 births in Suxian Prefecture at a birth rate of 0.256 percent. The birth rate in Dingyuan County was 0.181 percent. In the whole prefecture, the number of births was 1,938 less than that of the same period last year. There were several reasons for this decrease: First, a firm foundation laid last year; second, continued efforts this year; and third, the practical measures adopted. After the efforts of last year and the first 4 months of this year, some 64,000 women in Dingyuan County, or 83.5 percent of all women of child-bearing age, were either sterilized or given contraceptives. The rate of single births was raised to above 50 percent, and the number of artificial abortions was reduced. This shows that as long as we keep up our efforts, population growth can be brought under control.

II. Dingyuan County Adopted New Measures for Family Planning After Practicing Responsibility System

The first year of family planning in Dingyuan County has been a success and its experiences were of a general nature. The methods used were: encouragement of all party members to "attend to two different types of production at the same time"; ideological education on the need to be concerned with livelihood and propaganda work against the preference of male to female children; reward for having one child and penalty for excessive births as a matter of policy to win people's confidence; use of contraceptives to be supplemented by artificial abortion and sterilization; a strict demand on the quality of birth-control surgery to guard against untoward incidents; and so forth. All these methods were successfully carried out in Dingyuan County. What was even more admirable was that after setting up the system of responsibility for production, the leadership of the county adopted the following new measures:

First, family planning and production tasks were combined to be included in the responsibility system. Various tasks of production, selling agricultural sideline products to the state, and collection of loans were stipulated in contracts in which, the number of workpoints for each task assigned to cadres of communes, production brigades and production teams, the reward for above-quota points and the penalty for failure to fulfill the quota were all specified. Family planning obligations was also included in the contract. If the birth rate was above 0.1 percent, 10 percent of the total workpoints would be deducted; on the contrary, if it was below 0.1 percent, 10 percent would be added to the total points. The people said: "Family planning is the decisive factor."

Secondly, since the establishment of the system of responsibility for production, the methods of implementing policies have also changed. Workpoints have been replaced by cash as a reward and penalty, and the health-care subsidies are no longer appropriated out of the public welfare fund. Instead, they are paid by the production brigade according to an overall arrangement.

Thirdly, there was a unified control by the leadership at each level. Cadres were required to set good personal examples, while rewards and punishments had to be fair and just. The system of "four responsibilities, four leading roles and four priority arrangements" was widely practiced in Dingyuan County. This system means "responsibility for oneself, responsibility for one's children, responsibility for one's relatives and friends, and responsibility for the fulfillment of duty; leading role in propaganda, leading role in work, leading role in receiving [sterilization] surgery, and leading role in [family planning] registration; and priority of party over league, priority of cadres over masses, priority of oneself over others, and priority of relatives over neighbors [all in promoting family planning]." In fact, family planning in the county was under the unified control of the county party committee and the county government, but, the chairman of the county federation of women and the female cadres of the production brigades also assisted in ideological and organizational work. They received remunerations for their work and the amount of remunerations varied according to the number of participants in the family planning program. There were rewards and punishments as well as clearly defined duties. A deputy secretary of the county CYL committee did not participate in the program and was, as a result, relieved of her duty.

Fourthly, strong support was given to the commune and production brigade, or team cadres in giving reward or meting out punishment according to established rules. In carrying out family planning, the cadres had "five fears": fear of untoward incidents, fear of law violations, fear of committing the mistake of commandism, fear of letters [of complaint] from the people, and fear of offending others. The key to encouraging cadres in their work was propaganda and education, including a clear explanation that rewarding and punishing people according to established rules could not be charged as commandism. The people also said: "Vigorous policies are not to be feared as long as they are fair. If the cadres will take the lead, we will certainly willingly follow."

In my opinion, the above four measures should be recommended to the communes and production brigades and teams where every family is charged with a responsibility.

III. Several Recommendations

(1) By now, the majority of cadres have realized the importance and urgency of family planning, and the broad masses no longer entertain the idea of having a third child. In Suxian Prefecture, the rate of excessive child-bearing dropped a little in the 1st quarter this year, but still remained as high as 47 percent. Among them, 30 percent gave birth to a 2d child (33 percent in Dingyuan County). This was a problem as well as a key issue. Therefore, we have to resort to three methods: first, the cadres, party and league members should take the lead; second, publicity and education should be promoted; and third, the policy of reward and punishment should be enforced. Most important of all, the leadership must be resolute in encouraging every couple to have only one child, and make every effort to reduce the rate of excessive births. To do a meticulous job in ideological and educational work, we must therefore be very careful in solving the problem of, and making rational arrangements for some commune members (including party and league members and cadres) who want to have a second child because of real difficulties, provided their requests are in line with policies.

(2) The use of contraceptives should be encouraged, because this is a good method to avoid child-bearing.

(3) The statistics of family planning are now based on the natural growth rate of population as the criterion; this is not a scientific one. According to this way of calculation, a high death rate would be misconstrued as a success in family planning. Therefore, the use of the natural population growth rate cannot be practical and should be replaced by the birth rate and one-birth rate as a yardstick for the work of family planning in each locality.

Commentator on 'Open Letter'

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 81 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Further Improve the Work of Family Planning"]

[Text] Exactly 1 year has passed since the publication of CCP Central Committee's "Open Letter to All CCP and CYL Members Concerning the Control of Our Population Growth." During this year, the broad masses of CCP and CYL members, and particularly the cadres at various levels, warmly responded to the call and took the lead in having only one child. By now, more than 10 million couples throughout the country have obtained the one-child certificates.

Remarkable progress was made in various aspects of the work last year. This year, the State Council established the State Family Planning Commission to provide more active leadership to the work of family planning. This work has since been included in the agendas of important meetings of party and government leading organs at various levels, and active elements among the cadres have been selected to take charge of the work. Acting in accordance with the spirit of the "Open Letter," these cadres have carried out a great deal of ideological and organizational work in promoting family planning, while the technical personnel of the medical, public health, female and child protection departments energetically served the masses by providing technical guidance and producing high-quality contraceptives in the forms of pills or devices, according to the policy of "prevention first." More and more people, including party and league members, have decided to have only one child. The work of family planning is now taking on a new outlook; the situation is very good.

Practicing family planning in an effort to keep our population below 1.2 billion by the turn of the century is a strategic decision by the party Central Committee. This decision is based on our present population, the trend of its development and other realities in our country and is therefore consistent with the conditions of our country. We have a huge population, little farmland, a young age composition, and a backward economy and culture. The standard of living for the people is low, and the average amount of natural resources possessed by each individual is small. An excessive growth of population will bring more problems in food, clothing, housing, transportation, education, public health and employment, and it will be difficult for the state to overcome poverty and backwardness within a brief period. The "Open Letter" explicitly pointed out: The advocation that each couple should have but one child is an important measure with a bearing on the speed and outcome of our modernization and the health and happiness of our future generations. It is consistent with the long-range as well as immediate interests of all people. We can never take the work of family planning lightly, but must carefully attend to it as a matter of great importance. We must take positive and systematic action to lower the growth rate of our population.

There are now two difficulties in the way of our population control. First, our population base is large. The national population has already approached 1 billion, and, according to the age composition, 65 percent of the total population are below 30 years of age. Hereafter, more than 20 million people will get married and beget children each year. If we do not strongly insist that each couple should have but one child and, instead, allow the population to grow unchecked, it will greatly add to the problems of the four modernizations and make the task of improving people's livelihood difficult. Therefore, the urgent task now is to practice family planning and to lower the birth rate with great efforts.

Secondly, the work of family planning is by no means easy. Among a section of the population, such old feudal ideas and erroneous concepts as "the greatest filial impiety is the failure to have a male offspring," and "a son is better than a daughter" are still very much alive. In some families, particularly the families in rural areas, there are also certain real difficulties. However, inspired by the "Open Letter," the family planning workers are prepared to defy all difficulties. Their spirit is indeed admirable.

At present, a lot of work needs to be done before each couple can have but one child. This work should not be taken lightly. However, work in the countryside is even more arduous. Since the adoption of the system of linking output with remunerations in the countryside, the work of family planning has entered a new phase and faced new problems. The majority of provincial, prefectural, county and commune party committees have strengthened party leadership in facing the new situation and new problems and adopted such new measures as "attending to two types of production at the same time," whereby the agricultural production is closely coordinated with population control. Instead of letting the work of family planning drift along, many areas have achieved new success and gained new experiences with increased production and lowered birth rate as the gratifying result.

To control the growth of population effectively, continued efforts should be made to translate the spirit of the "Open Letter" into action, and to encourage every couple to have but one child. Therefore, publicity and education should be energetically carried out so that the whole party and people of the whole country will be more ideologically united. We must teach the people to bear in mind the overall situation and to subordinate individual and family interests to the overall national interest, and to practice family planning willingly. The policy of "attending to two types of production at the same time" for material production and human reproduction should be upheld. Regardless of the different forms it may take, the system of responsibility for production should be accompanied by a suitable system of responsibility for family planning as well. Comprehensive measures of birth control should be carried out with the use of contraceptives as the principal means.

The control of population growth is a strategic issue involving the overall situation. Party committees and governments at all levels should treat it as an important task requiring the personal attendance of the principal leading comrades, while other leading comrades should also help keep up this task with perseverance. As long as the party committees at various levels take this work seriously and there is no relaxation of efforts on the part of all concerned, we believe it will be possible for us to attain the goal of keeping our population below 1.2 billion at the turn of the century.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TAN QILONG PRAISES PRIZE-WINNING LITERATURE, ART

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 81 p 4

[Article: "Literature and Art Should Uphold the "FOUR PRAISES" and Criticize Erroneous Ideas and Works"]

[Text] At a meeting just concluded in Sichuan, held to award prizes for fine literary and art works, Tan Qilong, first secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, spoke on the question of literary and art criticism and the question of criticism and self-criticism.

He said: "Literary and art workers should sing warm praised of the party, of socialism, of the people's army, and of the people. This is demanded by the people."

Speaking of the catastrophic flood that hit Sichuan recently, he pointed out: "Hit by such an extraoridnarily serious natural disaster, people in the old society would inevitably have suffered disasters, with homes broken up, some [persons] gone away, and some dead. But today, thanks to the party leadership, to the socialist system, and to the people's army, the army and people throughout the province are united as one, fighting shoulder to shoulder. After the disaster, the public is reassured, the basic living essentials are ensure, and a moving scene--the restoration of production and the rebuilding of homes--is seen everywhere. What should we sing praises of, if not the party, the socialist system, and the people's army?"

He said: "Since the "gang of four" was smashed, literary and art creations have flourished and many good works have appeared, thanks to the implementation of the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. "But a very small number of people are disseminating incorrect ideas, writing bad works, and even negating the party leadership and the socialist road. Criticism and self-criticism must be launched against incorrect ideas and works, before there can be assurance that literature and art will develop in the direction of serving the people and socialism. Criticism should be aimed at helping those criticized, based on a desire for unity and on facts, and conducted by placing the facts on the table and reasoning things out. There are a few people who regard criticism as the use of the big stick. Such a view is contrary to the party's tradition of criticism and self-criticism."

Choosing fine literary and art works through public appraisal began in Sichuan Province in October of last year. The party committees in literary and art circles took these activities as an important task in strengthening party leadership over literature and art. The provincial and prefectural writers associations set up appraisal and selection committees and adopted the method of combining leaders with the masses. From nearly 9,000 works recommended, 1,101 fine works were chosen, including works reflecting the fight waged by the army and people in Sichuan to combat the recent catastropic flood. These fine literary and art works uphold the political orientation and the four basic principles, successfully mold many moving artistic images, and vividly portray the practice of struggle to bring order out of chaos and to construct the four modernizations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS CONTINUE TO VISIT RURAL AREAS FOR INSPIRATION

Enthusiastic Response

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Going Down to the Grass Roots To Seek Creative Sources"]

[Text] New and veteran writers from the capital and various localities are enthusiastically going to the grassroots. Some of them have created a great number of works that are being well received by readers.

The well-known writer Ding Ling [0002 3781] has recently returned from her visit to the great northern wilderness. The 77-year-old writer revisited the base where previously she had been in the thick of life for more than 20 years. She was given a welcome there.

Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768] and Hao Ran [3185 3544] have kept in close touch with the countryside. On the question of going down to the grassroots, Liu Shaotang said: "I am in favor of deepening the well. Upon conclusion of the present study program, I will proceed to the countryside and live there." In the last 2 years Liu Shaotang has written some 30 long, medium-length, and short novels which have direct connections with the life he tested in the countryside for more than 20 years. He said: "There are so many characters in my head. I know each of the 100 families in our Rulin village. If I want to, I can write a novel for each family. However, as the countryside is developing and new things are growing, there are some aspects with which I am not so familiar. For example, I am not familiar with the commune enterprises. From now on I will familiarize myself with new things and reflect the newly emerging industries and the people of the new generation. The veteran writer Guan Hua [4619 2901], who had lived in the countryside for a long time, went to Fengrun County, Baoding, and Shijiazhuang in Hobei Province last year and this in order to test life there. He grasped some important points of the production responsibility system. He wrote the novels "They Are Afraid of Water" and "Chuang Tai." The veteran writer Lei Jia [7191 0502] returned to the countryside in northern Shaanxi in the latter part of July of this year. He reviewed the history of the 1930's and met "second hometown" people dear to him. He exerted himself to do creative writing and published many works. Duanmu Hongliang [4551 2606 5584 5328] and Xiao Jun [5135 6511] went to the south and the northeast to collect materials.

Qian Xiaohui [6929 1420 1920] kept in touch with the "2-7 Locomotive and Railroad Car Plant" all the time.

As proposed and organized by the Chinese Writers Association and its Beijing branch, Shu Qun [5289 5208], Li You [3810 3945], Gu Ligao [0657 0500 7559], and Gao Xiangzhen [2640 0686 4176] will visit the Lankao area [Henan]. Jin Jin [0093 6602], Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734], Ding Ning [0002 1380], and Ge Cuilin [5514 5050 3829] will visit Shandong. Writers from Beijing and those of the Beijing branch of the Chinese Writers Association will be in the countryside for half a month and, at their discretion, may stay there a little longer for the purpose of doing creative writing.

More than 50 writers from Wuhan have visited Gezhou dam and inspected the gigantic water-retention project. Some writers from Tianjin went to Yunnan and Guangxi and visited model heroes who had distinguished themselves in the counterattack for self-defense against Vietnam. They wrote a number of reportage items. A number of writers have built their life base in the grassroots. For instance, Hobei writer Li Mantian [2621 3341 1131] is now concurrently deputy secretary of the Zhengding County Party Committee. Liaoning writer Shao Hua [7300 5478] is concurrently deputy secretary of the party committee for the Northeast Oil Pipeline Administration; over the past 7 years he published long novels such as "Canghai Hengliu." Jilin writer Ding Rentang [0002 0088 1016] is concurrently deputy magistrate of Daan County; over the past 4 years he has written one long novel and is now writing another. Some sparetime writers such as Ho Shiguang [0149 0013 0342] and Ye Xin [0673 6580] of Guizhou are living among the masses and carrying on their creative writing.

Military unit writers Xu Huaizhong [1776 2037 0022] and Lu Zhuguo [7120 2691 0948] will live with company units for 7 or 8 months a year. On the basis of going into the thick of life, playwrights of Wuhan, Nanjing, and Guangzhou have created "Spring of the Company Unit," "Going to the North," and "Ideal Is Wonderful."

Reports at Writer's Symposium

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "More Writers and Artists Urged To Go Down to the Countryside"]

[Text] The Secretariat of the Chinese Writers Association held a symposium this afternoon, to which some writers who have returned from their visits to the countryside were invited to speak about what they have gathered and learned.

Not long ago, the Chinese Writers Association organized some of the writers to visit Lankao County in Henan and Heze Prefecture in Shandong. These writers have now returned from their short visits. At the symposium they talked about the profound changes taking place in the countryside. They personally appreciated the correctness of the line and policies laid down at the Third Plenum. They appealed to more writers, artists, and critics to go down to the broad countryside to understand the new situation and the new changes in the countryside, and to reflect on the new life there.

Literary and art critic Mao Xing [3029 2502] said: "While they are in the cities, people worry about this and that. When they visit the countryside to have a look, they are suddently enlightened. The production responsibility system in its various forms that has been put into practice since the Third Plenum has brought on rapid changes in Lankao County. In the past, Lankao was known as a poverty-stricken county, with strong winds and sand and saline-alkali soil. Many people did not have enough grain to eat and had to go begging in other localities. Now there are basically no beggars. The granaries are full of grain, and new houses have been built. For all the tortuous paths traversed, the peasant masses have firm confidence in the party leadership and the socialist road." Before he went down to the countryside, literary editor Zhong Yibing [6988 5669 0365] had heard discussions about the rural situation and had confused ideas in his mind. During his recent visit to the countryside, he saw with his own eyes the new changes taking place in the countryside and came to realize that the Third Plenum was indeed a turning point for our country, and particularly for the countryside. He said that a doggerel handed down in Laokao County speaks a lot. In the past, "dried potato chips were the main food and the chicken's rear end the bank." Now, "Steamed bread takes the place of sweet potatoes, and bachelors are married." Juvenile literature writer Jin Jin [0093 6602], who returned from Heze, said: "In the past, Heze was an area which depended on grain (resold by the state) for food, upon relief for money, and upon loans for production. Things are different now. The peasants' income has increased and their life improved everywhere, and there have appeared a number of "10,000-digit families"--that is, families with an annual harvest of 10,000 jin of grain and an income of 10,000 yuan. The system of production responsibility has roused the peasants' enthusiasm. In the past, they could only say, 'When the large river has water, the small rivers are full.' They dared not say, 'When small rivers have water, the large river is full.' Actually, without small rivers full of water, how can the large river be full?" Literary critic Miao Junjie [4924 0193 2638] deeply felt that the countryside is undergoing profound changes and that there is a pressing need for writers, artists, and critics to go into the thick of life in the countryside. "All those writers and artists who have the necessary requirements must go down to the countryside to realize the changes taking place there. Juvenile literature writer Ge Cuilin [5514 5050 3829] said: "While in the countryside this time, I was inspired with enthusiasm. The materials collected are concrete and vivid, making me realize deeply that the Third Plenum's line is correct and is producing far-reaching effects. Every peasant family has bank deposits and surplus grain. All people--men and women, old and young--are happy. Our literary and art work is not compatible with the excellent situation in the countryside. We should redouble our efforts to reflect the new life of the countryside. Cong Cong [5115 5115], the creative children's songwriter, had a question in mind when he went down to the countryside: "Is the production responsibility system a socialist system? Will there be a new polarization?" He told the symposium: "The facts I discovered in the countryside answer my question." He expressed the hope that promising writers and artists will spend some time going down to the countryside to understand the countryside and to reflect on more of the new changes taking place there. Veteran poet Han Yiping [7281 0310 5493], who is of worker origin, perceived in the countryside that the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee has not only enabled peasants to begin to become well-to-do but also improved the relations between the party and masses and between the cadres and masses. Novelist Liu Poyong [0491 3134 3144] visited the countryside, and during his visit there he took particular note of the peasants' clothing, food, shelter, and transportation. He said that from his observations he had gained a deep understanding of the excellent situation prevailing in the countryside.

Writers spoke enthusiastically at the symposium, and many of them still had a lot to say. They earnestly hoped that the Chinese Writers Association will organize writers and artists through diverse means to go down to the countryside to breathe fresh air.

Feng Mu [7458 3668], vice chairman of the Chinese Writers Association and standing secretary of its Secretariat, concluded the symposium by saying: "Turning toward the direction of life, of the people, and of the countryside and maintaining close ties with the peasant masses are glorious traditions of China's revolutionary writers. We must restore and carry on this glorious tradition. The Chinese Writers Association will create conditions and adopt diverse methods for organizing writers, artists, and critics to go into the thick of life in the countryside and promote creative writing with the countryside as the subject matter.

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